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THE

WORKS

OF

JOHN WHITGIFT, D.D.,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

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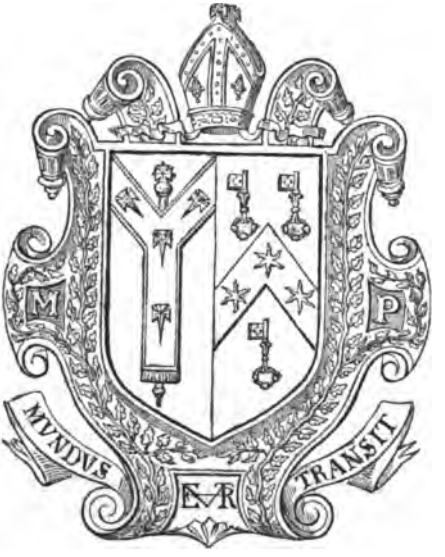

For the Publication of the Works of the Fathers and Early Writers of the Reformed English Church.

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THE

WORKS

OF

JOHN WHITGIFT, D.D.,

MASTER OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DEAN OF LINCOLN, &c.
AFTERWARDS SUCCESSIVELY
BISHOP OF WORCESTER AND ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

THE THIRD PORTION,

CONTAINING

THE DEFENCE OF THE ANSWER TO THE ADMONITION, AGAINST THE REPLY OF THOMAS CARTWRIGHT:

TRACTATES XI—XXIII.

SERMONS, SELECTED LETTERS, &c.

EDITED FOR

The Parker Society,

BY THE

REV. JOHN AYRE, M.A.

OF CONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, MINISTER OF ST JOHN'S CHAPEL, HAMPSTEAD.

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BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR

OF

JOHN WHITGIFT, D.D.,

SUCCESSIVELY BISHOP OF WORCESTER AND ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

The life of archbishop Whitgift was first written by Sir George Paule, the comptroller of his household. A large folio volume was subsequently compiled by the laborious Strype, containing his life and acts. The vast mass of matter therein contained could not be transferred to the present pages: a mere outline of the archbishop's history and character is all that can be attempted.

The family of Whitgift was of good antiquity in the West Riding of the county of York. John Whitgift, the grandfather of the archbishop, had two sons, Henry, a merchant of Great Grimsby in Lincolnshire, and Robert, who became abbot of Wellow, or Welhove, by Grimsby; besides a daughter, Isabel.

Henry, having married Anne Dynewel, a lady of respectable parentage at Grimsby, had by her six sons and a daughter. John, the eldest son, was born at Grimsby in 1530, or according to some accounts, in 1533, and was entrusted for his education to his uncle the abbot, one of those clear-sighted and reflecting men who, before the full light of the reformation shone, were becoming aware of the rottenness of the popish system. For he was often heard to say that he had read the holy scriptures over and over, but could never find there that their religion was founded by God; he foreboded therefore that it could not long continue. He, perceiving the quickness of his nephew's parts, placed him for a time at St Anthony's school in London, then in high repute; where Sir Thomas More, and Dr Nicholas Heath, archbishop of York in queen Mary's reign, had been scholars. The young Whitgift lodged, while attending this school, at the house of his aunt in St Paul's churchyard; and one or two passages of

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his life here have been recorded. It seems that he could by no means be persuaded to attend morrow-mass at the cathedral, and manifested such a dislike to the prevailing superstitions, that his horror-stricken relative, attributing to his sojourn with her some misfortunes that had occurred, sent him back to his father, her farewell being that, though she thought at first she had received a saint into her house, she now perceived he was a devil.

In 1548, or 1549, he was sent to Cambridge and placed in Queens' college, but he afterwards migrated to Pembroke hall, where bishop Ridley was master, and Grindal and Bradford at that time fellows, the latter becoming his tutor. On his recommendation, backed by that of Grindal, he was appointed to a scholarship and made bible-clerk, a very acceptable emolument, as his father's circumstances were now embarrassed by great losses at sea. In 1553-4 he commenced B.A., and was elected fellow of Peter-house in 1555, being admitted with two others May 31 of that year. Dr Andrew Perne was then master of the college, and proved a kind patron and fast friend of young Whitgift. For not only did he have him carefully attended when suffering under a dangerous sickness, but he shielded him in 1556 during the perilous visitation of the university by the commissioners appointed under cardinal Pole's authority. Whitgift had conceived it impossible to escape their severity without violation of his conscience, and therefore resolved to retire to the continent; but, by Dr Perne's persuasion, who being at that time vice-chancellor had it in his power to protect him, he relinquished his intention, and remained unmolested without any unworthy concession. Better times were approaching; and after the accession of queen Elizabeth he was ordained in 1560, and preached his first sermon at St Mary's from Rom. i. 16, obtaining thereby great credit with his audience. His degrees were M.A. 1556; B.D. 1563; and D.D. 1567: on which last occasion he maintained in his act this thesis, *Papa est ille antichristus.* About the time of his commencing B.D. he was made Margaret professor of divinity, succeeding Dr Hutton, afterwards archbishop of York[1]. In his public lectures

[1] According to Le Neve, Whitgift became Margaret professor in 1566, and succeeded to the regius professorship in 1567, resigning it the same year. See Fast. Eccles. Anglic. Lond. 1716. pp. 410, 11.

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while in this post, he expounded the epistle to the Hebrews and the book of Revelation, and obtained so entirely the confidence of the university that for his sake the stipend was augmented, July 5, 1566, from twenty marks to twenty pounds a year.

Whitgift was now much engaged in the public affairs of the university. At the latter end of the year 1565 he joined with the vice-chancellor, Dr Beaumont, master of Trinity, and others, in an urgent letter to Cecil, their chancellor, deprecating the orders made for the stricter use of the apparel[2]. This letter was, however, ill taken, and a severe rebuke administered to the vice-chancellor. But no serious check was thereby caused to Whitgift's growing influence and reputation. For we find his name in the list of Lenten preachers at court in 1566[3], and June 10 in that year he had licence from the university to preach throughout the realm: April 21, 1567, he succeeded Dr Hutton in the mastership of Pembroke hall; but there he staid but a few weeks; for, July 4, he was made master of Trinity, having successfully vindicated himself from some suspicion of a leaning to non-conformity[4]. About the same time he again succeeded Dr Hutton as regius professor of divinity. The queen, too, took a liking to him, when she had heard him preach before her, and punning upon his name said that he had a white gift indeed. She in consequence made him one of her chaplains. He obtained, moreover, preferment in the church. For having been chaplain to Cox, bishop of Ely, he was by that prelate collated to the rectory of Teversham, and, Dec. 5, 1568, to a prebendal stall in Ely cathedral.

In his administration of his college the new master of Trinity was active and conscientious. In 1569 he resisted the claims of Westminster school upon the scholarships of Trinity, taking up so many places that room was left for scarcely any other deserving young men. It was consequently arranged that two only should be sent yearly from that school to each university, and three every third year. A modern eloquent writer, little disposed to approve generally of Whitgift's proceedings, allows him the praise of having rendered in this an important service to letters. "He stood up manfully," says Mr Macaulay, "against those who wished to make Trinity

[2] Strype, Parker, Book III. chap. iii. and Append. No. xxxix.
[3] Ibid. Append. No. xliv. [4] See Lett. I. page 397.

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college a mere appendage to Westminster school, and by this act.... saved the noblest place of education in England from the degrading fate of King's college and New college[1]."

The college required a strong hand to govern it. So eager a spirit of opposition to the habits was roused that one Sunday, in the master's absence, sermons having been preached against the surplice, all the members, only three excepted, appeared that evening in the chapel without their surplices. Thomas Cartwright was a principal leader in this movement. He was a Hertfordshire man, born about 1535, and was now fellow of Trinity. And, when Whitgift resigned the regius professorship, and was succeeded by Chaderton, Margaret professor, Cartwright was appointed to the vacant place. His position in his college and in the university gave him considerable influence; which he unsparingly used for the furtherance of his principles. This Whitgift laboured to oppose both by private expostulation and more public discourses. And at length, when Cartwright as Margaret professor had maintained in his lectures opinions utterly irreconcilable with the government and order of the church of England as it was settled, formal proceedings were instituted against him. He was refused the degree of D.D., suspended from lecturing, and finally, having appeared, Dec. 11, 1570, before Whitgift (now vice-chancellor) and other heads, he was, as he would make no concession, deprived of his professorship, and inhibited from preaching within the jurisdiction of the university[2]. He was subsequently, in Sept. 1572, expelled from Trinity, as he was not in priest's orders according to the statutes. Whitgift announces this to archbishop Parker in a letter dated Sept. 21 of that year, in which he declares that had he been aware of the true state of the case he would sooner have removed Cartwright. He is, he goes on, "flatly perjured; and I am verily persuaded that it is God's just judgment that he should for not being minister be so punished, which hath so greatly defaced the ministry, God often so disposing, that the sin is visible in the punishment[3]."

Cartwright was evidently a man of considerable attain-

[1] Macaulay's Essay on Lord Bacon, Edinburgh Review, July 1837.

[2] Strype, Annals, Vol. I. chap. lvii.; Whitgift, Book I. chap. iv. and Append. No. ix.

[3] Id. Whitgift, Book I. chap. viii.

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ments, and had become very popular in Cambridge, insomuch that several members of the university interceded with the chancellor on his behalf, commending his character, his piety, and learning in the highest terms[4]; it is apprehended, however, that few even of those who favoured his cause could approve of his using the influence of his professor's chair to attack the constitution of the church, or could avoid blaming his pertinacious holding to his fellowship in defiance of the statutes which he had sworn to observe. Whitgift charged him also with offending against the oath he had taken to obey the master of his college. Submissive and obedient he unquestionably had not been, and a jealous opposition grew up between the two, Cartwright regarding Whitgift as his personal enemy, and Whitgift, whose temper was quick, stung by the taunts with which he was assailed. Boast was made that Cartwright's offer of disputation was declined. But the fact was, as it is proved by documentary evidence, that he had himself refused Whitgift's challenge; and this he confessed at the time when he was deprived of his professorship[5].

In 1571 Whitgift, having resigned his former licence from the university to preach, received another, and was constituted one of the university preachers. Oct. 31, in the same year, he had a dispensation from the archbishop of Canterbury to hold an additional piece of preferment. A convocation meeting soon after, he preached the Latin sermon at its opening, from Acts xv. 6, touching upon the institution of synods, the enemies of the church, puritans and papists, on the garments and ornaments used in the church, and on things requiring reformation[6]. And next year, being dean of Lincoln (in which dignity he was installed, Aug. 2, 1571), he was chosen, May 14, 1572, prolocutor of the lower house. Troubled as he had been in Cambridge, he had now serious thoughts of quitting the place. But, his design becoming known, several of the heads wrote, Sept. 28, 1572, to the chancellor, Cecil, expressive of their sense of Whitgift's merit, and of the loss the university would sustain if he were to retire. His purpose was therefore, it seems, abandoned.

At this time he was engaged upon the Admonition contro-

[4] Id. Annals, Vol. II. Book I. chap. i. and Append. Nos. i. ii. iii.
[5] Id. Whitgift, Book I. chap. iv. Conf. Vol. III. page 467.
[6] Id. Parker, Book IV. chap. v.

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versy. This notorious work comprised two parts or treatises; and there were appended to it a letter from Gualter to bishop Parkhurst of Norwich, and another from Beza to Grindal bishop of London. It was printed without an author's name, but was understood to have been written by John Field and Thomas Wilcocks, who were thereupon committed to Newgate. Though called an Admonition to the Parliament it was never presented to that assembly, but was dispersed through the kingdom with great zeal, several editions being speedily printed. It was followed up by another similar piece entitled A Second Admonition to the Parliament; written it is supposed by Cartwright himself. The mischief that such a book as the Admonition was likely to do was thought by archbishop Parker to require an immediate remedy. He therefore made choice of Dr Whitgift to compose an answer. Before this was published, one Mr Norton, a learned clergyman and friend of Whitgift, wrote an earnest letter dissuading him from a public reply; not because he approved the Admonition, which was, he said, "fond, and with unreasonableness and unseasonableness" had "hindered much good and done much harm," but because he thought that if let alone the matter would die quietly, whereas a controversy would exasperate men's minds, and give pleasure to the papists. This letter was dated Oct. 20, 1572, and received an answer from Whitgift, Oct. 25, meeting his friend's objections, and explaining at length the reasons why he felt compelled to come forward. The subject could not be stifled: it was of too serious a cast to be passed over; Whitgift himself, who had been slandered as shrinking from a defence of his principles, was bound to shew that he was ready to maintain them; and, besides, the plain setting forth of truth in opposition to error must be productive of good. These arguments had their weight with Norton, especially when he saw that the Admonitionists were not inclined to be quiet, but were pouring out their books. This he expressed to the archbishop in a letter dated Jan. 16, 1572-3.[1]

Whitgift's Answer was completed before this last date. In the progress of it he had been careful to obtain the judgment of the archbishop, and had also consulted, among others, Cooper bishop of Lincoln, and Dr Perne. A second and enlarged edition appeared in the course of the year 1573.

[1] Id. Whitgift, Book I. chap. vi.; Parker, Book IV. chap. xii.

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The publication of this book was of course very unpalatable to the movement party; and Cartwright, smarting from his recent expulsion from Trinity, set himself to produce a Reply. Of this two editions appeared, the later slightly differing from the first. Personal pique against Whitgift is everywhere visible in it; and though a man of learning he falls into several errors; for which his removal from the university and from his books may perhaps in some degree account. The Reply was received with favour by his friends; and the writer was harboured and made much of in the city of London.

Whitgift, however, immediately employed himself on the Defence of his Answer, which appeared early in 1574, and in which the whole matter is thoroughly sifted and discussed. To this Cartwright rejoined in his Second Reply, which came out in 1575, with a second part in 1577: of these Whitgift took no notice. The higher offices of the church were now opening to him; and there were fresh champions ready to defend the cause. Such were, among others, Bancroft and Hooker.

In 1572 Whitgift had resigned his living of Teversham, in 1573-4 he served again the office of vice-chancellor, and in 1576 he was nominated to succeed Nicholas Bullingham in the see of Worcester. His great anxiety on leaving the university was to recommend a fit person as his successor. He had fixed his eye on Mr Howland; but the post had been already destined for Dr Still, master of St John's, into whose place Howland came. Of Whitgift's administration of Trinity there will doubtless be different opinions according to the view taken of the principles on which he acted. But the eulogium passed upon him by his early biographer, Sir George Paule, may not unfittingly find a place here: "As the causes he dealt in were always just, so his success was ever prosperous; wherein his singular wisdom was to be noted, and his courage and stoutness in his attempts were observed of the greatest; and the general fame thereof remaineth yet fresh in the university, and will continue as his badge and cognizance, so long as his memory lasteth. And yet that stoutness of his was so well tempered, and mingled with his other virtue of mildness and patience, that Master Hooker made this true observation of him: 'He always governed with that mode-

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ration, which useth by patience to suppress boldness, and to make them conquer that suffer,' which I think, well suited with his posy or motto: *Vincit qui patitur*[1]." He had ever kept a strict and careful eye over the students of his house, attending their public disputations, and generally dining and supping in the college hall, and also being present at prayers; so that an evident improvement was noted in the period of his mastership. He took leave of the university with a sermon at St Mary's, in which he earnestly counselled peace: he also preached a farewell discourse in the chapel of Trinity college, from 2 Cor. xiii. 11, in which his pathetic exhortations moved his auditors to tears.

He was consecrated bishop of Worcester, April 21, 1577, at Lambeth, and proceeded to his diocese the following June, being attended out of Cambridge by the heads and a large body of the students. The queen remitted to the new prelate his first-fruits, and eventually gave him during his incumbency the disposal of the prebends of the cathedral. After he had been in the see about a year he was made vice-president of the marches of Wales, Sir Henry Sidney, the lord president, being at that time lord deputy of Ireland. His administration in this office was strictly pure and upright, and seems to have given much satisfaction to the people. His credit with the sovereign was evident in that she intended him for the see of Canterbury, Grindal the primate being then under her displeasure and not indisposed to resign. Whitgift, however, distinctly refused to step into his place during his life-time. But, a vacancy occurring by the archbishop's death, July 6, 1583, the bishop of Worcester was nominated to succeed him, and was confirmed Sept. 23, in the same year.

The history of Whitgift becomes now the history of the church of England, and in some degree the history of the country. For, as primate, high in the queen's favour, made a privy-councillor, Feb. 1586, he was necessarily more or less involved in most of the public matters of the time. Indeed it is asserted that, on the death of Sir Thomas Bromeley the lord chancellor, the queen was desirous of conferring his office upon the archbishop. But from this he excused himself. It is evident from what has just been said that the present brief sketch cannot pretend to follow with any degree of

[1] Sir G. Paule's Life of Whitgift, Lond. 1699, pp. 24, 5.

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minuteness the remaining years of the archbishop's life. The writer must content himself with giving some slight notice of a few occurrences which may serve somewhat to illustrate his principles and course of action.

It would be unjust to Whitgift to pass over his noble remonstrance to the queen against the alienation of church-property; which seems to have been made, though the exact time is uncertain, shortly before his accession to the primacy. An act had been passed, it is Isaac Walton who relates the story[2], entrusting the power over church-lands to the crown. This power was abused by the earl of Leicester; "and, the bishop (says Walton) having by his interest with her majesty put a stop to the earl's sacrilegious designs, they two fell to an open opposition before her; after which they both quitted the room, not friends in appearance. But the bishop made a sudden and a seasonable return to her majesty (for he found her alone) and spake to her with great humility and reverence, to this purpose:

"'I beseech your majesty to hear me with patience, and to believe that your's and the church's safety are dearer to me than my life, but my conscience dearer than both; and therefore give me leave to do my duty, and tell you that princes are deputed nursing-fathers of the church, and owe it a protection; and therefore God forbid that you should be so much as passive in her ruins, when you may prevent it; or that I should behold it without horror and detestation, or should forbear to tell your majesty of the sin and danger of sacrilege. And, though you and myself were born in an age of frailties, when the primitive piety and care of the church's lands and immunities are much decayed, yet, madam, let me beg that you would first consider that there are such sins as profaneness and sacrilege; and that, if there were not, they could not have names in holy writ, and particularly in the new testament. And I beseech you to consider that, though our Saviour said he "judged no man"—and to testify it would not judge nor divide the inheritance betwixt the two brethren, nor would judge the woman taken in adultery—yet in this point of the church's rights he was so zealous, that he made himself both the accuser, and the judge, and the executioner too, to punish these sins; witnessed, in that he himself

[2] Walton, Life of Hooker.

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made the whip to drive the profaners out of the temple, overthrew the tables of the money-changers, and drove them out of it. And I beseech you to consider, that it was St Paul that said to those Christians of his time that were offended with idolatry, yet committed sacrilege: "Thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege?" supposing, I think, sacrilege the greater sin. This may occasion your majesty to consider that there is such a sin as sacrilege; and, to incline you to prevent the curse that will follow it, I beseech you also to consider that Constantine the first christian emperor, and Helena his mother, that king Edgar, and Edward the Confessor, and indeed many others of your predecessors, and many private Christians, have also given to God, and to his church, much land, and many immunities, which they might have given to those of their own families, and did not; but gave them for ever as an absolute right and sacrifice to God; and with these immunities and lands they have entailed a curse upon the alienators of them: God prevent your majesty from being liable to that curse, which will cleave unto church-lands, as the leprosy to the Jews.

"'And, to make you that are trusted with their preservation the better to understand the danger of it, I beseech you, forget not that, to prevent these curses, the church's land and power have been also endeavoured to be preserved (as far as human reason and the law of this nation have been able to preserve them) by an immediate and most sacred obligation on the consciences of the princes of this realm. For they that consult *Magna Charta* shall find that, as all your predecessors were at their coronation, so you also were sworn before all the nobility and bishops then present, and in the presence of God, and in his stead to him that anointed you, "to maintain the church-lands, and the rights belonging to it," and this you yourself have testified openly to God at the holy altar, by laying your hands on the bible then lying upon it. And not only *Magna Charta*, but many modern statutes, have denounced a curse upon those that break *Magna Charta*, a curse like the leprosy that was entailed on the Jews; for, as that, so these curses have and will cleave to the very stones of those buildings that have been consecrated to God; and the father's sin of sacrilege hath and will prove to be entailed on his son and family. And now, madam, what account can be

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given for the breach of this oath at the last great day, either by your majesty, or by me, if it be wilfully or but negligently violated, I know not. And therefore, good madam, let not the late lord's exceptions against the failings of some few clergymen prevail with you to punish posterity for the errors of this present age; let particular men suffer for their particular errors, but let God and his church have their inheritance; and, though I pretend not to prophecy, yet I beg posterity to take notice of what is already become visible in many families; that church-land added to an ancient and just inheritance hath proved like a moth fretting a garment, and secretly consumed both, or like the eagle that stole a coal from the altar, and thereby set her nest on fire, which consumed both her young eagles, and herself that stole it. And, though I shall forbear to speak reproachfully of your father, yet I beg you to take notice that a part of the church's rights, added to the vast treasure left him by his father, hath been conceived to bring an unavoidable consumption upon both, notwithstanding all his diligence to preserve them. And consider that, after the violation of those laws, to which he had sworn in *Magna Charta*, God did so far deny him his restraining grace, that, as king Saul after he was forsaken of God fell from one sin to another, so he, till at last he fell into greater sins than I am willing to mention.

"'Madam, religion is the foundation and cement of human societies; and, when they that serve at God's altar shall be exposed to poverty, then religion itself will be exposed to scorn, and become contemptible; as you may already observe it to be in too many poor vicarages in this nation. And therefore, as you are by a late act or acts of parliament entrusted with a great power to preserve or waste the church's lands, yet dispose of them, for Jesus' sake, as you have promised to men, and vowed to God, that is, as the donors intended: let neither falsehood nor flattery beguile you to do otherwise; but put a stop to God's and the Levite's portion, I beseech you, and to the approaching ruins of his church, as you expect comfort at the last great day; for kings must be judged. Pardon this affectionate plainness, my most dear sovereign, and let me beg to be still continued in your favour; and the Lord shall continue you in his.'"

The archbishop's patronage of Hooker must not be forgotten. After Hooker became master of the Temple, his

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doctrine was excepted against by Walter Travers, afternoon lecturer there. Travers' complaint with Hooker's answer, and the judgment of the archbishop, may be seen in Hooker's works and his life by Walton. But the learned master of the Temple grew afterwards into continually higher repute with those best able to appreciate his character and attainments. He stepped forward as the worthiest champion to defend the church of England from the unkind attacks made upon her, confuting Cartwright's assertions in his Second Reply, and producing with the favour of the archbishop the immortal books of his Ecclesiastical Polity; the fifth of which, appearing in 1597, was prefaced by a graceful dedication to Whitgift; of whose part in the controversy the following notice by one in name and blood near to the archbishop's martyred predecessor deserves to be remembered: "At first the greatest part of the learned in the land were either eagerly affected or favourably inclined that way. The books then written for the most part savoured of the disciplinary style: it sounded everywhere in pulpits, and in the common phrase of men's speech: the contrary part began to fear they had taken a wrong course: many which impugned the discipline yet so impugned it, not as not being the better form of government, but as not so convenient for our state, in regard of dangerous innovations thereby likely to grow: one man alone there was to speak of (whom let no suspicion of flattery deprive of his deserved commendation), who in the diffidence of the one part and courage of the other stood in the gap, and gave others respite to prepare themselves to their defence, which by the sudden eagerness and violence of their adversaries had otherwise been prevented; wherein God hath made good unto him his own impress, *Vincit qui patitur;* for what contumelious indignities he hath at their hands sustained the world is witness; and what reward of honour above his adversaries God hath bestowed upon him, themselves (though nothing glad thereof) must needs confess[1]."

For an account of the "Orders" of the archbishop in regard to Bullinger's Decades, reference may be made to the biographical notice of Bullinger prefixed to the Parker Society edition of the Decades, pp. xxviii., &c., and to the last page of addenda to that work.

Some notice must be taken of what are called the

[1] George Cranmer's Letter unto Mr Richard Hooker, February, 1598.

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"Lambeth Articles," with which Whitgift's name is popularly coupled. Certain proceedings were taken against Mr Barrett, fellow of Caius college, Cambridge, for a sermon delivered by him at St Mary's; and after some time the archbishop sanctioned certain articles which he transmitted to the university, and desired might not be impugned[2]. Dr Baro, Margaret professor of divinity, also became involved in the controversy, and incurred the archbishop's censure. But shortly after the articles were sent to Cambridge the queen was informed of them, and instructed Sir Robert Cecil to express her disapprobation in a letter dated Dec. 5, 1595[3]. The archbishop wrote therefore immediately to Dr Nevile, master of Trinity, to forbid their publication[4]. But it would seem that he received a personal reprimand also from Elizabeth. For Andrew Bing, in a letter to Dr Samuel Ward, master of Sidney college, dated Nov. 3, 1626, gives the following account of the matter. Having stated that Baro had complained to lord Burghley as chancellor, he goes on: "My lord treasurer (who did much stomach my lord of Canterbury his greatness and power in Cambridge) took occasion to represent to the queen the archbishop's boldness in taking upon him to determine of articles of religion in a private conventicle held in his own conclave at Lambeth, never so much as once acquainting her majesty with it, and withal opened unto the queen how that he had hereby transgressed, besides rules of duty and good manners, the statute of submission of the clergy made 25 Henry VIII., whereby the clergy stand bound to the crown *in verbo sacerdotii* neither to assemble themselves, nor being assembled so much as to debate of publishing any canon or article of religion, before they shall be assembled by the king's writ, and thereby authorized to treat of points of religion, and obtain the king's royal assent thereunto, before they do enact, put in ure, or promulge the same, upon pain of fine

[2] The editor is indebted to the master and fellows of Trinity college for the loan of a curious MS. from their library, containing copies of a great number of letters and other documents relating to this matter. The volume appears to have been written for the archbishop's own use, his arms impaled with those of the see of Canterbury being on the cover. Among its contents is a brief summary by Whitgift himself of what occurred in Barrett's case (see Vol. III. page 614). There is also a copy of the articles with the judgment of the archbishop of York (Hutton) upon them (see pages 612, 13).

[3] Strype, Whitgift, Book IV. chap. xvii. [4] See pages 615-17.

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or imprisonment at will during the pleasure of the prince. All this (I suppose) my lord Burghley did not at Dr Baro's instigation (who I think was not so learned in our English statutes), but out of his own judgment, to help the archbishop to a knock for meddling in his peculiar jurisdiction of the university. The archbishop was thereupon sent for by the queen, and shrewdly shent and rebuked by her. Whereupon he sent post to Cambridge to fetch back that copy of articles which was a little before (even a very few days) recommended by him unto every head of a college, with special direction not to press the embracing them upon any of their societies, whereunto they were formerly enjoined by him. It was my hap to be at Lambeth with my lord when this business was in agitation[1]." The writer goes on to say that he heard the archbishop express himself in angry terms against Dr Baro, for so presuming, especially as being a foreigner, to disturb the peace of the church.

Whitgift has been accused of intolerance; and it cannot be denied that his exertions to enforce conformity were not in accordance with the principles of our own times. Indeed Burghley himself addressed a remonstrance to him. But in order to form a proper judgment of his conduct we must recollect that no party would have been then content to allow others the free exercise of their own form of religion, the struggle being not for toleration but for dominant power, and that the archbishop knew and with prophetic sagacity expressed his conviction that the triumph of the puritans would be the downfal of church and state[2]. We must consider also the temper manifested by many of them in their writings. Goaded they unquestionably were by what they deemed unjust and antichristian treatment; so that we can hardly wonder that in an age when controversialists had not learned to study courtesy of speech the bitterest reproaches were heaped upon the bishops. But this will not excuse the tone of the Mar-prelate writers. And their virulence naturally sharpened the resentment of those whom they attacked. Whitgift as the primate was especially aimed at. For, while the bishops generally were called the "bishops of the devil," he was styled "Beelzebub of Canterbury, the chief of the

[1] MSS. Bodl. 290 Tann. clxvii. 82.

[2] See Vol. II. page 264.

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devils," an "ambitious wretch," sitting "upon his cogging stool which may truly be called the chair of pestilence[3]." Is it marvellous that the archbishop should use the authority the law gave him against these foul-mouthed revilers? Such venom would now injure those only who employed it, and the intemperance of its advocates would infix a brand upon even a good cause. We may be thankful for the change, but we must not too severely judge those who lived in different times and acted under perfectly different circumstances.

Cartwright, though he manifested a sourness of temper, did not descend to the ribald abuse just noted. And, though it is impossible here to give even a sketch of his history, it may be added that there is reason to believe that towards the close of life the two opponents entertained more kindly feelings for each other. The archbishop, contrary to the queen's wishes, shewed Cartwright some favour, which the latter acknowledged, in a letter dated March 24, 1601, to have "proceeded from a frank disposition, without any desert of his own." And "when he was freed from his troubles he often repaired to the archbishop, who used him kindly, and was contented to tolerate his preaching in Warwick divers years, upon his promise that he would not impugn the laws, orders, and government in this church of England[4]." Cartwright died about two months before Whitgift.

The archbishop was highly esteemed by queen Elizabeth, who is said to have called him her "little black husband," and who expressed the satisfaction she had in devolving her clergy cares upon him. She not unfrequently dined with him at Lambeth; and then he usually the next day dined with the inmates of the alms-house he had endowed at Croydon; "at which time," says Isaac Walton, "you may believe there was joy at the table."

The archbishop attended his royal mistress on her death-bed; and placed the crown upon the heads of king James and queen Anne, at Westminster, July 25, 1603. His days were, however, now drawing to their close. He was present at the famous Hampton Court Conference, a full account of which

[3] A Dialegve. wherin is plainly laide open the tyrannicall dealing of L. Bishopps against Gods children: &c. No place or date, foll. C. 3, 4.

[4] Sir G. Paule's Life of Whitgift, p. 71.

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was written by Dr Barlow[1]. He argued with much force against the puritan objections; but his exclamation, that "undoubtedly his majesty spake by the special assistance of God's Spirit," cannot be justified. The conference was held Jan. 14, 16, 18, 1604. Soon afterwards he took cold by going in his barge to Fulham to meet some of the bishops and others on church affairs. On the following Sunday, however, he was at Whitehall, and had some discourse with the king. But, on leaving his majesty at 1 o'clock to go to dinner, he was seized with a paralytic stroke, which disabled his right side and deprived him of speech. He was immediately carried into an apartment by the lord chancellor, the bishop of London, and others, and afterwards conveyed to Lambeth. On the following Tuesday the king came to visit him, and said "that he should beg him of God in his prayer; which if he could obtain, he should think it one of the greatest temporal blessings that could be given him in this kingdom." The dying prelate attempted to reply; but all that could be understood was, *pro ecclesia Dei, pro ecclesia Dei.* After the king's departure he made signs for ink and paper; but after two or three trials he found he could not hold the pen, and with a sigh lay down. The next day, at 8 P.M., Feb. 28, 1604, he expired. He was solemnly buried at Croydon, March 27, Dr Babington, bishop of Worcester, preaching the funeral sermon from 2 Chron. xxiv. 15, 16. Sir Henry Wotton's character of him was that "he was a man of a reverend and sacred memory, and of the primitive temper—a man of such a temper as when the church by lowliness of spirit did flourish in highest examples of virtue."

The archbishop's learning was considerable. He had not indeed the vast erudition of Jewel, but he was fully competent to cope with Cartwright, who, with a flowing style, in which Whitgift was deficient, gave evident tokens that his reading though extensive was not digested, and by his continual *petitiones principii* provoked the choler of his antagonist[2]. Whitgift possessed good sterling sense, which told strongly in

[1] See Barlow's Sum and Substance of the Conference, &c. in The Phenix, Lond. 1707—8. Vol. I. pp. 139, &c.

[2] Dr Whitaker, a competent judge, declared of Cartwright: "As for words, indeed he hath store of them, both trim and fresh enough; but, as for matter, he hath none at all."—Sir G. Paule's Life of Whitgift, p. 21.

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opposition to Cartwright's declamatory power. And he evinced a moderation which some will be disposed to censure. For he admits that the church may have had originally the right of determining how it would be governed, and argues that, as it determined to be governed by bishops, that government ought to be maintained consistently with soundness of doctrine and the rights of the christian magistrate. Higher ground than this has often been taken. But none can be insensible to the service which Whitgift did to the church at that juncture; and few will be inclined to deny that he well paved the way for those who were to follow him.

Sir G. Paule describes the archbishop as of a middle stature, strong, and well-shaped, of a grave countenance and brown complexion, black hair and eyes, his beard neither long nor thick.

The works of archbishop Whitgift were:

1. "An answere to a certen Libel intituled, An admonition to the Parliament, London," 1572. A second edition with considerable additions appeared in 1573.

2. "The Defense of the Aunswere to the Admonition, against the Replie of T. C." Of this there were at least two impressions, but the date is the same, 1574.

3. "A godlie Sermon preched before the Queenes Maiestie at Grenevviche the 26. of March last past." London, 1574.

4. Several unpublished works enumerated among the MSS. Angliæ, &c.

No. 9786, containing theses or determinations, probably read in the schools as divinity professor.

9787, Lectures on the Apocalypse, delivered as Margaret professor.

These two MSS., formerly belonging to Dr More, bishop of Norwich, are now in the Library of the University of Cambridge.

7202, A volume of state papers, among which are some of the archbishop's letters. This was in the Library of Canterbury cathedral.

8716, Prælections on the Apocalypse; probably identical with 9787.

8717, Disputations in the schools; perhaps the same as 9786.

8718, Notes on various places of Scripture.

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To these may be added,

8813, The Statutes of Croydon.

5. Various letters, articles, injunctions, &c., &c., preserved in the British Museum, and elsewhere; many of which have been printed by Strype and others.

The present edition of the archbishop's works contains

1. The Defence, which embodies in its original form nearly the whole of the Answer to the Admonition. There have been added in appropriate places all the omitted portions, together with the augmentations in the second edition of the Answer; so as to present the whole of the author's arguments. The edition followed has been the later book of 1574, the Answer, the Reply, both editions, and the Admonition being collated.

2. Two sermons, the one preached at Greenwich; the other in the imperfect form of notes or heads, as preserved by Strype.

3. Some of the archbishop's letters, accompanied by two documents. It is but a few out of the great mass of such documents still existing, either printed or in manuscript, that are here given. Those selected for the most part either illustrate the controversy with Cartwright, or supply information in regard to the Lambeth Articles. It is true that there are several others on these two topics which do not appear here; the printing of them would have demanded the printing also of letters addressed to Whitgift, without which they would be unintelligible. There are many other letters, &c., which have been in like manner passed over. Some persons may be disposed to blame the editor for the omission of certain supposed to be important. He is well aware that a selection is hardly ever satisfactory. But, if it be urged that all the pieces that could be found from Whitgift's pen should have been included in this edition, he must reply that such a collection would have demanded another volume, which, as the Parker Society is closing its operations, it was impossible to give. The editor under these circumstances had but to choose between the exclusion of all Whitgift's letters, and the introduction of a few specimens. Nos. I—VI. have been given from the originals, VII, X, from the archbishop's Register at Lambeth, VIII, IX, with the annexed documents from the Trinity MS., and XI. is reprinted from Strype.

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4. From the MS. containing theses portions of two or three have been extracted. Others are upon such topics as the following: *De Maleficis, Politicæ leges de rebus mediis nihil detrahunt christianæ libertati, Pro conjugio sacerdotum argumenta ex scriptura, Papa est antichristus, Panis et vini substantia manet in eucharistia, Unius scripturæ loci unus est proprius sensus, Contra sacrificium missæ, De Sanctorum invocatione.*

5. Of the Lectures on the Apocalypse the closing paragraphs have been given.

The MS. containing Notes on Scripture has not been traced.

A work has been more than once referred to, see Vol. II. pages 106, 9, 12, 13; Vol. III. pages 289, 90, of which, judging from what is said in the place last mentioned, it would seem that Whitgift must have been the author. The editor has made diligent enquiry in various quarters, but has been unable to ascertain whether it was ever printed, or is in any shape still in existence.

To several friends acknowledgments are due for valuable suggestions. The editor would also express his sense of obligation to the master and fellows of Trinity college, Cambridge, for the loan of a MS., to the rev. Dr Bandinel, librarian of the Bodleian, Oxford, for access to that noble collection, and to the treasurer of the Inner Temple, London, for his kind permission to collate a letter of archbishop Whitgift, preserved in the library there.

April, 1854.

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CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

Vol. I. p. 445, note 4, and p. 464, note 6, *for* ccxxiii. *read* ccxiii.

Vol. III. p. 46, note 4. The passage intended is: Ubi fomenta fidei et scripturarum interlectione?—Tertull. Op. Franek. 1597. Ad Uxor. Lib. II. 6. p. 176.

p. 62, note 1, *for* note 5, *read* note 6.

p. 65, note 10, *for* note 2, *read* note 3.

p. 448, note 3, l. 2, *insert* Conf.

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¶ What kind of preaching is most effectual.

Tract. XI.

The First Division.

Admonition.

The fifteenth and sixteenth.

[n] 1 Pet. v. 2. Then [n] feeding the flock diligently; now teaching quarterly:
[o] 1 Tim. iv. 2. then preaching [o] in season and out of season; now once in a month is thought sufficient[2]; if twice, it is judged a work of supererogation.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 82, Sect. ult; and Page 83, and Page 84, Sect. 1.

These be but words of pleasure: God be thanked there be ministers (and such as you mislike of) which feed their flocks diligently, and preach in time and out of time, according both to St Peter's and St Paul's meaning.

Who teacheth best.

But you must understand that he doth not always feed the best, nor take the greatest pains, which preacheth most often, but he that preacheth most learnedly, most pithily, most orderly, most discreetly, most to edifying.

One learned sermon better than many unlearned.

It may be that he that[3] preacheth but once in the month taketh more pains for his sermon, hath more pith and learning in his sermon, edifieth more by his sermon, than you do for all your sermons, in all your sermons, or by all the sermons that you make in the whole year, be they never so many. For what is it to preach every day, and to spend the time with words only, or with bitter invectives against certain trifles, and against superiors? Such sermons do not edify, but destroy, do not work in the hearts of the hearers faith and charity, but either contempt of religion, or else contempt of superiors, contempt of good orders, yea, hatred, malice, undiscreet wrath coloured with a pretence of zeal. Truly such sermons seldom or never work any good effect: many women in London could on that sort occupy the time. Wherefore I am fully persuaded that he cometh nearer to the fulfilling of the mind of

Frivolous and contentious sermons.

[1 2 Tim. iv. 2. Adm.] [2 Is thought of some sufficient, Adm.]
[3 Which, Answ. and Def. A.]

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the apostle, which, diligently studying and labouring continually for knowledge, doth orderly, learnedly, and effectually preach once in the month, than such as, backbiting at other men's tables, running all the day long up and down the streets, seldom or never studying, do negligently, unorderly, verbally (if I may so term it) preach every day twice. And yet I know the oftener a man doth preach (the former circumstances being considered) the better it is. But of every one it will be required according to his talent; and not he that speaketh most, but laboureth most to speak, not he that preacheth most often, but that preacheth most painfully, truly, and diligently, shall in that day be best accepted.

That learned and ancient father, M. Whithead[1], hath sundry times lamented in my hearing (and I think there be other of his friends hath heard the same) the loose, frivolous, and unprofitable preaching of divers ministers in London. And I would to God it were better looked unto; then I think verily we should have less contention and more religion.

T. C. Page 123, Sect. 1.

Here M. Doctor would fain (as it seemeth), if he durst, interpret diligent preaching, and preaching in season and out of season, to be preaching once a month. But, because he dare not say so directly, he compasseth it about, and first putteth the case of one preaching twice a day verbally, and with small substance of matter, and of another preaching but once in a month, and doth it pithily, and orderly, and discreetly; and concludeth that such a sermon once in a month is nearer the mind of the apostle than all those other sermons made twice every day; and yet the case is not so clear as he maketh it. For, granting that those (which he calleth verbal sermons) have some goodness and edifying, it must be very simple and slender meat which is not better being given every day than the best and daintiest meat once only in a month. For with the one a man may live, although he be not liking, with the other he, being once fed, is afterward famished. But how if the case be put that the monthly and long-laboured sermons, as they are called, have as little, and less, good wholesome doctrine in them than the sermons which are preached every day. Assuredly for the most of those that go so long with a sermon, and which I know, and have heard, when they come to bring it forth, bring forth oftentimes more wind and unprofitable matter than any good and timely fruit, or wholesome substantial doctrine. And no

[1 Some account of Whithead may be seen in Strype, Cranmer, Lib. II. chap. xxviii.]

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marvel; for therein the word of God is fulfilled which declareth that the talents of God's gifts and grace are increased by continual use and laying out of them, and of the other side diminished, and in the end taken quite away, when as they are suffered to lie so long rusting, as[2] it were digged in the ground.

Matt. xxv. 22, 23, &c.[3]

JO. WHITGIFT.

M. Doctor's words be plain; your dealing with them cannot obscure them: that which I have spoken of verbal sermons is notoriously known to be true. What I have said of monthly sermons, I refer to other men's judgment. The similitude betwixt the external meat that feedeth the body, and the word of God that feedeth the soul, doth fail in many things, and especially in these; that the meat of the body remaineth not in the stomach, but passeth through; the word of God continueth and endureth in the mind for ever. The meat of the body, the better it is digested, the lesser while it doth continue: the word of God, the better it is understood and remembered, the longer it remaineth. The meat of the body once taken serveth but for the present time, be it never so good and wholesome: the word of God once preached and faithfully received doth nourish and feed continually; therefore one learned, effectual, orderly sermon, preached once in a month, containeth more nourishment in it, feedeth longer, worketh more in the hearts of the hearers, edifieth more, than all the unorderly and verbal sermons, I might also add contentious, that some preach in one whole year. But you compare the word of God and the nutriment of the body together in most grossest manner, and in that wherein they are nothing like.

There is not the like reason of external and spiritual food.

What you think of "those monthly and long-laboured sermons" (as you call them) it skilleth not much, for you are in a heat, which hindereth true judgment. But I would have you, and all other to understand that this which I speak of monthly sermons, I speak it in comparison, and not that I would have a man that is otherwise able to preach but once in a month. I have shewed the contrary in my Answer. Every man shall render an account of his labour according to his talent. Wherefore you and your company, which are so greatly delighted in spreading false rumours of other men, and seek to win credit unto yourselves by defaming of them,

[2] Rusting and as, Repl. 1 and 2.]
[3] This reference is inserted from Repl. 2.]

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shall answer one day to God and to me, for the great injury you have done me in that behalf. If it were lawful for me to boast of myself, I might justly say, and prove it, that I have preached as many sermons as the most of you: God forgive me for my boasting; but you compel me. Well, I confess that I have done no more than I ought to have done; and I beseech God to grant me no longer life, or joy in this world, than I desire to be vigilant and profitable in his church. I would not be dumb and without a function as you are, and upon that occasion, for all the goods in England; for surely if those that preach not, being able and once called thereunto, shall have an hard judgment, what shall become of such as not only not preach themselves, but deface other men that preach, by backbiting and slandering, and spreading abroad false rumours upon them, to discredit both their persons and doctrine, and with sects and schisms rent in pieces the church of Christ, and violently pluck down whatsoever other men have builded? O T. C., these things would be considered in time!

The Second Division.

T. C. Page 123, Sect. 2.

And here M. Doctor taketh occasion to utter his stomach against London, flinging of one side against the women, of the other side against the ministers, whose diligence, because it maketh M. Doctor's negligence more to appear as a dark and a duskish[1] *colour matched with that which is clear and lightsome, he doth go about to deface with the untrue and slanderous surmise of loose, negligent and unprofitable preaching. If there be some one such or two in London, it is too great injury therefore to charge indefinitely the company of the ministers of London. Besides that, M. Doctor doth not see how first he accuseth the bishop, or ever he be aware, both in ordaining such ministers, and not in reforming them, being so far out of order, and then the archbishop, which doth not require this disorder at the bishop's hand, since (as he saith) this is so godly*[2] *and heavenly an order to have one bishop over many ministers, and one archbishop over divers bishops; and, if we shall esteem the pithiness and fastness of preaching by the fruits, as by the knowledge and fear of God in the people of London, and by faithful and true hearts toward*[3] *the prince and the realm, I think that that, which he termeth "frivolous, loose, and unprofitable preaching," will fall out to be weightier and to leave a deeper print behind them than those monthly sermons which he speaketh of, and*

[1 And duskish, Repl. 1, 2, and Def. A.] [2 Goodly, Repl. 1 and 2.]
[3 Towards, Repl. 1 and 2.]

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the ministers of London better ministers which preach twice a day than those which make the word of God novel and dainties, and, as M. Latimer pleasantly said, strawberries coming only at certain times of[4] *the year*[5].

Jo. Whitgift.

I speak first of the authors of the Admonition. Then I report M. Whithead his saying of divers preachers in London; which if you could have improved, I think you would.

I know there be many grave, learned, wise, and godly preachers in London, which have greatly profited that place, and as instruments have wrought those good effects you speak of, in the hearts of many. But I know also there be some others far unlike unto them in all respects, who by their undiscreet and loose dealing have, as much as lieth in them, wrought the contrary.

If they have been suffered either through the negligence of archbishop or bishop, I excuse neither of them; I think they have good cause to take better heed hereafter.

Touching "the women of London," I have not said anything to their dispraise: I know a number very honest and godly, and I know none that is evil. Only I require that modesty in some of them that beseemeth sober matrons, and women professing the gospel. It is not seemly for a woman to speak in the church, no, not that which is good; much less comely is it for her to scold openly in the streets, or to be a common depraver of others at tables and other meetings.

There is no cause why I should bear "a stomach against London," which place I have always honoured, where I have many friends, to the which I have shewed as many tokens of good-will as any one man of my ability; but, if I admonish some of the citizens, and bid them take heed that they abuse not the gospel to serve their affections, that they make it not a cloke for their contentions, that they wax not weary of it, and desire strange doctrines, that they heap not up such preachers unto themselves as may serve their humours, that they shew themselves more thankful for the gospel the which they have so long received, that they study for peace and quietness, that they grieve not the prince in seeking alterations, by whom they enjoy the pure word of God, true use of

[4 In, Repl. 1 and 2.]
[5 See Bp. Latimer's Works, Park. Soc. Edit. Vol. I. p. 62.]

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his sacraments, and sincere worshipping of him; to be short, if I move them to brotherly love, true obedience to their superiors, and hatred of sects and schisms, whereunto divers of them be too much drawn by such as you are; do I utter my "stomach" against them? If either they or you take it so, then I answer that I "must obey God rather than man," and prefer my prince before all my friends; but this is a piece of your rhetoric, to draw into hatred; which I doubt not the godly will easily espy, and judge of your spirit accordingly.

The Third Division.

Admonition.[1]

Nay, some in the fulness of their blasphemy have said it, that[2] *much preaching bringeth the word of God into contempt, and that four preachers were enough for all London; so far are they from thinking it necessary and seeking that every congregation should have a faithful pastor.* [*Paul was not so wise as these politic men, when he said, we* [a]*cannot believe except we hear, and we cannot hear without a preacher, &c.; seeing we may hear by reading, and so believe without a preacher.*][3]

[a] *Rom. x.* 14.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 167, Sect. 2, 3.

If any have misliked often preaching, or have said "that much preaching bringeth the word of God into contempt," or that "four preachers were enough for all London," they are to be blamed (and that justly), and not the book; for it willeth no man to say so.

Verbal preachers.

But, if any hath said that some of those which use to preach often, by their loose, negligent, verbal, and unlearned sermons, have brought the word of God into contempt, or that four godly, learned, pithy, diligent, and discreet preachers might do more good in London than forty contentious, unlearned, verbal, and rash preachers, they have said truly, and their saying might well be justified. Howbeit, take heed that you slander no man, or unjustly seek the discredit of any, whilst you seek to utter your malice against that godly book. None that favoureth God's word (as I think) denieth that hearing the word of God is the usual and ordinary

[1] Cartwright again departs at pleasure from the order of the Admonition and Answ.]

[2] Have said that, Adm.] [3] This is introduced from Adm. and Answ.]

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means whereby God useth to work faith in us; and that therefore preachers be necessary. [But the place of St Paul, Rom. x., by you alleged derogateth nothing from the reading of the scriptures; and I think no learned man will deny but that faith cometh also by hearing the scriptures read.][4]

T. C. Page 124, Line 10.

Of this thing M. Doctor speaketh again in the 167. *page, but to this effect altogether, and almost in the same words.*

Jo. WHITGIFT.

And yet is there something there that would have been answered, but I take that as granted which is not answered.

The Fourth Division.

Admonition.

The seventeenth and eighteenth.

Then nothing taught but God's word; now princes' pleasures, men's devices, popish ceremonies, and antichristian rites in public pulpits defended. Then they sought[p] *them: now they seek theirs.*

[p] Phil. ii. 20, 21.[5]

Answer to the Admonition, Page 84, Sect. 3, 4, 5.

The church of England slandered by the Admonitors.

It had been well to have let[6] us understand what those "princes' pleasures" be, what "men's devices," what "popish ceremonies," what "antichristian rites;" for now you have but slandered both the prince and the whole state of religion in this church by public authority established; wherefore, until you shew some particulars, this shall be my answer; that *Spiritus Dei neque est mendax, neque mordax:* "The Spirit of God is neither a liar nor a slanderer."

It is but your pleasure thus generally to say that "then pastors sought their flocks: now they seek theirs;" for it is well known that there be pastors which seek their flocks, and not theirs.

Hitherto (thanks be unto God) in all this discourse there is not one piece of false doctrine of any substance ascribed to this church of England by these libellers;

[4] This is inserted from Answ.]
[5] Phil. ii. 20, 23, Adm.]
[6] To let, Def. A. and B.]
[A slander of the church of England, Answ. 2.]

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and therefore it hath (as God will) the first note of the true church of Christ, that is, purity of doctrine.

T. C. Page 124, Line 12.

To the next section, being the rest of the 84. *page, I mind to say nothing, having before spoken of the faults of the ceremonies and rites which are used with us.*

Jo. WHITGIFT.

The Admonition saith that "then nothing was taught but God's word; now princes' pleasures, men's devices, popish ceremonies, and antichristian rites in public pulpits defended;" and will neither you nor they tell us what those "princes' pleasures, &c.," be? well, it is true that followeth in that part of my Answer; for there is nothing said to the contrary.

Admonition.

These and a great many other abuses are in the ministry remaining, which unless they be removed, and the truth brought in, not only God's justice shall be poured forth, but also God's church in this realm shall never be builded. For, if they which seem to be workmen are no workmen in deed, but in name, or else work not so diligently and in such order as the work-master commandeth, it is not only unlikely that the building shall go forward, but altogether impossible that ever it shall be perfited. The way therefore to avoid these inconveniences, and to reform these deformities, is this: your wisdoms have to remove advowsons, patronages, impropriations, and bishops' authority, claiming to themselves thereby right to ordain ministers, and to bring in that old and true election which was accustomed to be [q]*made by the congregation. You must displace those ignorant and unable ministers already placed, and in their rooms appoint such as both can and will, by God's assistance,* [r]*feed the flock. You must pluck down and utterly overthrow, without hope of restitution, the court of faculties; from whence not only licences to enjoy many benefices are obtained, as pluralities, trialities*[2]*, totquots, &c., but all things for the most part, as in the court of Rome, are set on sale, licences to marry, to eat flesh in times prohibited, to lie from benefices and charges, and a great number besides of such like abominations. Appoint to every congregation a learned and diligent preacher. Remove homilies, articles, injunctions, a prescript*[3] *order of service made out of the mass-book. Take away the lordship, the loitering, the pomp, the idleness, and livings of bishops, but yet employ them to such ends as they were in the old church appointed for. Let a lawful and a godly seigniory look that they preach, not quarterly or monthly, but continually; "not for filthy lucre sake, but*

[q] *Acts i. 26. & vi. 2, 3. xiv. 13.*[1]

[r] *1 Pet. v. 2.*

[1] Adm. omits &, and has *xiv. 23.*]

[2] Trialties, Def. B.]

[3] Injunctions and that prescript, Adm.]

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of a ready mind." So God shall be glorified, your consciences discharged, [a] *Acts xx. 28. and the flock of Christ (purchased*[a] *with his own blood) edified.*

Answer to the Admonition, Page 86 and 87, Sect. 1, 2.

What these great abuses by you hitherto alleged be, I trust you do now fully understand. Surely, except such factious libellers, such stirrers up of schisms, such disturbers of the peace of the church, such contemners of those that be in authority, be not only removed, but repressed, God will not only of his justice punish the magistrates of this realm for their carelessness in this behalf, but also God's gospel will therein be as much defaced with factions, schisms, and heresies, as ever it was in the pope's time with superstition and idolatry. For surely these men that would be counted such perfect builders be but underminers and destroyers, and instruments of some greedy-guts and lusty roysters, who, to maintain their pride and jollity, seek for the spoil of the church, and indeed the utter overthrow both of learning and religion.

Discipline necessary.

Libellers be underminers, not builders[4].

For, take from bishops their lands and their authority, let every parish elect their own minister, remove homilies, articles, injunctions, appoint no prescript order of service; that is to say, let there be no order prescribed to any man, no law to direct him or control him, but let every minister do what he list, speak what he list, alter what he list, and so oft as him list; to be short, let every minister be king and pope in his own parish, and exempted from all controlment of bishop, magistrate, and prince, and you shall have as many kinds of religion as there is parishes, as many sects as ministers, and a church miserably torn in pieces with mutability and diversity of opinions.

Confusion.

Do you not see what they shoot at? would they not be free from all magistracy? [☞ Do they not in effect say with the anabaptists, "Christians may have no other magistrates but the ministers of the word?" ☜][5] Do they not most ambitiously desire that themselves which they condemn in other[7], that is lordship and superi-

Anabaptism feared.

Ambition in the Admonitors[6].

[4 Underminers and no builders be libellers, Answ. 2.]
[5 This is inserted from Answ. 2.]
[6 Ambition in the libellers, Answ. 2.] [7 Others, Answ.]

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ority? For who, think you, should be chief in every parish, and direct the rest? surely even the minister. The pope never required greater authority over all Christendom than they seek to have over their parish. The pope and his clergy did never more earnestly seek and desire to be exempted from the jurisdiction of civil magistrates, than these men do both from ecclesiastical and civil. Princes, nobles, and magistrates were never brought into greater servitude and bondage than these men seek to lay upon them.

T. C. Page 124, Sect. 1.

After a number of words without matter, sayings without proofs, accusations without any grounds, or likelihood of grounds, as that they be "instruments of greedy-guts and lusty roysters," to "maintain them in their jollity," which, notwithstanding, speak against patronages, and would have the livings of the church, which are idly and unprofitably spent (for the most part), applied to the right uses of the poor, and of ministers and scholars, and that they would be discharged from civil and ecclesiastical subjection, which, humbly submitting themselves to the queen's majesty, and all those that are sent of her, would deliver the churches, and themselves for the churches' sake, from the unlawful dominion of one, to the end that they might yield themselves, with their churches, subject to the lawful ecclesiastical government of those which God hath appointed in his word— after, I say, a number of such and like accusations, mixed with most bitter and reproachful words, unto all which it is sufficient answer, that quod verbo dictum est verbo sit negatum: *"as easily denied as said."*

Jo. Whitgift.

For proof of all that I have here said I refer myself to common experience, and the like practices in other churches by persons of much like disposition; as the notes in the beginning of the second edition of my Answer to the Admonition doth more at large declare[1].

What that "lawful ecclesiastical government of those which," you say, "God hath appointed in his word," is, and whether it verifieth my saying or no, shall be seen when we come to that part of your Reply. Certain it is that you would transfer both the authority of the prince, archbishop, and bishop, to yourselves and your seniors; for that is "the lawful ecclesiastical government" you mean. And those be the persons whom you think "God to have appointed in his word;" as it will fall out more evidently hereafter.

[1 See Vol. I. pages 125, &c.]

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Answer to the Admonition, Page 87, Sect. 2.

Wherefore you that be in authority, if you love the peace and prosperity of the church of Christ, if you desire the good success of the gospel, if you will preserve the state of this realm, if you think it necessary to have good magistrates, to have good laws and orders in a commonwealth, if you esteem learning, and seek to prefer it, if you hate *anarchian*, confusion, anabaptism, if you allow of your own condition, and like of a kingdom better than of a popular state: then provide betime some speedy remedy for these and such like kind of men; and, if the religion you have established be good, if the orders and laws you have made be convenient, let them not be written against, spoken against, nay, openly contemned and broken, without sharp and severe punishment: suffer not such as execute them to be contemned, hated, discouraged, and oftentimes frumped by some superiors. Either let your laws be maintained as laws, or else deliver us from our duty in executing and obeying of them.

An exhortation to those that be in authority.

Law-keepers contemned[2].

T. C. Page 124, Sect. 2.

He turneth himself to those that be in authority, whom he would make believe, that it standeth upon the overthrow of the church, of religion, of order, of the realm, of the state of princes, of magistrates[3], which are by this means established, and whose estates are made this way most sure, when as the true causes of these clamours and outcries that M. Doctor maketh is nothing else but the fear of the overthrow of that honour which is to the dishonour of God and ignominy of his church, and which[4] maketh to the good dispensing of these goods for the aid and help of the church which now serve to oppress it.

Jo. Whitgift.

It shall be sufficient to refer the consideration of this your answer to such as be in authority, who can best consider of both our meanings.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 88, Sect. 1.

Touching the court of faculties, I cannot say much, for I have no great experience of it, and less knowledge

The court of faculties.

[2] Answ. 2 adds *now-a-days.*]
[3] Of the realm and of the estate of princes and magistrates, Repl. 1 and 2.]
[4] And the establishing of that which, Repl. 2.]

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The court of faculties.

in the law, notwithstanding, because by lawful authority it is allowed in this realm, I cannot but reverently judge of it; for in such matters I think it a point of modesty to suppose the best, and to abstain from condemning of that government which is allowed as convenient. If there be faults in the officers they may be corrected.

[The places of scripture quoted in this margent be answered before; except that of the xx. of the Acts, which proveth nothing in controversy at this time.][1]

T. C. Page 124, Sect. 2.

As for the court of faculties, the corruptions thereof being so clear that all men see them, and so gross that they which cannot see may grope them, M. Doctor answereth that he knoweth not what it meaneth, and therefore is moved of modesty to think the best of it; which is but a simple shift. For, besides that[2] *that the Admonition speaketh nothing of it but that the streets and highways talk of, if there had been any defence for it, it is not to be thought that M. Doctor would have been so negligent an advocate as to have omitted it, seeing if he were ignorant he might have had so easily, and with so little cost, the knowledge of it. As for his modesty, his bold asseveration of things which are doubtful, which are false, which are altogether unlikely, which are impossible for him to know, doth sufficiently bewray, and make so well known, that no such visard or painting can serve to make men believe that mere modesty shut up his mouth from speaking for the court of faculties, which hath opened his mouth so wide for the defence of those things, wherein, as it falleth out, he hath declared himself to have less skill and understanding than he hath of that court.*

Jo. Whitgift.

I have spoken my conscience of that court, neither did I confer with any to give me any instructions concerning it. And surely, as I thought then, so do I think now. I have affirmed nothing which I will not stand to, except you can convince me by better reasons than I have heard any as yet. That court hath the original and authority from the prince; it is established and confirmed by parliament; it meddleth nothing with that that pertaineth to the office either of bishop or pastor. The principal officers be the lord chancellor and the archbishop. It maintaineth the queen's prerogative in causes ecclesiastical, and was erected the 25. year of king Henry the Eighth, by authority of parliament, to the suppres-

[1] This sentence is inserted from Answ.] [2] Repl. 2 omits *that*.]

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sing and utter abolishing of the bishop of Rome's jurisdiction[3]. It meddleth not (for anything that I know) with matters that by learning can be proved to be against the word of God; and in some points it cannot without inconvenience be missed. But this is a matter of policy; and therefore I leave the further consideration of it to such as God hath committed the government of this realm unto, to whom it doth especially appertain. The court of faculties.

[3 See Statutes at large, Lond. 1763, &c. xxv. Henry VIII. cap. 21. Vol. II. pp. 193, &c.]

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Of preaching before the administration of the sacraments.

Of preaching before the administration of the Sacraments.

Tract. XII.

The First Division.

Admonition.

Now to the second point, which concerneth ministration of sacraments. In the old time the word was [t] *preached before they were ministered: now it is supposed to be sufficient if it be read.*

[t] *Matt. iii.* 12.[1]

Answer to the Admonition, Page 89, Sect. 1, 2, 3.

The second external note of the church.

The second external note of the true church of Christ is ministering of the sacraments sincerely: you would prove that this church of England hath not the sacraments sincerely ministered; first, by three general reasons pertaining to both the sacraments, then by certain abuses which you find severally in either of them.

The first general reason is this: "In old time the word was preached before the sacraments were ministered: now it is supposed to be sufficient if it be read."

Preaching at sacraments ministered[2].

To prove that the word was preached before the sacraments were ministered, you allege the third of Matthew, vers. 12: "Which hath his fan in his hand, and will make clean his floor, and gather his wheat into his garner, but will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire." I understand not how you can of this place conclude that there must be of necessity preaching and not reading before the administration of the sacraments. If you say, John preached unto such as came unto his baptism, and read not unto them; therefore of necessity there must be preaching and not reading, I deny the argument; for it is a common rule, that we may not conclude a general doctrine of a singular and[3] particular example; and I am sure it is against all rule of logic.

A general doctrine may not be concluded of a singular example[4].

T. C. Page 124, Sect. ult.

Whereas unto the Admonition proving out of the third of St Matthew

[1] Matt. iii. 1, Adm.] [2] This marginal note is inserted from Answ. 2.]
[3] Or, Answ. and Def. A.]
[4] A weak argument to conclude a general doctrine of a particular example, Answ. 2.]

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that preaching must go before the ministering of the sacraments, you answer, first, that it is against all logic to conclude a general rule upon a particular example; you shall understand that that which John did in that point he did it not as a singular person, or as the son of Zachary, but as the minister of the gospel; and therefore it appertaineth as well to all other ministers as unto him. For, as it is a good conclusion that, forsomuch as Peter, in that he is a man, is born to have, and by common course of nature hath, two legs, therefore John and Thomas, and all the rest, have so; even so, forsomuch as John by reason of his ministry had need first to preach, then to baptize, it followeth that all others that have that ministry committed unto them must do the like.

Of preaching before the administration of the sacraments.

JO. WHITGIFT.

So did John not as a private man, but as a minister of the gospel preach in the wilderness, baptize in Jordan; must therefore all other ministers of the gospel do the same? This is no orderly kind of reasoning to say, "Peter in that he is a man is born to have two legs;" *ergo*, every man hath two legs; but the due form of reasoning is this: every man by nature hath two legs; Peter is a man, and therefore by nature hath two legs. Therefore, if the argument had been framed on this sort: it is the office of every minister of the gospel to preach before baptism: John, Peter, and Thomas be ministers of the gospel; *ergo*, they ought to preach before baptism; it had been in some good order touching the form, though in the matter there had been some fault. But you must think that to preach before the administration of baptism is not so natural to a minister of the gospel, nor so much of the substance of his office, as to have two legs is to a man. For he may be a true, faithful, and perfect minister of the gospel, though he never preach before the administration of baptism; but he cannot be a perfect man, touching his body, that lacketh the one or both of his legs. It is an undoubted rule in the scriptures, that a general doctrine may not be concluded of particular examples, except the same examples be according to some general rule or commandment.

The apostles, in that they were ministers of the word, preached in all places, cured diseases, wrought miracles, &c. But it doth not therefore follow that all other ministers must do so likewise. Howbeit, if the case were now with other ministers of the gospel as it was then with John, that is, if they had to baptize only men of years and discretion, and such as believed not in Christ, as John had; then it were

When preaching before baptism is necessary.

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Of preaching before the administration of the sacraments.

most necessary that they should preach before they did baptize. But, seeing the case is clean altered, and there is now no occasion to minister the sacrament of baptism to any but to young infants, that understand not the word preached, I cannot perceive how that example of John can be aptly applied; for he preached to such as were yet to be baptized. But the reader may note that you are content to pass over the unapt allegation of the scripture used by the authors of the Admonition in this place.

The Second Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 90, Sect. 1.

Baptizing distinct from preaching.

But how if it may be proved that John did baptize some without preaching unto them? In that third chap. of Matthew, vers. 5. and 6., we read that "all Jerusalem and all Judea, and all the region round about Jordan, went out" to be baptized of him, and that they "were baptized of him in Jordan, confessing their sins;" but we read not that he did immediately before preach unto them.

T. C. Page 125, Line 5.

Secondarily, you say that it doth not appear that he preached immediately before he baptized them with water. And yet St Matthew, after that he had shewed that he preached repentance (which the other evangelists call the "baptism of repentance"), he addeth that then the people were baptized of him; which also may appear by the xix. of the Acts, verse 5, where[1] *St Paul noteth this order to have been kept. For, although between the story of his preaching, and that which is said of his baptizing, there is interlaced a description of his diet and of his apparel, yet these words, "then came unto him, &c.," must needs be referred unto the time which followed his preaching.* Acts xix. 5.[2]

Jo. Whitgift.

I doubt not but that John preached unto them oftener than once or twice before he did baptize them, for else should he have baptized them being infidels; but it may well be gathered by those places of St Matthew that he did not immediately preach unto them before baptism; which is that that I affirm. For the authors of the Admonition seem to

[1 May appear in the Acts where, Repl. 2.]
[2 This reference is inserted from Repl. 2.]

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condemn the administration of our sacraments, because the word is not always preached immediately before they be ministered.

Of preaching before the administration of the sacraments.

I understand not how you can gather any such order out of that xix. of Acts, verse 5, except you call questioning preaching. For St Paul there doth question with them, asking them whether they had received the Holy Ghost or no, and unto what they were baptized: there is no mention of any sermon preached, for anything that I can espy. Moreover, it is dangerous to understand that place of the sacrament of baptism, lest we should seem to admit re-baptization, and to fall into the heresy of the anabaptists, who use this place for that purpose; or else think that there is so great difference betwixt the baptism of John and the baptism of Christ, that such as were baptized with the baptism of John had need again to be baptized with the baptism of Christ; which opinion some hold, being deceived by this place. Therefore, that it may appear how unaptly you have alleged this place for your purpose, and what suspicion you have given either of the anabaptistical re-baptization, or papistical difference betwixt the baptism of John and the baptism of Christ, I will recite unto you the judgment of some learned men concerning this place. M. Calvin, upon the same verse and sentence writeth thus: "But now it may be asked whether it be lawful to reiterate baptism; and furious men of our time, using this testimony, have gone about to bring in anabaptism. Some men by the name of baptism understand a new institution; unto whom I do not assent; because their exposition, as it is enforced, savoureth of a shift. Others deny that baptism was reiterated, because they had been baptized of some foolish imitator of John. But, because their guess hath no colour of truth, nay, rather the words of Paul do testify that they were the very true disciples of John, and Luke very honourably calleth them the disciples of Christ, I do not subscribe unto this sentence; and yet I deny the baptism of water to have been reiterated, because the words of Luke do sound nothing else but that they were baptized with the Spirit. First, it is no new thing to transfer the name of baptism to the gifts of the Spirit, as we have seen in the first and xi. chap.; where Luke said that Christ, when he promised to the apostles the visible sending of the Holy Ghost, called it baptism; and again, when the

The place, xix. Acts, may not be interpreted of the sacrament of baptism.

Calvin. in xix. Acto.

The name of baptism transferred to the gifts of the Spirit.

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Of preaching before the administration of the sacraments.

Holy Ghost descended upon Cornelius, that Peter remembered the words of the Lord: 'You shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost.' Then we see that it is here namely intreated of the visible gifts, and that they are conferred and given with baptism. But, whereas it followeth immediately, that when he had laid his hands upon them the Holy Ghost came, I interpret that to be put in the way of exposition; for it is the usual and familiar manner of speaking in the scripture, to propound a matter briefly, and after to explicate it more plainly. That therefore, which for brevity was somewhat obscure, Luke doth better express and more largely expound, saying that the Holy Ghost was given them by the imposition of hands. If any man object that the name of baptism, when it is used for the gifts of the Holy Ghost, is not put simply, but with addition, I answer that the meaning of Luke is evident enough by the text; and further, that Luke alludeth to baptism, whereof he had before made mention. And surely, if you should take it for the external sign, it will be absurd that it was given unto them without any better instruction. But, if metaphorically of the institution, the phrase would yet be more hard, and the story would not agree, that after they were taught the Holy Ghost descended upon them[1]."

[1 Nunc vero quæritur an eum repetere fas fuerit. et furiosi homines nostra ætate hoc testimonio freti, anabaptismum invehere conati sunt. Quidam baptismi nomen pro nova institutione accipiunt: quibus ideo non assentior, quod eorum expositio, ut coacta est, effugium sapit. Alii negant iteratum fuisse baptismum: quia perperam baptizati forent ab aliquo Joannis stulto æmulatore. sed quia nihil habet coloris eorum conjectura, imo potius innuunt verba Pauli veros et germanos fuisse Joannis discipulos, et Lucas honorifice vocat discipulos Christi: neque huic quoque sententiæ subscribo: et tamen iteratum fuisse nego aquæ baptismum, quia non aliud sonant verba Lucæ, quam Spiritu fuisse baptizatos. Primum minime novum est baptismi nomen ad dona Spiritus transferri, sicuti capite i. et xi. vidimus, ubi dicebat Lucas, quum Christus visibilem Spiritus missionem apostolis promitteret, baptismum vocasse. Item quum Spiritus descenderet super Cornelium, Petrum recordatum fuisse verborum Domini. Baptizabimini Spiritu sancto. deinde videmus hic nominatim agi de donis illis visibilibus, et ea conferri cum baptismo. Quod autem continuo post sequitur, Ubi manus illis imposuit, venisse Spiritum: exegetice additum esse interpretor. est enim modus loquendi scripturæ frequens et familiaris, rem breviter proponere, et mox clarius explicare. quod ergo propter brevitatem erat obscurius, Lucas melius exprimit, et fusius explicat, dicens impositione manuum Spiritum illis datum fuisse. Si objiciat quispiam, baptismi nomen, ubi pro Spiritus donis ponitur, non simpliciter, sed cum adjectione sumi: respondeo, ex contextu satis patere Lucæ mentem: deinde Lucam alludere ad baptismum, cujus meminerat. Et certe si de symbolo externo accipias, absurdum erit fuisse illis datum, nulla meliore doctrina interposita. Sin vero metaphorice de institutione, durior adhuc erit loquutio: et non

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But, be it as other some learned men also interpret this place, that in the former part of the chapter the baptism of John is taken for the doctrine of John, and in this place for the sacrament of baptism, and that Paul preached before he did administer the same; yet doth it not follow that of necessity there must be preaching before the administration of baptism. The anabaptists abused this place to the same effect; but M. Bullinger doth answer them in this manner: "Whereas the catabaptists object here, therefore doctrine goeth before baptism; no man denieth it, but yet in those that be of years of discretion, and with whom the name of Christ hath not been published. But again, where as the name of Christ hath been heard of, no man can deny but that there the parents, being careful for the salvation of their children, do offer them unto holy baptism, because they hear that God is also the God of infants; but baptism itself to be nothing else but the sign of the people of God[2]."

Of preaching before the administration of the sacraments.

Bullin. in xix. Acto.

The Third Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 90, Sect. 1.

And, verses 13., 14., 15., it is manifest that he did baptize Christ without preaching. This is but a slender proof you use thereby to condemn the sincerity of our sacraments and administering of them in this church.

T. C. Page 125, Line 13.

And, whereas you say that it is manifest that our Saviour Christ was baptized without preaching, I would know of you what one word doth Luke iii. 21.[3] *declare that, when as the contrary rather doth appear in St Luke, which seemeth to note plainly that our Saviour Christ was baptized when the people were baptized. But the people, as I have shewed, were baptized immediately after they heard John preach; therefore it is like that our Saviour Christ was baptized after that he had*

quadraret narratio, Postquam fuerunt edocti, Spiritum sanctum descendisse super eos.—Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Comm. in Act. Apost. cap. xix. 5. Tom. VI. p. 175.]

[2 Quod autem catabaptistæ hic objiciunt, Ergo baptismum præcedit doctrina: nemo negat, sed in adultis, et apud eos apud quos nondum increbuit nomen Christi. At apud quos semel auditum est, vicissim nemo negare potest, parentes de liberorum salute anxios, hosce ad sacrum offerre baptismum, quod audiant Deum etiam infantium esse Deum. At baptismum ipsum aliud nihil esse quam signum populi Dei.—H. Bullinger. Comm. in Act. Apost. Tigur. 1540. Lib. IV. cap. xix. p. 156.]

[3 The verse is added from Repl. 2.]

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Of preaching before the administration of the sacraments.

heard John preach. And it is very probable that our Saviour Christ, which did honour the ministry of God by the hand of men so far as he would vouchsafe to be baptized of John, would not neglect or pass by his ministry of the word, being more precious than that of the sacrament; as it appeareth by John that our Saviour Christ was present at his sermons; forsomuch as St John doth, as he was preaching to the people, point him out with the finger, and told them that he was in the midst of them which was greater than he.

John i. 26.[1]

Jo. WHITGIFT.

First, St Matthew maketh no mention of it; neither can it be gathered by any circumstance of the place. Secondly, Luke doth not say that John preached immediately before he baptized. But the contrary rather appeareth, if St Luke write the story orderly. Thirdly, to what purpose should he preach to Christ before he baptized him? Lastly, in the first of John there is not one sentence to prove that Christ was present at any of John's sermons; for those words: "But there standeth one among you whom you know not, &c.," do not signify that he was in that company at that present, *sed quod inter eos versabatur:* "that he was conversant amongst them." But, if he had been present, doth it therefore follow that the sacraments may not be ministered without preaching? Do you make preaching immediately before the administration of the sacraments *de substantia sacramentorum:* "of the substance of the sacraments?"

John i.

The Fourth Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 90, Sect. 2, 3.

[*True it is that Zuinglius saith in his book *De Baptis.*, that then preaching before baptism is necessary, when such be baptized as have discretion, and may be taught, but not when children and infants be baptized, to whom preaching can do no good[2].*

[1 The verse is added from Repl. 2.]

[2 Christi verba hæc sunt, Ite in mundum universum, et prædicate evangelium omni creaturæ.....Hinc itaque constat, Christum de iis tantummodo loqui, qui ubi evangelium sibi annunciari audiverunt, eidem vel credunt, vel non credunt. Porro Christianorum infantes, quorum intellectus divini verbi capax non est, evangelium non audiunt, adeoque eidem fidem nec negant nec tribuunt.—H. Zvingl. Op. Tigur. 1581. De Bapt. Lib. Pars II. fol. 92. 2. Conf. ibid. fol. 65. See also Vol. II. page 518, note 2.]

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But][3] there is no man I think which doth not allow of preaching before the administration of the sacraments; but it is not therewith joined, *tanquam de necessitate sacramenti:* "as of the necessity of the sacrament;" neither is there anything here alleged for preaching before the administration of the Lord's supper. Indeed we read not that Christ did preach immediately before the distribution of the sacrament of his body and blood to his disciples; only he told them that some of them should betray him, and that he had greatly desired to eat the[5] passover with them.

Of preaching before the administration of the sacraments.

Preaching before the sacraments not disallowed[4].

This I write to shew your blind and unlearned collections, not to disallow preaching in the administration of the sacraments[6].

T. C. Page 125, Line 25.

And there is no doubt but those words which our Saviour Christ said before his supper, although they are gathered by the evangelists into short sentences, were, notwithstanding, long sermons touching the fruit of his death and use and end of that sacrament.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

But, if it had been so necessary a matter as you make it, and of the substance of the sacraments, it would have been expressed by one means or other: seeing therefore it is not, the words and order of the holy evangelists[7] must be credited before your bold conjectures.

The Fifth Division.

T. C. Page 125, in the midst.

Acts ii. Acts viii. 12, 38. Acts ix. 17, 18.[8] Acts x. 34.[8] Acts xvi. 15, 33. Acts xx. 7.[8]

And this order of preaching immediately before the ministering of the sacraments is continually noted of St Luke throughout the whole story of the Acts of the Apostles.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

It is not denied but that men must first be converted to Christ by preaching of the word, before the sacraments be ministered unto them; and thereunto tend all those places of the Acts which be noted in the margent. But our question is whether preaching be so necessarily joined with the ad-

[3] This portion between the brackets is inserted from Answ. 2.]
[4] This marginal note is not in Answ.]
[5] That, Answ.] [6] Of sacraments, Answ.]
[7] Evangelist, Def. B.] [8] These verses are added from Repl. 2.]

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Of preaching before the administration of the sacraments.

ministration of the sacraments, that neither the faithful which well understand the use of them, neither infants whose capacity will not serve to learn, may be made partakers of the sacraments without a sermon preached before.

The Sixth Division.

T. C. Page 125, about the midst.

But I will not precisely say, neither yet do the authors of the Admonition affirm (as M. Doctor surmiseth of them), that there must be preaching immediately before the administration of the sacraments. This I say, that, when as the life of the sacraments dependeth of the preaching of the word of God, there must of necessity the word of God be, not read, but preached unto the people, amongst whom the sacraments are ministered.

An untrue and foul error.

JO. WHITGIFT.

What do you say then, or wherefore contend you? no man ever denied preaching to be very convenient. But the authors of the Admonition say that "in the old time the word was preached before the sacraments were ministered: now it is supposed to be sufficient if it be read." To what purpose be these words spoken, except their meaning be to have the word preached at all times when the sacraments be ministered? so that you would seem to say something in their defence, and when you have done you make a doubt of the matter, and begin to halt, saying that you "will not precisely say, &c."

The life of the sacraments dependeth not of preaching.

This saying of yours, that "the life of the sacraments dependeth of the preaching of the word of God, &c.," is most untrue, and in mine opinion a foul error; for the life of the sacraments depend upon God's promises expressed in his word, and neither upon preaching nor upon reading. If this doctrine of yours be true, then be the sacraments dead sacraments and without effect, except the word be preached when they be ministered. And so indeed do some of your adherents in plain terms affirm, saying that they are seals without writing and plain blanks. Which doctrine savoureth very strongly of anabaptism, and doth deprive those of the effects and fruits of the sacraments which have been partakers of them without the word preached when they were ministered, and so consequently even yourself; for it was not like that there was a sermon at your christening. And therefore this

The absurdities of the assertion of the Replier.

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doctrine must of necessity bring in both re-baptization, and condemn the baptism of infants, which is flat anabaptistical. For, if that baptism be without life at the which the word of God is not preached, then can it not regenerate or be effectual to those that were therewith baptized; and therefore must of necessity be iterated that it may be lively.

Of preaching before the administration of the sacraments.

The doctrine of the Replier tendeth to plain anabaptism.

Again, if baptism be dead at the which the word of God is not preached, then can it do no good to such as have no understanding of the word of God preached, that is, to infants. For, if the preaching of the word be so necessarily joined with the administration of the sacraments, it is in the respect of those that are to receive the sacraments, and then must it needs follow that the sacraments may be ministered to none but to such as be able to hear the word of God; whereby infants must be secluded from baptism. And indeed this is one of the strongest arguments that the anabaptists use against the baptizing of infants; as shall hereafter appear. For of this the reader shall understand more by that which straightway I will set down out of Zuinglius.

The Seventh Division.

T. C. Page 125, somewhat past the midst.

And, forasmuch as I have proved before that no man may minister the sacraments but he which is able to preach the word, although I dare not affirm that there is an absolute necessity that the word should be preached immediately before the sacraments be ministered, yet I can imagine no case wherein it is either meet or convenient, or else almost sufferable, that the sacraments should be ministered without a sermon before them; for the minister being (as he ought of necessity to be) able to preach ought so to do. And, if it be said that his health or voice will not serve him sometimes to preach when he is able enough to minister the sacraments, I say that either he ought to beg the help of another minister hard by; or else there is less inconvenience in deferring the celebration of the sacrament until he be strong enough to preach, than ministering it so maimedly and without a sermon; whereby it is seen how just cause M. Doctor hath to call these blind and unlearned gatherings, which he, with his eagle's eye and his great learning, cannot scatter, nor once move.

Belike you are in doubt of your doctrine.

Ergo, one may preach out of his own cure; which is contrary to your doctrine.

Jo. Whitgift.

I have sufficiently proved that the administration of the sacrament of baptism may be committed to those which be not preachers of the word[1].

Tract. VI. cap. 1, and Tract. IX. cap. 1. divis. 15.

[1 See Vol. I. pages 538, &c., and Vol. II. pages 456, &c.]

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Of preaching before the administration of the sacraments.

If the life of the sacrament depend of the preaching of the word, as you have said before, then "there is an absolute necessity that the word be preached immediately before the sacraments be ministered;" and therefore, in making this doubt, you do but declare a wavering mind and an uncertain judgment.

How can he beg help of another minister, seeing no man may preach in another man's cure?

Contrariety in the Replier.

You greatly forget yourself, and the absurdity of your doctrine appeareth by your own contrarieties.

The doctrine of the Replier approacheth to anabaptism.

But now that it may be known how near in this point you approach to anabaptism, I will note one or two places out of Zuinglius touching this matter. In his book *De Baptismo*, speaking against this self-same assertion of the anabaptists, he

Zuinglius.

saith thus: "The disciples did minister the baptism of water in times past without any doctrine, and without giving the Holy Ghost; for they baptized when as Christ taught and did not baptize; as we have before shewed out of the iv. of John, and out of the 1 Cor. i.; for Paul saith: "Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach;" therefore some taught, and other baptized. But we may gather, out of the sixth of John, that baptism was used before that men being endued with true faith did stick unto the doctrine; for there we read that many forsook Christ, whom notwithstanding no man doubteth to have been before baptized[1]." Again, entreating of these words (*Euntes docete omnes gentes, &c.*, Matt. xxviii.; which the anabaptists use for an argument to improve the baptism of infants, because Christ said there *docete* before he said *baptizate*, whereof they gather your assertion that preaching must go before baptism, and therefore conclude that infants may not be baptized because they cannot be taught), saith thus: "By these words they which deny baptism unto infants do not only seduce themselves, but draw others also into great errors and labyrinths; for, urging of the bare order of the words of Christ, they have

[1 Baptismum externum, qui aqua fit, citra omnem doctrinam et spiritum, discipuli olim contulerunt. Hi enim Christo docente, sed non baptizante, baptizarunt, quemadmodum ex Ioan. 4. et 1. Corinth. 1. paulo ante demonstravimus. Paulus enim, Non misit me, inquit, Christus, ut baptizarem, sed ut evangelizarem. Alii ergo docebant, alii vero baptizabant. Cæterum baptismum, priusquam vera fide imbuti homines doctrinæ adhærerent, usurpatum fuisse ex Ioannis cap. 6. colligere nobis licet, ubi multos a Christo defecisse legimus, quos tamen ante baptizatos fuisse nemini dubium videri potest.—H. Zvingl. Op. Tigur. 1581. De Bapt. Lib. Pars II. fol. 61. 2.]

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nothing else in their mouths but only this: *Docete et baptizate:* 'Teach and baptize.' Behold, say they, the commandment of Christ. In the mean time they do not mark (nay, indeed they will not mark) that the same thing that they so much cry upon, doctrine, is afterward also set after, when as he saith: *Docentes eos servare, &c.:* 'Teaching them to observe all those things which I have commanded you.' By the which words it is manifest that baptism is a sign whereby we give our names, and have our first entrance unto Christ, the which being given and received, yet notwithstanding those things are to be taught and to be learned which Christ would have us to keep; but these men, urging the bare letter, cry still that Christ said: *Docete et baptizate:* 'Teach and baptize.' Wherefore I will also urge the same bare letter, but for their causes only, if by any means I might withdraw them from their desire to contend. Sirs, you urge that saying: 'Go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost:' and I say this: 'Baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.' Wherefore now I ask whether of us hath the word more plain and apert that concerneth doctrine? you verily bring the word of God, which proveth that men should be taught; but what kind of doctrine that is is not in those your words expressed. But we have the word of God more clear and plain than yours, which is: 'Teaching them to observe all those things whatsoever I have commanded you;' and these words are put after and not set before baptism[2]." And a little after: "Although we grant

Of preaching before the administration of the sacraments.

[2] His verbis non se tantummodo, sed et alios quoque in gravissimos errores et inextricabiles labyrinthos seducunt, qui baptismum infantibus tribuendum esse negant. Nudum enim verborum ordinem urgentes hoc unum clamitant, Docete et baptizate. En hoc præceptum Christi est. Interim vero illud non observant, imo observare nolunt, quod idem hoc, quod illi de doctrina clamitant, postea quoque subjungitur, cum inquit, Docentes eos servare omnia, quæ præcepi vobis. Quibus verbis manifestissime patet, baptismum signum esse, quo Christo nomen damus vel initiamur, quo dato et accepto nihilominus ea docenda et discenda sunt, quæ Christus nos servare voluit. Cæterum hi nudam literam urgentes, Christum, Docete et baptizate, dixisse clamitant. Quapropter ego quoque eandem urgebo, sed illorum tantum gratia, si quo modo eos a contendendi libidine avocare queam. Vos illud urgetis, o viri, Euntes docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomen Patris &c. Ego autem sic dico, Baptizantes eos in nomen Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, docentes eos servare omnia, quæ præcepi vobis. Quæro itaque, utrinam e nobis clarius et apertius (quod doctrinam spectat) verbum habeant?

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Of preaching before the administration of the sacraments.

that this order of words hath some force in this place, yet these things pertain nothing unto young children and infants, that they should not be baptized before doctrine; for these words pertain unto those that are instructed in doctrine and the outward word; but it is manifest that infants are not taught; therefore these words cannot so be referred unto children, that they ought not to be baptized[1]."

When preaching is necessary before baptism.

And in the same book, speaking of this iii. chap. of Matthew by you alleged and used of the anabaptists to the same purpose, he granteth that John did preach before he did baptize: "For necessity so required, that by reading he should expound to the people the causes of baptism. For, except doctrine were preached, no man would in these our days have their children baptized. But, after they were of years of discretion, and had received faith through the ministry of the doctrine (as we read that it was done of them in old time), they brought their children also to be baptized[2]." And in the end he concludeth thus: "In the mean time we do willingly grant this unto them, that doctrine and instruction ought to go before, if at any time we come unto infidels; for none of the heathen ought to be baptized but he which hath heard and believed that doctrine, which was before unknown unto them and theirs[3]."

Thus then you see how near your opinion of the necessity of preaching before the administration of the sacraments approacheth to the heresy of the anabaptists. If you would shift off the matter, as though you required not this necessity of preaching before the administration of the sacraments always in respect of those which are to receive them, but in

Vos quidem Dei verbum, quod docendi sint homines, affertis: qualis autem ea doctrina sit, in vestris illis non exprimitur. Nos vero verbum Dei vestro illo clarius habemus et expressius, quod est, Docentes eos servare omnia, quæ præcepi vobis. Atqui hæc ipsa baptismo subjunguntur, non autem præmissa sunt.—Id. ibid. fol. 64. 2.]

[1 Id. ibid. fol. 65. See Vol. II. page 518, note 1.]

[2 Necessitas enim sic postulabat, ut docendo causas baptismi exponeret populo: nisi enim doctrina prædicetur, nemo etiam hoc nostro sæculo liberos suos baptismi signo initiari vellet. Posteaquam vero qui adulti jam erant, fidem per doctrinæ ministerium perceperant, tum etiam liberos suos (quemadmodum a veteribus olim factitatum esse legimus) ad baptismi initiationem attulere.—Id. ibid. fol. 65. 2.]

[3 Interim, &c. perveniamus. Nemo enim ex gentibus incredulis baptizari debet, nisi qui evangelii doctrinam ante sibi suisque incognitam audivit, et eidem credidit.—Id. ibid. fol. 92. 2. See Vol. II. page 518, note 2.]

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respect of the rest which are present, as this would be but a shift, so can it not agree with your assertion; for "the life of the sacraments" pertaineth not to those that be present, but unto those that are partakers of them. Wherefore M. Doctor needeth not his "eagle's eyes" to espy your errors (that I say no worse), but with dimmer sight than he hath might easily see that you in this doctrine have plainly joined hands with the anabaptists.

Of preaching before the administration of the sacraments.

And yet I would not have any man think that I mislike preaching in the administration of the sacraments, which can be unprofitable at no time; but this only I affirm, that it is not so necessarily joined with the administration of the sacraments, but that they may be rightly administered, though the word be not at the same time preached.

Preaching before the ministration not disallowed.

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Reading of scriptures.

¶ Of Reading of the Scriptures.

Tract. XIII.

A comparison between reading of scriptures and preaching.

Chapter i. The First Division.

T. C. Page 125, Sect. ult.

After this M. Doctor accuseth the authors of the Admonition as though they simply condemned reading the scriptures in the church; and this accusation he followeth in many words and in divers places, wherein, as in a number of other places of their book, the authors of the Admonition have cause to renew that old complaint of Theodorus, which is that, whensoever anything is said that is unpleasant, that is by and by expounded otherwise than it is meant of him that speaketh it; so that that which is given with the right hand is received with the left. For the authors of the Admonition, declaring their utter misliking that there

A dangerous parenthesis.

should be instead of a preaching minister a reading minister (if I may so call him), and instead of preaching reading, are untruly expounded of M. Doctor as though they condemned all reading in the church. And here he maketh himself work, and picketh a quarrel to blot a great deal of paper, and to prove that which no man denieth; for besides this treatise he speaketh afterward of it in half-a-score pages, even from the 159. *page*

Herein you have aptly described your own nature.

until the 170. *page, and so lighteth us a candle at noon-days. It is a token of a nature disposed to no great quietness, which, rather than he would not strive, striveth with himself.*

Jo. Whitgift.

Whether I accuse them justly or no, I shall refer it to the reader to judge after I have set down their very words, which indeed no christian ears can patiently hear: page 157., they say thus: "Reading is not feeding; but it is as evil as playing upon a stage, and worse too." Which words, if they be well marked and joined with the reason that followeth: "for players yet learn their parts without book, &c.," must needs signify a mere contempt of reading the scriptures, and a mind that thinketh less edifying to come by reading than by playing upon a stage; which is an untolerable blasphemy. Pages 164. and 165., their talk of reading the scriptures tendeth wholly to this purpose, to make the same altogether unprofitable; and surely no man can excuse them of this crime, but he that is bent without respect to assent unto them in all things, though they be most manifestly false and most absurd.

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But I would have the reader mark this one thing, that, speaking of a reading minister, you say: "if I may so call him;" whereby you give plain signification that you may not call nor esteem them to be ministers which cannot preach. Which if it be true, then have they not in your doctrine delivered any of the sacraments, and so consequently so many not baptized as have been baptized by them; to the proof whereof your doctrine tendeth wholly. The like he hath afterward, page 128, sect. 1.[1]

Reading of scriptures.

The mark that the Replier shooteth at.

Chapter i. The Second Division.

T. C. Page 126, Line 4.

And, although the cause be just and good which he defendeth, yet I will note in a word or two how, as though there were pitch or some worse thing in his hands, he defileth whatsoever he toucheth.

Jo. Whitgift.

A token of a modest and quiet nature to impeach a known truth for the person's sake that doth defend it. *Nunquid sic factitabat Paulus?* "Did Paul so? or did Peter dally in that manner?" Paul was content to allow the truth preached even by false prophets. But what should I compare the mild, modest, and loving spirit of the apostles with the contentious and scoffing spirit of T. C.?

Chapter i. The Third Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 90, Sect. 4.

But I would gladly learn why you do so greatly mislike of reading the scriptures: I hope you be not Zuingfildians: is not the word of God as effectual when it is read as when it is preached? or is not reading preaching?

Zuingfildians mislike reading of scriptures.

Reading is preaching.

T. C. Page 126, Line 6.

First, therefore, he asketh, and so that he doth most boldly and confidently affirm it, whether "the word of God is not as effectual when it is read as when it is preached"? or whether "reading be not preaching"? In which two questions, although the one of them confuteth the other (forsomuch as if reading be preaching, as he saith, then the comparison of the profit and efficacy between one and the other is absurd), yet I will answer

[1 See below, pages 48, 52, 3, 60.]

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Reading of scriptures.

to both. I say, therefore, that the word of God is not so effectual read as[1] *preached. For St Paul saith that "faith cometh by hearing, and hearing of the word preached;" so that the ordinary and especial means to work faith by is preaching, and not reading.* Rom. x. 14.[2]

JO. WHITGIFT.

I have affirmed nothing so boldly, which I have not as strongly by good authorities and reasons confirmed, to the which you have not answered but in this manner of brawling. If you did understand that there are divers kinds of preachings (as M. Bucer declareth) upon the iv. to the Ephes., and that reading of the scriptures is one of them, which also the same Bucer there affirmeth[3], then would you have abstained from giving this sentence, that, "if reading be preaching, then is the comparison of the profit and efficacy between one and the other absurd;" for one kind of preaching may be compared to another without any absurdity.

Preaching for publishing the gospel by voice generally.

I say that St Paul, in that chapter to the Romans, by preaching doth generally understand all kinds of publishing the gospel by the external voice, which comprehendeth reading as well as it doth that which you call preaching; and it is greatly against the dignity and majesty of the scriptures, it also greatly confirmeth the error of the papists touching the obscurity of the scriptures and debarring the people from reading them, to say that faith cometh not by reading; for that is to make them dumb and unprofitable.

The commodity of reading the scriptures in the church. Bucer.

M. Bucer, upon the iv. to the Ephes., setteth forth the commodity of reading the scriptures in this manner: "Reading of the holy scriptures was appointed to this end, that both the phrase and manner of speaking of the scripture, and the scripture itself, might be more known and more familiar to the people, when as they which did interpret the scriptures could not finish one little part thereof in one whole year. In the mean time, by the only reading of the scriptures the people were marvellously confirmed in the knowledge of all the points and doctrine of salvation. For they be in every book oftentimes repeated and expounded with divers words, that the people of that which followed might understand many things which in that that went before they could not some-

[1 And, Def. B.] [2 The verse is added from Repl. 2.]

[3 M. Bucer. Prælect. in Epist. ad Ephes. Basil. 1562. cap. iv. p. 117. See below, page 46, note 5.]

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time perceive; and by that means the judgment of the people was confirmed in all points of religion; so that they were able to judge of the interpretation of the scriptures, and of all doctrine which was taught them by their own curates and teachers, or by any other. And therefore in ancient churches this bare reading of the scriptures was greatly esteemed. Of reading of scriptures (God be thanked), it is very well appointed in the church of England, &c.[4]" Thus far M. Bucer. Surely I marvel what is meant by this your strange kind of doctrine, except you would have the people through ignorance of the scriptures brought again to this point, that they must only depend upon the mouth of the pastor.

Reading of scriptures.

Chapter i. The Fourth Division.

T. C. Page 126, Line 14.

And, although reading do help to nourish the faith which cometh by preaching, yet this is given to the preaching κατ' ἐξοχήν, *that is, "by excellency," and for that it is the excellentest and most ordinary means to work by in the hearts of the hearers. The beholding of the creatures, and the consideration of the making of the world, and of God's wisdom and wonderful love appearing in them, doth nourish and strengthen faith, and yet may it not therefore in efficacy be compared to the preaching of the word of God.*

Jo. Whitgift.

Reading of the scriptures doth not only "nourish faith," but engendereth faith also; as I have proved in my Answer to the Admonition, both by the scriptures and other learned writers. If it were otherwise, then were the power of per-

Reading doth not only nourish faith, but engendereth also.

[4 Hæc vero divinarum scripturarum recitatio in hoc fuit instituta, ut et lingua, ratioque loquendi scripturæ, ipsaque scriptura populo tota redderetur notior atque familiarior. Intra annum enim omnes sacros libros populo recitabant, cum ii qui scripturas enarrabant, non possent nisi aliquam partem scripturarum, nec eam magnam uno anno explicando absolvere. Interim autem populo per solam divinorum librorum recitationem, confirmabatur mirifice cognitio omnium dogmatum salutis nostræ: nam illa in singulis sacris libris identidem repetuntur, et aliis atque aliis nominibus explicantur, ut populus semper ex sequenti lectione disceret non pauca, quæ ex priori plane percipere nondum poterat: eademque opera confirmabatur judicium populo de omni religione nostra, ut de scripturarum quoque explicationibus, atque omni doctrina, quæ illi afferebatur, vel per legitimos ecclesiæ curatores, atque doctores, sive per alios. His de causis magni fuit habitum in priscis ecclesiis, et hoc munus divinas scripturas simpliciter populo recitandi:...De legendis scripturis, gratia Domino, probe constitutum est in ecclesiis Anglicanis: &c.—Id. ibid. pp. 117, 8.]

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Reading of scriptures.

suasion to be ascribed to the preacher and manner of teaching, not to the word; which is against that saying of Christ: John v. *Scrutamini scripturas, &c.:* "Search the scriptures; for in them you think to have eternal life, &c.;" and of the apostle: 2 Tim. iii. "The whole scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable to teach, to improve, to correct, and to instruct in righteousness, that the man of God may be absolute, &c."

Preaching the most ordinary means, and why.

I deny not but that preaching is the most ordinary and usual means that God useth to work by in the hearers of the hearers, because the people be for the most part ignorant and dull of understanding, and therefore have need of schoolmasters and teachers to open and declare the scriptures unto them, and to deal with them according to their capacity; but this doth nothing derogate from the might and power of the word of God being read of them or to them that understand it, and set their heart upon it. If reading were so simple a thing, and so little profitable as you would make it, why was the gospel committed to writing? why is it thought so expedient to have it in a tongue known to the people? why do men print their sermons which they have preached? why did God by Moses command the law to be read? why did the prophet Jeremy will Baruch to write out his sermons, and to read them to the people?

Do you think that there cometh no more knowledge or profit by reading the scriptures than doth by "beholding of God's creatures?" Then let us have images again, that they may be laymen's books[1], as the papists call them; no doubt attributing as much to the external and visible creatures[2] as they did to the reading of the eternal word of God; wherein you join with them, for anything that I yet see.

Chapter i. The Fifth Division.

T. C. Page 126, Line 20.

And, to know that the word of God preached hath more force, and is more effectual than when it is read, it is to be observed whereunto the preaching is compared. It is called a lifting or heaving up of John iii. 14.[3] *our Saviour Christ. Like unto the displaying of a banner, as*

[1 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. XI. Indict. IV. Ad Seren. Massil. Episc. Epist. xiii. Tom. II. col. 1100. Conf. Bp. Jewel's Works, Park. Soc. Edit. Vol. II. p. 660.]

[2 Creature, Def. A.]

[3 The verse is added from Repl. 2.]

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the serpent was lift up in the wilderness. As therefore that which is lifted up on high is better and easilier seen of a greater[4] *company than when it standeth or lieth upon the ground, or in some valley, or some low*[5] *place; so the preaching of the gospel doth offer sooner and easilier the truth thereof unto the faith (which is the eye of the hearer) than when it is read.* Reading of scriptures.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

Where is there any such comparison in that third chapter of John? If you mean these words: *Et nemo ascendit in cœlum, &c. Et sicut Moses exaltavit serpentem, &c.*: "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, &c.," as you can mean no other, then I think you were not well advised, or little cared for your credit, when you abused them for this purpose, to prove that the word of God is more effectual when it is preached than when it is read. Surely, if you fetch your similitudes so far, and imagine that which was never meant, and make the scripture a nose of wax[6], as the papists do, you may conclude what you list. For how hangeth this together: "No man ascendeth up into heaven, but he that descended down from heaven, the Son of man which is in heaven;" *ergo*, faith cometh by preaching of the word of God, and not by reading of it? Or this: "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the desert, so must the Son of man be lifted up, that all that believe in him &c.;" therefore "the word of God hath more force when it is preached than when it is read?" This gear is too profound for me: I cannot understand it, except I will imagine that which is not; and it may be that you were in some other deep meditation when you wrote it, and so applied this text to a wrong matter; for in that place Christ foretelleth of his death and passion, whereof the lifting up of the serpent in the wilderness was a figure. And, although I am not ignorant that some do allegory upon this place, saying that Christ is lifted up by the preaching of the gospel, yet that maketh nothing against me who nowhere deny this effect of preaching. And it is a very hard collection to say: Christ is lifted up by preaching; therefore reading letteth him "lie on the ground;" as though by reading the gospel Christ is not also lifted up and made manifest unto the eyes of the faithful.

John iii.

Numb. xxi.

[4 Great, Repl. 1 and 2.] [5 Or low, Repl. 1 and 2.]

[6 Alb. Pigh. Hierarch. Eccles. Col. 1538. Lib. III. cap. iii. fol. 80. Conf. Bp. Jewel's Works, Park. Soc. Edit. Vol. IV. pp. 758, 9.]

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Reading of scriptures.

Chapter i. The Sixth Division.

T. C. Page 126, in the midst.

It is called also "a sweet savour;" and therefore, as the spices being brayed and punned[1] smell sweeter and stronger than when they be whole and unbroken, so the word, by interpretation being broken and bruised, carrieth a sweeter savour unto the understanding than when it is by reading given gross and whole[2]. The same also may be said in that the preaching is called a cutting of the word of God; for, as, when the meat is cut and shred, it nourisheth more than when it is not so, so likewise it is in preaching and reading.

2 Cor. ii.

2 Tim. ii. 15.[3]

Jo. Whitgift.

St Paul, speaking of himself and of the ministers of the word, saith thus: "For we are unto God the sweet savour of Christ in them that are saved, &c.;" and, 2 Tim., he admonisheth Timothy "to cut the word of truth rightly," that is, prudently and according to the capacity of the hearers. What conclude you of this? Or what one word is there in either of those places that derogateth anything from reading? Do you think that the praise of preaching is the dispraise of reading? As though they were one contrary to another, and not rather both of them most profitable. Is not the word of God when it is read "a sweet savour?" Is there not prudency and discretion required in reading the scriptures? Surely I am sorry that the papists shall have so just cause to jest at your so unapt alleging of the scriptures, and that they shall be animated in their ridiculous applications of the same by these and such like untoward allegations of yours.

2 Cor. ii.

2 Tim. ii.

Chapter i. The Seventh Division.

T. C. Page 126, somewhat past the midst.

And that which is brought by the authors of the Admonition, and so scornfully hurled away of M. Doctor, that St Paul compareth the preaching unto planting and watering, is a very notable place to prove that there is no salvation without preaching. For, as the husbandman receiveth no fruit unless he both plant, and water that which is planted; even so there is no salvation to be looked for where there is no preaching. [And to this also may be well referred that the preaching

Surely you will make a notable conclusion.

1 Cor. iii. 6.[3]

[1 Punned: pounded.]

[2 The preceding part of this paragraph is not in Repl. 2.]

[3 The verses are added from Repl. 2].

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is called of St Luke an opening of the scriptures, whereby it is declared that they be as it were shut, or clasped, or sealed up, until such time as they be by exposition or declaration of them opened.][4] *It may be that God doth sometimes work faith by reading only, especially where preaching cannot be, and so he doth sometimes without reading, by a wonderful work of his Spirit; but the ordinary ways whereby God regenerateth his children is by the word of God which is preached. And therefore Solomon saith that, "where prophecy (which is not a bare reading, but an exposition and application of the scriptures) faileth, there the people perish."*

xxiv. ch. 32. Reading of scriptures.

Prov. xxix. 18.[5]

JO. WHITGIFT.

St Paul saith: "I have planted: Apollos watered; but God gave the increase;" *ergo*, "there is no salvation without preaching:" is not this good stuff and a strong argument to build a matter of salvation upon? St Paul there declareth that the preaching of the word is not effectual, except God give the increase, and that we ought not to attribute our salvation to the ministers of the word, but only to God. He maketh no comparison betwixt reading and preaching; neither is there anything there spoken, either of tilling or watering, which may not also be applied to attentive and diligent reading. If your distinction of quoting scriptures, sometimes for the matter, sometimes for the phrase, serve at any time to excuse the unskilfulness of the authors of the Admonition, it must either serve now or never: else I understand not to what purpose it can be alleged. It may be that God doth not only work faith by reading; but it is commonly so, especially in such as read with understanding. And yet this derogateth nothing from preaching; for God worketh by both. 1 Cor. iii. ver. 6.

Solomon saith that "where there is no vision the people decay." And most true it is. For, where there is no true doctrine, nor faithful ministers to preach the same, there the people must needs decay in godliness and true knowledge; but this derogateth nothing from reading. Prov. xxix.

Both reading and preaching be necessary in the church and most profitable: the commendation of the one doth not take anything from the other. But preaching doth profit more than reading doth, because it is more apt for the ignorant and unlearned; and, if in this respect you prefer preach- Preaching profiteth more than reading, and why.

[4] This is inserted from Repl. 2.] [5] The verse is added from Repl. 2.]

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Reading of scriptures.

ing to reading, because it doth more commonly profit, and serveth more to the instruction of those which are ignorant, because it more plainly expresseth the meaning of the scripture and applieth the same, then have you also bestowed a great time in proving that which is not denied of any; which fault you found with me before (though unjustly) even in this treatise. But we may not make so light of reading, whereby so many have come to the knowledge of the truth, whereby also daily more are converted, even such as very seldom or never hear the word preached. Both preaching therefore and reading be means whereby God doth call to salvation those that be his: he useth them both, jointly and severally as it pleaseth him; and, where the one is publicly received, there is the other never refused.

Many converted by reading.

Chapter i. The Eighth Division.

T. C. Page 126, towards the end, and Sect. ult.

This similitude savoureth of papism.

It is true the word both preached and read is all one; as the fire covered with ashes is the same when it is discovered. But, as when the fire is stirred up and discovered it giveth more heat than when it is not, so the word of God by preaching and interpreting (as it were stirred up and blown) maketh a greater flame in the hearts of the hearers than when it is read. The reason whereof is not in[1] *the word, which is all one read and preached, but in that it pleaseth the Lord to work more effectually with the one than with the other, thereby approving and authorizing that means and ways which he especially ordained for us to be saved by.*

Of infinite examples, take one of the eunuch, which, although he had been at Jerusalem, and returning home was reading of the prophet Esay, yet he believed not until Philip came and preached unto him; which I neither say to disallow reading of the scriptures[2] *(which is very profitable), nor yet to strengthen the hands of the papists which, to banish the reading of the scriptures, object the hardness and difficulty of the scriptures, as M. Doctor doth most slanderously and unbrotherly surmise of the authors of the Admonition; but that it may appear what a gross and a palpable error this is, that the reading of the scripture should be as effectual as the preaching of it, which God hath appointed to be the especial and singular means to save those whom he hath appointed to salvation.* [*And what is this else but to condemn the wisdom of God in ordaining pastors and doctors to be continual functions in the churches, and in so carefully commending them unto the church, of the which, notwithstanding, there is no use, if reading be as good as preaching?*][3] Acts viii.

[1] Def. B. omits *in*.] [2] Scripture, Repl. 1 and 2.]
[3] This sentence is inserted from Repl. 2.]

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Jo. WHITGIFT.

Reading of scriptures.

What is this else but together with the papists to condemn the scriptures of obscurity, as though all things necessary to salvation were not plainly and clearly expressed in them? I grant you that every man understandeth them not; for it is the Spirit of God that openeth the heart of man both to understand the scriptures read and preached; and to him that understandeth them they are as hot and as lightsome read as preached; neither shall you ever be able to prove the contrary. And the places that you have hitherto alleged, being so far from the purpose, convince you of a marvellous great scarcity of proofs.

T. C. joineth with the papists.

"One example of infinite" is as few as may be. But, if that one make not for your purpose, then must you be fain to seek some other, seeing you have such store. The eunuch did not understand the scripture that he read; as it appeareth in the same place of the Acts; but I speak of such as understand that which they read; and therefore this place is soon answered. Neither do I speak of such in the commendation of reading, to disprove in any respect the necessity and utility of preaching. But neither you, nor the authors of the Admonition, can avoid "the strengthening the hands of the papists" in their erroneous opinions, not only of the "hardness and difficulty," but also of the unprofitableness of the scriptures. How "palpable an error" it is that I defend may appear by your mighty reasons against it, and your learned answer to those proofs that I have brought for it.

Chapter i. The Ninth Division.

T. C. Page 127, Line 3.

And, although this be very gross, yet in the 163. *page, where he goeth about to shew the profit of reading the scriptures in the church, he is yet more absurd. For there he saith that "it may be that some men be more edified by the simple reading of the scriptures than by sermons*[4]*." Indeed, if a man sleep the sermon-time, and wake the reading-time, or be otherwise deaf at the one, and attentive and heedy at the other, I will not deny but he may be more edified at the simple reading than at the sermon: unless it be in this and such like case, I know not how it may be true that M. Doctor saith. And indeed it is as much to say that it may be, that the means, that God hath ordained to be the fittest and meetest to call men*

[4 See below, page 51.]

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Reading of scriptures.

to salvation, is not the fittest and meetest means; which a man should not once so much as think of, without trembling and shaking every joint of him.

JO. WHITGIFT.

As absurd as it is, Musculus doth affirm it in his Commonplaces, *Titu. de Lectio. Sacræ Script.*[1] And as his saying I report it in mine Answer, believing it to be most true. And therefore (if your malice had not been wholly bent against me) you should have ascribed this absurdity to him, or at least have divided it betwixt us; and so my back should have been somewhat eased of the burden of absurdities wherewith you would so gladly overcharge me.

God useth reading as a means as well as preaching.

God worketh by reading the scriptures as well as he doth by preaching, and useth that also as a means to call men to salvation. Read Augustine, *Lib. Con. viii. cap.* 12.[2], and you shall see that God used reading as a means to convert him. And surely I marvel that you, professing the gospel, can "without trembling and shaking" speak so basely of reading the word of God, being a thing so precious, and so singular a means of our salvation; but, for the thing itself, I refer it to the judgment of those that have not drunk so deeply of the cup of contention as you have, whether it may not sometimes so happen. Or whether they which are quietly affected may not receive more edifying by the simple reading of the scriptures which they understand, than by the sermons of divers contentious preachers, whose hot and bitter invectives (which savour more of malice than of love, of contention than of peace, the fruit of the gospel) may breed, in the hearts of those that are studious of peace, and quietly-minded, some suspicion of the truth of their doctrine. Or lastly, whether some, misdoubting the truth of the doctrine of the preachers of the gospel, and conceiving a prejudicate opinion against them (as divers papists do), may not be more edified by diligent reading of the scriptures, of whose authority they do not doubt, than by hearing of the preacher, whose words they do either mistrust, or not regard, by reason of their prejudicate opinion against all preachers; and in the end, perceiving by reading of the scriptures the truth of their doctrine, may

Reading sometime prevaileth more than preaching.

[1 See below, pages 50, 1.]

[2 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Confess. Lib. VIII. cap. xii. 29. Tom. I. col. 56.]

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be thereby established, which were not by the sermons once moved. And for this cause Christ said, John v.: "Search the scriptures, &c." Reading of scriptures John v.

¶ That reading is preaching.

Chapter ii. The First Division.

T. C. Page 127, Lin. 13.

And now I think by this time M. Doctor knoweth his answer to his second question, which is, whether reading be not preaching. And, if this be not sufficient that I have said, I would ask gladly of him whether all readers be preachers, and whether whosoever readeth preacheth; for, if it be true (which he saith) that reading is preaching, then that is likewise true, that all those which read preach; and so a child of 4. or 5. years old is able to preach because he is able to read. A mere cavil.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

I know an answer indeed, such as it is; but it is much more fit for a papist or atheist than for a professor of the gospel. If preaching be taken generally for every kind of instructing or teaching by the word of God, as it is *ad Rom. æ.*, then is reading preaching. But, if it[3] be taken in the usual signification, for him that interpreteth the scripture, teacheth, and exhorteth in the congregation, by discoursing upon the scriptures, and applying them as occasion serveth, then it is not so; and yet no less profitable to edifying, to such as understand that which is read, than preaching. To read the scriptures is not to preach or teach, in respect of him that readeth, but in the respect of God's Spirit, which thereby worketh knowledge in the heart of the reader or hearer. For we must think it to be true that Cyprian saith: "When we read the scripture, God speaketh unto us[4];" and in this sense "a child that can read may preach," that is, God, by his word read of a child, may, and doth oftentimes, teach us. And hereof we have (God be thanked) many examples in England, of those which, being not able to read themselves, by the means of their children reading to them at home, receive instruction and edifying. And, if you had been disposed to have called to remembrance that which you say you have so diligently read in M. Fox, you might have known that divers in the How reading is preaching.

[3 He, Def. B.]

[4 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Lib. ad Donat. p. 9. See below, page 56, note 1.]

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Reading of scriptures.

beginning came to the light of the gospel only by reading and hearing the new testament in English read; which I am sure you will confess to have been to them a preaching and instruction.

Chapter ii. The Second Division.

Admonition.

By the word of God it is an office of preaching: they make it an office of reading. [*Christ said,* [a]*Go, preach: they in mockery give them the bible, and authority to preach, and yet suffer them not except that they have new licences. So that they make the chiefest part, preaching*[2]*, but an accessory, that is, as a thing without which their office may and doth consist. In the scriptures there is attributed unto the ministers of God the knowledge of* [b]*heavenly*[3] *mysteries, and therefore, as the greatest token of their love, they are enjoined to* [c]*feed God's lambs; and yet with these such are admitted and accepted as only are bare readers, that is, able*[4] *to say service and minister a sacrament*[5].][6]

[a] *Matt. xxvi.* 19. *Mark xvi.* 15.

[b] *1 Cor. iv.* 1.

[c] *John xxi.* 16, 17.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 159, Sect. 1.

But where doth the book make the ministry an office of reading only? Or what contrariety is there betwixt reading and preaching? Nay what difference is there betwixt them? If a man should write his sermon and read it in the book to his flock, doth he not preach? Is there no sermons but such as be said without book? I think to preach the gospel is to teach and instruct the people in faith and good manners, be it by writing, reading, or speaking without book; and I am sure the Spirit of God doth work as effectually by the one of these ways as it doth by the other. Did not St Paul preach to the Romans when he writ to them? Was not the reading of Deuteronomy to the people a preaching? 2 *Reg. xviii.* Will you so scornfully and so contemptuously speak of the reading of scripture, being a thing so fruitful and necessary?

A written sermon is preaching.

Example.

[But, to come to the book, not of common prayer mentioned in the article, but of ordering deacons and

[1] xxviii., Adm.] [2] Part which is preaching, Adm.]
[3] Of the heavenly, Adm.] [4] That are able, Adm.]
[5] Adm. adds *according to their appointment.*]
[6] This is introduced from Adm. and Answ.]
[7] This is inserted from Answ. 2.]

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ministers, whereunto this doth appertain which you find fault with: the saying of the bishop to him that is to be minister is this: "Take thou authority to preach the word of God, and to minister the holy sacraments in the congregation where thou shalt be so appointed[8]." What fault find you in these words? Doth he give him authority to read or to preach? I take upon me the defence of the book, not of every man's doings. But this you say "is spoken in mockery, because they may not preach except they have new licences." Surely I think no man is admitted into the ministry, but he is permitted to preach in his own cure without further licence, except it be upon some evil usage of himself afterwards, either in life or doctrine. It may be that a man be admitted minister, and afterward fall into error, or heresies; as did Judas, and Nicolaus the deacon: it is meet that such should be restrained from preaching, notwithstanding their former licence. In all reformed churches I am sure this order is observed.

Reading of scriptures.

Licences to preach in his own cure.

That none ought publicly to preach without licence in a church established and having christian magistrates I have shewed before.

"In the scriptures (you say) there is attributed unto the ministers of God the knowledge of the heavenly mysteries;" and for proof hereof you cite the 1 Corinth. iv.; which is needless, for it is manifest. And yet all have not knowledge of them alike: no, there is great diversity among them touching knowledge of these mysteries; and yet he that knoweth least may be profitable in the church according to his talent.

You go on and say that "therefore, as the greatest token of their love, they are enjoined to feed God's lambs;" and you allege the xxi. of John, the words of Christ to Peter: "Feed my lambs: &c." All this is true; and feeding is not only public preaching but reading also of the scriptures, and privately exhorting, and that according to the gift and grace given of God to every man.

What it is to feed lambs.

"And yet" you say "with these such are admitted and accepted, as only are bare readers, that is, only able to

[8 Liturg. Serv. Qu. Eliz. Park. Soc. Edit. p. 292; where *this congregation*.]

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Reading of scriptures.

say service, and to minister a sacrament." I say this is the fault of the man, not of the book; for the book alloweth none such. But what is this to your purpose? What kind of reason is this: Some bishops admit some unmeet ministers; therefore you will not subscribe to the communion-book? or: There be some ministers that cannot preach; therefore there is something in the communion-book repugnant to the word of God? It appeareth you had but small regard to that which you took in hand to prove; or that you can find little matter in the book of service to carp at, when you fall into such frivolous digressions.][1]

T. C. Page 127, Lin. 18.

And, lest he should seem to be thus evil advised, without some reason, in the 159. *page, he asketh "whether (if a man write his sermon, and after read it in the book) that reading be preaching." Here is hard shift: what if I granted that it is preaching, yet I deny that therefore he that readeth another man's sermon preacheth; and further, I say that, if there be any such, as, being able to preach for his knowledge, yet for fault either of utterance or memory cannot do it, but by reading that which he hath written, it is not convenient that he should be a minister in the church. For St Paul doth not require only that the bishop or minister should be learned in the mysteries of the gospel, and such a one as is able to set down in writing in his study the sense of the scripture, but one which is "apt and fit to teach." And the prophet Malachi sheweth that he must have "the law," not in his papers, but "in his lips;" noting thereby that it is necessary to have the gift of utterance. And Esay the prophet, saying that God had given him "the tongue of the learned," doth thereby declare that it is not sufficient that he be well instructed in the mystery of salvation, but that he have also the gift of utterance.*

1 Tim. iii. 2.[2]

Mal. ii. 7.[2]

Esay l. 4.[2]

Jo. Whitgift.

And why doth not "he which readeth another man's sermon preach," as well as he doth when he readeth his own? What if he pronounce another man's sermon in the pulpit without book, doth he not preach because it is not his own? I do not speak this to defend any such ignorant pastor that should need so to depend upon other men's labours; I do but put a case. It may be that a learned pastor having both "memory and utterance" sometime upon occasion may read a sermon. And I nothing doubt but in so doing he preacheth.

[1] This is inserted from Answ.] [2] The verses are added from Repl. 2.]

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And surely he shall the more readily have "the law in his lips," if he have it first "in his papers." And yet, if he read, he must use his lips. Jeremy the prophet, as it appeareth in the xxxvi. chapter, was commanded to write that which the Lord had commanded him to say to the people of Juda and of Jerusalem, and to cause it to be read unto them; and so it was in the open congregation, and in the house of the Lord, in the hearing of all the people. And so did Baruch in like manner write that which he had to say to Jechonia, and to all the people, and read the same in the open congregation, Bar. i.; and surely both these books were sermons.

Reading of scriptures.

Jer. xxxvi.

Bar. i.

Chapter ii. The Third Division.

T. C. Page 127, about the midst.

Afterward M. Doctor asketh "whether St Paul did not preach to the Romans when he wrote unto them." No, forsooth; his writing to the Romans was no more preaching than St Paul's hand or his pen, which were his instruments to write with, were his tongue or his lights, or any other parts which were his instruments to speak with. And St Paul himself, writing to the Romans, putteth a difference between his writing and his preaching, when, although he wrote unto them, yet he excuseth himself that he could not come to preach unto them, saying, that he was ready, as much as lay in him, to preach unto them.

Rom. i. 15.[3]

Jo. Whitgift.

Forsooth and I think verily that the same epistle did them more good, and wrought more with them, than if the self-same matter had been preached unto them, and not written. And, if you will but peruse the 15. and 16. verse of the xv. chapter of that epistle, I think that you shall hear the apostle call this written epistle in effect preaching. I do not perceive that in the first chapter of this epistle he maketh any such "difference between his writing unto them and his preaching." If you mean the 15. verse, he therein only signifieth that, so much as lieth in him, he is ready personally to preach the gospel among them, as well as he doth it now by his letters; and therefore to say that this "his writing is no more preaching than his hand or his pen was his tongue or his lights" is a proper jest, but not so apt for the purpose, nor so fit for your person. A man's mind is commonly much

[3] The verse is inserted from Repl. 2.]

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Reading of scriptures. better expressed by writing than by word; and that which is written continueth.

Chapter ii. The Fourth Division.

T. C. Page 127, somewhat past the midst.

But, saith he, "was not the reading of Deuteronomy preaching?" No more than the reading of Exod. Here be good proofs. It is generally denied that reading is preaching; and M. Doctor, without any proof, taketh it for granted that the reading of Deuteronomy is preaching. All men see how pitiful reasons these be.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

And why then did God by Moses, Deut. xxxi., command
Deut. xxxi. the priests and Levites that they should read "the words of this law before all Israel, that they might hear it and learn, and fear the Lord God, and keep and observe all the words of the law?" Why did Josiah, after he had found this book, cause it to be read before all the people, if reading had not been effectual, and of as great force to persuade as preaching, that is, if reading in effect had not been preaching? If the
Neh. viii. eighth chapter of Nehemias be well considered, and the true meaning of the 4. and 7. verses according to learned and godly interpreters weighed and pondered, this controversy will soon be at an end; and it will there appear in express words that reading is preaching.

These "pitiful reasons" so disquiet your patience, that it would pity a man to see how of a divine you are become a scornful jester.

Chapter ii. The Fifth Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 162, Sect. 2.

Act. xv., it is thus written: "For Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him, seeing he is read in the synagogues every sabbath-day." Where he also seemeth to call reading preaching.

T. C. Page 127, towards the end.

And in the 162. *page he allegeth that in the xv. of the Acts*[1] *cap. xv. 21.*[2] *St Luke seemeth to mean by reading preaching. But what*
If your seemings and con- *dealing is this, upon a seeming and conjecture to set down so certainly*

[1 In the Acts, Repl. 2.] [2 This reference is inserted from Repl. 2.]

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and undoubtedly that reading is preaching! and then there is no one letter nor syllable that upholdeth any such conjecture. For St James saith that Moses (meaning the law) read every sabbath throughout every town in the synagogue was also preached, or had those that preached it, setting forth the order which was used in all the churches amongst the people of God; that always, when they met upon the sabbath-days, they had the scriptures first read, and then preached of and expounded; which is that the authors of the Admonition do desire, and therefore complain for that after reading followeth no preaching, which any indifferent man may easily understand by that they say: "In the old time the word was preached: now it is supposed to be sufficient if it be read."

Reading of scriptures. Lectures were taken away, there would be few reasons left.

JO. WHITGIFT.

Surely the place of itself is evident; neither can I read any interpreter that doth otherwise understand it than of reading; and the occasion of uttering these words importeth the same. For St James doth use this for a reason why the ceremonies of the law could not by and by be abolished among the Jews, because Moses was of so great authority with them, being read every sabbath-day in their churches. Therefore, having the words of the scripture with me, I must rest in my opinion, until I hear some proof or authority to the contrary. Howbeit the weight of the cause lieth not upon this text; this is but one reason among divers.

Chapter ii. The Sixth Division.

T. C. Page 127, Sect. ult.

But M. Doctor heareth with his left ear, and readeth with his left eye, as though his right eye were pulled out, or his right ear cut off. For otherwise the other words which they have touching this matter might easily have been expounded by the argument and matter which they handle.

JO. WHITGIFT.

How doth it then happen that you have not salved the matter, by setting down their words, and declaring how I have mistaken them? seeing you have omitted that, men may well think that this is not uttered of you in good earnest. Now that you have said all in this matter, you must give me leave to let the reader understand what you have left untouched in my book concerning the same; whether it be because you consent unto it, or that you cannot answer it, I refer to his discretion.

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Reading of scriptures.

¶ The profit of reading scriptures in the church.

Chapter iii. The First Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 90, Sect. 5, 6; and Page 91, Sect. 2, 3.

Isidorus. Isidorus saith that "reading bringeth great profit to the hearers[1]."

Tertull. in Apologet.[2] Tertullian saith, "when we come together to the reading of the holy scriptures, we feed our faith with those heavenly voices, we raise up our affiance, we fasten our hope[3]." And again he calleth the reading of the scriptures, the feeding of our faith[4].

[☞ Master Bucer, in his commentaries upon the iv. to the Ephe., saith that "there be seven kinds of preaching or teaching the word, and the first to be the reading of the scriptures, which Christ also used in Nazareth, when he read the lxi. chapter of the prophet Esay[5]." ☜][6]

Harding's opinion of reading scriptures[8]. Part v. and in the 15. Art. of the Reply.

But what need I speak any more of a matter so manifest? you flatly join with the papist in this; for, in the Confutation of the Apology of the Church of England, M. Harding calleth reading of the scriptures to the people in the church, "a spiritual dumbness," and "a thing unprofitable[7]," &c. That to read the scriptures in the church is no new thing, but most ancient, and grounded upon God's word, it is manifest by that which is written in the

[1 Est autem lectio non parva audientium ædificatio.—Isidor. Hisp. Op. Col. Agrip. 1617. De Offic. Eccles. Lib. 1. cap. x. p. 393.]

[2 Answ. 2 has simply *Tertullian.*]

[3 Cogimur ad divinarum literarum commemorationem, si quid præsentium temporum qualitas aut præmonere cogit, aut recognoscere. Certe fidem sanctis vocibus pascimus, spem erigimus, fiduciam figimus, &c.—Tertull. Op. Franek. 1597. Apolog. adv. Gent. 39. p. 67.]

[4 ...qui audierit, inveniet Deum: qui etiam studuerit intelligere, cogetur et credere.—Id. ibid. 18. p. 43. Conf. 20, p. 44.]

[5 Verbi vero administratio, cum fiat lectione et recitatione divinarum scripturarum, earum denique interpretatione, et explicatione, indeque desumptis adhortationibus, tum repetitione, &c....Has omnes septem rationes docendi, Christus Dominus ipse quoque servavit. In synagoga Nazarethana legebat caput ex Iesa. 61. et interpretabatur, Luc. 4.—M. Bucer. Prælect. in Epist. ad Ephes. Basil. 1562. cap. iv. p. 117.]

[6 This paragraph is inserted from Answ. 2.]

[7 See Bp. Jewel's Works, Park. Soc. Edit. Vol. II. pp. 669, &c. Vol. IV. pp. 753, &c. 795.]

[8 Reading the scripture, Answ. 2; which omits what follows.]

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iv. of Luke; where the evangelist saith that "Christ, on the sabbath-day going into the synagogue according to his accustomed manner, rose[10] up to read; and there was delivered unto him the book of the prophet Esay; and, as soon as he opened the book, he found the place where it was written: *Spiritus Domini super me, &c.:* "The Spirit of the Lord upon me, &c." Likewise in the thirteenth of the Acts, we read that Paul and other of his company, being in the synagogue on the sabbath-day, was sent unto by the rulers of the synagogue, *post lectionem legis et prophetarum:* "after the reading of the law and the prophets," to know if they would make any exhortation to the people. Reading of scriptures. Luke iv.[9] Act. xiii.

Justinus Martyr, *Apolog.* 2. *pro Christianis*, saith that in his time the manner was, "on the sabbath-day when the people were gathered together, to have the scriptures read in the public congregation, and in the time of public prayer, for the space of one whole hour[11]." Justinus Martyr.

Origen, writing upon Josua, Homil. xv., saith that "the books of the old testament were delivered by the apostles to be read in the churches[12]." Origen.

Cyprian, *Lib. ii. Epist.* 5, saith: "The reader soundeth out the high and heavenly words; he readeth out the gospel of Christ, &c.[13]" Cyprian.

Chrysostom, upon the Acts, Homil. xix: "The minister and common minister standeth up, and crieth with a loud voice, saying, Keep silence; after that the reader beginneth the prophecy of Esay[14]." Augustine, speaking Chrysostom.

[9 This is not in Answ. 2.]

[10 Risse, Answ.]

[11 ... καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἡ ἀγροὺς μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται μέχρις ἐγχωρεῖ.—Just. Mart. Op. Par. 1742. Apolog. i. 67. p. 83.]

[12 Nisi bella ista carnalia figuram bellorum spiritalium gererent, nunquam (opinor) Judaicarum historiarum libri discipulis Christi, qui venit pacem docere, legendi in ecclesiis fuissent ab apostolis traditi.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Lib. Jesu Nave Hom. xv. 1. Tom. II. p. 431.]

[13 ...nihil magis congruit voci, quæ Dominum gloriosa prædicatione confessa est, quam celebrandis divinis lectionibus personare: post verba sublimia, quæ Christi martyrium prolocuta sunt, evangelium Christi legere, unde martyres fiunt: &c.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cler. et Pleb. Epist. xxxviii. p. 75.]

[14 Κοινὸς διάκονος, ἔστηκεν ὁ διάκονος μέγα βοῶν καὶ λέγων, πρόσχωμεν· καὶ τοῦτο πολλάκις....μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἄρχεται ὁ ἀναγνώστης τῆς προφητείας Ἡσαΐου.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Act. Apost. Hom. xix. Tom. IX. pp. 159, 60.]

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Reading of scriptures. Augustine.

to the people, saith: "Ye heard when the gospel was read." "Ye heard erewhile, when it was read, if ye gave ear to the reading." "Dearly beloved, we have heard in the lesson that hath been read[1]."

[Bucer, upon the iv. to the Ephes., of reading the scriptures, writeth thus: "This reading of the holy scriptures was appointed to this end, that both the phrase and manner of speaking of the scripture, and the scripture itself, might be more known and more familiar unto the people; for within one year the whole bible was read unto the people; when as they which did interpret the scriptures could not finish one little part thereof in one whole year. &c.; so that they were able to judge of the interpretation of the scripture, and of all doctrine which &c." Thus far Bucer.

But of reading both scriptures and prayers I have spoken before, and mind to speak something hereafter. For my part I muse what you mean in this point so to jump with the papists.][2]

Admonition.

And that this is not the feeding that Christ spake of, the scriptures are plain. [d]*Reading is not feeding, but it is as evil*[4] *as playing upon a stage, and worse too. For players yet learn their parts without book; and these a many of them can scarcely read within book. These are empty feeders,* [e]*dark eyes,* [f]*ill workmen to hasten in the Lord's harvest,* [g]*messengers that cannot call,* [h]*prophets that cannot declare the will of the Lord,* [i]*unsavoury salt,* [k]*blind guides,* [l]*sleepy watchmen,* [m]*untrusty dispensers of God's secrets,* [n]*evil dividers of the word,* [o]*weak to withstand the adversary,* [p]*not able to confute; and, to conclude, so far from making the man of God perfect to all good works, that rather the quite contrary may be confirmed.*

[d] *For reading ministers view these places.* *Mal. ii. 7. Esa. lvi. 10. Zach. xi. 15. Matt. xv. 14. 1 Tim. iii. 3.*
[e] *Matt. vi. 22.*
[f] *Matt. ix. 38. Phil. iii.*
[g] *Luc. xiv. 17.*
[h] *Matt. xxiii. 34.*
[i] *Matt. v. 13.*
[k] *Matt. xv. 14.*
[l] *Esay lvi. 10.*
[m] *1 Cor. iv. 1. Luke xvi. 1. &c.*
[n] *2 Tim. ii. 15.*
[o] *Titus i. 9.*
[p] *2 Tim. iii. 15, 16.*

Answer to the Admonition, Page 161, Sect. 2, 3.

For reading ministers you bid us view these places:

[1] Audistis, fratres, cum sanctum evangelium legeretur, &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Verb. Evang. Matt. x. Serm. lxiv. 1. Tom. V. col. 366. Conf. Serm. xxxix. 1; lxii. 1; cvi. 1; ccxxxiii. 1. cols. 199, 357, 547, 984; where, and in many other places, there are similar expressions.]

[2] The portion between brackets is introduced from Answ.; the former paragraph being in Answ. 2 only. The quotation from Bucer being, as will be seen, nearly identical with that before, pages 30, 1, is not here repeated at length.]

[3] 1 Tim. iii. 6, Adm.]

[4] For bare reading of the word and single service saying is bare feeding, yea, it is as evil, Adm.]

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Mala. ii. vers. 7[5]; Esay lvi. 10; Zachar. xi. 15; Matth. xv. 14; 1 Timoth. iii. 3. The prophet Malachi, in the second chapter and seventh verse, saith on this sort: "For the priest's lips should preserve knowledge; and they should seek the law at his mouth. For he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts." In which words the prophet doth signify that the priests ought to be learned in the law and able to instruct; which no man denieth; and, if there be any crept into the ministry, which are not able so to do, it is to be ascribed either to the negligence of the bishop, and such as have to do therein, or to the necessity of the time. But here is nothing spoken against reading, for anything that I can gather; and, if any man should come unto me, and demand of me any question touching the law of God, I think I should better satisfy him if I did read the words of the law unto him, than if I should make a long tedious discourse of mine own to little or no purpose. It is the word itself that pierceth and moveth the conscience.

Reading of scriptures.

Reading is profitable.

I speak not this against interpreting of the scriptures, or preaching (for I know they be both necessary), but against such as be enemies to the reading of them.

Pag. 162, Sect. 1, 2.

The places in the lvi. of Esay, and in the eleventh of Zachary, tend to the same purpose; they all speak against ignorant, foolish, slothful governors and pastors: there is nothing in them that condemneth or disalloweth reading of the scriptures, or reading of prayers: no more is there in the fifteenth of Matthew, nor 1 Tim. iii. Read the places, and you shall soon see with how little judgment they be quoted against such ministers as use to read the scriptures and prayers to the people. If you had said, against dumb and unlearned ministers view these places, you had said something. For reading ministers, that is, for reading the scriptures publicly in the church by ministers, view you these places: 1 Tim. iv. "Till I come, give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine." In the which words, as Musculus saith, *exprimit ordinem ecclesiasticum, quo primum*

Zachary expounded[6].

For reading ministers.

1 Tim. iv. 7. Reading of the scriptures in the church[8]. Musculus[9].

[5 Mala. ii. 7, Answ.]
[6 This is inserted from Answ. 2.]
[7 This reference is not in Answ.]
[8 This note is inserted from Answ. 2.]
[9 This is not in Answ.]

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Reading of scriptures.

ex sacris scripturis aliquid legebatur, deinde exhortatio et doctrina subjiciebatur[1]: "he expresseth the ecclesiastical order; wherein first there is something read out of the scriptures, then followeth exhortation and doctrine."

Christ read the scripture.

Luke iv.; where we learn that Christ, being at Nazareth, as his custom was, went into the synagogue on the sabbath-day, and stood up to read, &c.[2]

[According to these examples and places of scripture, the church of Christ even from the beginning hath always used to have the scripture publicly read in the church, as a thing most profitable; as it is before by me declared.][3]

Pag. 163, lin. 2, and Sect. 1, 2, 3, 4.

And yet you say, "Reading is not feeding, but it is as evil as playing upon a stage, and worse too; for players yet learn their parts without book, and these a many of them can scarcely read within book."

Reading is feeding[4]. Musculus[4].

That "reading is feeding," Musculus giveth these reasons: "first, because it maketh the people expert and cunning in the scriptures, so that they cannot be so easily deceived with false teachers." And therefore Josephus, *Lib. ii. contra Appion.*, speaking of this commodity of having the scriptures read, saith on this sort: *In unaquaque septimana ad legem audiendam conveniunt universi... Nostrorum quilibet de legibus interrogatus facilius quam nomen suum recitat. Universas quippe mox a primo sensu discentes in animo velut inscriptas habemus*[5]: "Every week all the people come together to hear the law. Every one of us, demanded any question of the law, can answer as[6] readily as he can tell his own name. For we, learning the law even from our youth, have it, as it were, written in our memory."

"Secondly, the public reading of the scripture is good for such as cannot read themselves; to such likewise as can read, but yet have not the books of the holy scripture at home in their houses."

[1] Wolfg. Muscul. Loc. Comm. Theolog. Basil. 1599. De Sacr. Script. p. 185.]

[2] Here follows the piece inserted before, page 44.]

[3] This is inserted from Answ.]

[4] Instead of these notes, Answ. 2 has *utility of reading.*]

[5] Joseph. Op. Amst. &c. 1726. Contr. Apion. Lib. II. 17, 18. Tom. II. pp. 483, 4.]

[6] Def. A. and B. omit *as.*]

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"Thirdly, it maketh the people better to understand the sermons preached unto them; because, through the continual hearing of the scriptures read, they be acquainted with the words and phrases of the same." Reading of scriptures.

"Last of all, it may be that some men be more edified by the simple reading of the scriptures than by sermons[7]."

[* I told you before in the former part that Master Bucer, upon the fourth chapter of the epistle to the Ephesians, saith that reading is a kind of teaching, and that the people, by the only reading of the scriptures, even in the congregation, was marvellously instructed and confirmed in all matters of faith and of salvation, yea, in all points of religion; also that he greatly commendeth the manner of reading the scriptures used in king Edward's time in this church of England[8]. And surely no man that hath read anything of antiquity, and that hath any experience, can deny but that reading of scriptures in the church is most ancient, yea, always at all times in the light of the gospel used, and also most profitable*.

But both of reading the scriptures, and the profitableness thereof, I have spoken before, in the former treatise. I cannot but marvel what these men mean, not only in spite and malice to join with the papists against the communion-book, but against the public reading of the scriptures in the church also, saying that "reading is no feeding, but it is as evil as playing on a stage, and worse too;" than the which no papist could have spoken more spitefully.

If there be any ministers that can scarcely read, I de-

[7 Primum ad hoc faceret, ut publicæ doctrinæ puritas illibata servaretur... Haud ita facile posset imponi ecclesiæ falsis doctrinis, si assueta esset verbis ac sententiis scripturæ...Deinde serviret publica sacræ scripturæ lectio illis hominibus, qui legere nesciunt: senibus item, parvulis et mulierculis: denique et illis, qui etsi legere sciant, domi tamen sacras scripturas non habent...Tertio, ad hoc quoque faceret, ut conciones sacræ plus lucis haberent in mentibus auditorum, propter assuetudinem verborum ac sententiarum scripturæ...Illud postremo cogitent pii homines, an non fieri possit, ut rudis auditor ecclesiasticum cœtum egressus, plura secum in animo reportet ex simplici sacræ scripturæ lectione, quam ex tota concione, &c. — Wolfg. Muscul. Loc. Comm. Theolog. De Sacr. Script. pp. 185, 6.]

[8 See before, pages 30, 1, note 4.]

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Reading of scriptures.

fend them not; neither doth the book of common prayer allow of them: these be but papistical cavillations against the purity of our service and sacraments.

As for that which followeth: "These are empty feeders, &c.;" and the places of scripture quoted in the margent may be aptly spoken and alleged against wicked, ignorant, and dumb pastors, not against virtuous, godly, learned preaching, or (as you term them) "reading ministers." And therefore I leave them to you and to the papists better to be considered of.

One may minister the sacraments, though he cannot preach.

* One thing I must advertise you of which I had almost forgotten, that, although I wish that all ministers were able to preach, yet, that being unpossible (as the state is now, and always for the most part hath been), I think that the administration of the sacraments may be committed to those to whom the office of preaching is not committed. The reasons and authorities that move me so

Chrysostom.

to think be these. Chrysostom, Hom. iii. 1 Cor. i. upon these words of the apostle: *Non enim misit me Christus ut baptizarem, sed ut evangelizarem*, saith thus: &c. And therefore reading ministers (if other things be correspondent) not to be rejected.*][1]

Admonition.

By this book bare reading is [q] *good tilling, and single service-saying is excellent* [r] *building, and he is shepherd good enough that can, as popish priests could, out of their portuis say fairly their divine service.* [*Foolishly he spake when he said he* [t] *must be "apt to teach," sith every man of the basest sort of the people is admitted to this function, of such as* [u] *Jeroboam did sometimes make his priests. We will say no more in this matter, but desire you to consider with us what small profit and edification this seely reading hath brought to us this thirteen years past (except perhaps by some*

[q] 1 Cor. iii. 5.[2]
[r] 1 Cor. iii. 9.
[t] 1 Tim. iii. 2.
[u] 2 Chron. xiii. 9.

[1] This is inserted from Answ.; the parts between asterisks being in Answ. 2 only. The concluding portion, where &c. is given above, is identical with the paragraphs, Vol. II. pages 456, 7, 8, ending page 458, line 8; save that the last paragraph in page 456 is omitted, page 457, line 2, there is *saith thus*, line 4, *but that the apostles*, line 14, *without doctrine*, and line 19, *to administer*; also the last paragraph of the same page is omitted, as likewise *in Loc. Com. de Cœna Domini* in the margin.]

[2] 1 Cor. iii. 9, Adm.]

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Circumcelion or new apostle we have had now and then a fleeing sermon). Surely our sins are grown ripe, our ignorance is equal with the ignorance [w] *of our leaders: we are lost;* [x] *they cannot find us: we are sick; they cannot heal us: we are hungry; they cannot find*[6] *us, except they lead us by other men's lights, and heal us by saying a prescript form of service, or else feed us with homilies that are too homely to be set in place*[7] *of God's scriptures.* ☞ *Are not the people well nodified, think you, when the homily of sweeping the church is read unto them?* ☜[8] *But drunken they are, and shew their own shame, that strive so eagerly to defend their doings, that they will not only not acknowledge their imperfections, but will enforce men*[9] *to allow them.*][10]

Reading of scriptures. Circumcelions.

[w] *Esai. xxiv.* 2.[4]
[x] *Zech. xi.* 13.[5]

Answer to the Admonition, Page 165, Sect. ult. and Page 166.

Here is much ado about bare "reading and single service-saying:" belike you lack matter to make out your volume, when you iterate one thing so often. I tell you again, no honest, godly, or learned man ever hitherto did or will disallow reading of the scriptures in the church, or a prescript order of common prayers. Shew any learned man's judgment to the contrary, shew the example of any christian church of antiquity, or of any late reformed church, wherein there is not both reading of the scriptures in the public congregation, and a prescript order of common prayers. Nay, shew any one syllable in the scriptures to the contrary. As for your places alleged out of the 1 Corinth. iii. vers. 5, and 1 Corinth. iii. vers. 9, the one to prove that by the book "bare reading is good tilling," the other that by the same book "single service-saying is excellent building, &c.;" they shew your intolerable audacity (I will term it no worse) in abusing the scriptures. In that place to the Corinthes[12] the apostle saith thus: "Who is Paul then,

No godly man misliketh reading in the church[11].

1 Cor. iii.[13]

[2] This word is inserted from Answ. 2.] [4] Esai. xxiv. 2, 5, Adm.]
[5] Zech. xi. 15, 16, 17, &c., Adm.]
[6] Feed, Adm.: *find* seems to have been a misprint in Edit. 1.]
[7] In the place, Adm.] [8] This sentence is introduced from Adm.]
[9] Enforce other men, Adm.]
[10] This portion of the Admonition is inserted from Adm. and Answ.: it follows the piece which appears before, page 6.]
[11] This is not in Answ. Answ. 2 has, instead, *They are put to their proof whoever dislike reading.*]
[12] Corinth., Answ.] [13] This is not in Answ.]

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Reading of scriptures.

who is Apollos, but the ministers by whom ye believed, and as the Lord gave to every man?" How can you gather hereof that by the communion-book "bare reading is good tilling," or how can you hereof conclude (that which I think you mean) that the sole and only reading of the scriptures is not tilling, or that the scriptures may not be read in the open congregation by the minister? What sequel call you this: Paul and Apollos be "the ministers by whom you believed, as the Lord gave to every man;" therefore the reading of the scriptures edify not, or, it is not lawful for them to be read in the church by the minister? You come too soon from the university to have any great skill in logic; but, belike, because there is mention made of tilling in the next verse of that chapter, therefore you quote it in the margent, missing only the line; for this is your usual manner, if you have but one word in a text which you use in your book, you quote the place, as though it made for your purpose. This is neither plain nor wise dealing.

Unskilful logicians.

[In the ninth verse of that chapter these be the words: "For we together are God's labourers: ye are God's husbandry, and God's building." How do you apply these words? or how do they prove that by the book of common prayers "single service-saying is excellent building," and that "he is a shepherd good enough that can (as a popish priest could) out of their portuis say fairly their divine service?" nay, how can you possibly collect anything out of this text against a prescript order and form of prayers? If you be past shame before man, yet remember that God will call you to a reckoning for thus shamefully abusing his holy scriptures. But now I remember this word "building" is in this text, and that is enough for you.][1]

Scriptures abused.

Pag. 168, Sect. 1, 2, 3. Many converted by hearing the scriptures read.

The examples of such as have been converted by reading of the scriptures, and hearing of them read, be infinite. I know not whereunto this your bitterness against reading of the scripture tendeth, except it be to confirm another opinion of the papists, touching the obscurity and darkness of the scripture, or divers senses

[1] This is inserted from Answ. Immediately after succeed the paragraphs which appear before, pages 6, 7.]

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and understanding of the same. If you join with them in that also, then I have to say unto you with St Augustine: *In his quæ aperte in scripturis posita sunt, inveniuntur illa omnia quæ continent fidem, moresque vivendi*[2]: "In those things that be plain and manifest in the scriptures are all such things contained which pertain to faith and good manners." And with Hierome in Psalm lxxxvi.: *Sicut scripserunt apostoli, sic et ipse Dominus, hoc est, per evangelia sua locutus est, ut non pauci intelligerent, sed ut omnes. Plato scripsit in scriptura, sed non scripsit populo sed paucis; vix enim intelligunt tres homines. Isti vero, hoc est, principes ecclesiæ, et principes Christi, non scripserunt paucis, sed universo populo*[4]: "As the apostles writ[5], so did the Lord, that is, he spake by his gospels, not that a few, but that all might understand. Plato writ, but he writ to few, not to the people; for scarce three do understand him: these, that is the apostles, writ not to few, but to the whole people." But I think you doubt not of this matter.

Reading of scriptures.

August.[3]

Hierome[3].

If the reading of the scriptures[6] edify not, what needed Chrysostom, writing upon the third to the Coloss., so earnestly exhort the people to get them bibles, or at the least the new testament, to be as it were a continual master unto them to instruct them[7]?

Chrysostom exhorteth the people to get bibles.

What needed the same Chrysostom, Hom. iii. *De Lazaro*, with such vehement words have moved the people to read the scriptures, declaring not only the commodity of them, but the easiness also to be understood[8]? Is not this saying both[9] ancient and true, "That when we

Idem[3].

A godly sentence[10].

[2 In iis enim quæ &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Doctr. Christ. Lib. II. cap. ix. 14. Tom. III. Pars I. col. 24.]

[3 These words are not in Answ.]

[4 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Breviar. in Psalt. Psalm. lxxxvi. Tom. II. Append. col. 350; where *non ut pauci*, and *non scripsit populis*. This work is not genuine.]

[5 Write, Def. A. and B.] [6 Of scriptures, Answ.]

[7 Ἀκούσατε, παρακαλῶ, πάντες οἱ βιωτικοὶ, καὶ κτᾶσθε βιβλία κ. τ. λ.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Coloss. cap. iii. Hom. ix. Tom. XI. p. 391. See Vol. I. page 524, note 1.]

[8 Μεγάλη ἀσφάλεια πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἁμαρτάνειν, τῶν γραφῶν ἡ ἀνάγνωσις·... ἀμήχανον γάρ, ἀμήχανον ἄκαρπον ἀναχωρῆσαί τινα συνεχῶς ἀναγνώσεως ἀπολαύοντα μετὰ ἐπιστασίας. κ.τ.λ.—Id. De Laz. Conc. iii. Tom. I. p. 740.]

[9 Saying of Cyprian both, Answ. 2.]

[10 This is inserted from Answ. 2.]

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Reading of scriptures.

read the scriptures God talketh with us; when we pray then we talk with God[1]?" [In the one and thirty chapter of Deutero. it is thus written: "Thou shalt read this law before all Israel, that they may hear it; that they may hear, and that they may learn, and fear the Lord your God."][2] But touching this matter I refer you to that which I have spoken before in the former part of your Admonition. And also, I beseech you, take pains to peruse the 15. article of that notable Jewel, and worthy bishop late of Sarisbury[3], wherein he of purpose intreateth of this matter against M. Harding.

["Foolishly he spake (say you) when he said, &c." no, surely; but you do foolishly gather that reading is unprofitable, because St Paul said that a bishop must be "apt to teach;" for your argument is this in effect: A bishop must be apt to teach; therefore the scriptures need not to be read to the people; which is a *non sequitur*.

A *non sequitur*.

Your place of the 2 Chronicles xiii. I have touched before, where it was alleged to the same purpose: I have shewed how unaptly you use it. For Jeroboam was reproved for making such priests as were not of the tribe of Levi, to the which tribe only the priesthood was then tied: now it forceth not of what stock or tribe he is that is admitted to the ministry, so that other qualities required of a minister be in him.

Why Jeroboam was reproved.

You will "say no more in this matter, but desire" us "to consider" with you "what small profit and edification this silly reading hath brought to us these thirteen years past, &c." And what can you tell how much it hath profited? I think very much; but the less because of your contentiousness. For by the factions that you have stirred many be brought into a doubt of religion, many clean driven back; and no doubt the fruits of the gospel would have much more appeared, if you had not made this schism in the church a perpetual companion, but yet a deadly enemy to the gospel.

[1] Sit tibi vel oratio assidua, vel lectio: nunc tu cum Deo loquere, nunc Deus tecum.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Donat. Lib. p. 9.]

[2] This is inserted from Answ.]

[3] See Bp Jewel's Works, Park. Soc. Edit. Vol. II. pp. 669, &c.]

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I know not what you mean by your "Circumcelion," or "new apostle." If you mean such as preach in divers places as they be called, or as they see occasion, I see not with what honest zeal or godly affection you can call them in derision "Circumcelions" or "new apostles." Some such have done more good with "their flying sermons" (as you term them) than you have done with your railing libels. Reading of scriptures. Circumcelion.

*Howbeit it is very like that you understand not what is meant by a Circumcelion. For Augustine, *Li. de Hæresibus*, saith that "Circumcelions were a kind of heretics, which used to kill themselves by falling from high places, or by drowning or burning themselves, and to persuade other men to do the like, or else to threaten to kill them, saying that by this means they should become martyrs[4]." The same Augustine thinketh that these heretics pertain to the sect of the Donatists. Now therefore how aptly you use this word in this place, let the wise reader judge.*

But, as I said in the beginning, I will not answer words but matter, although I am constrained to do otherwise, you are so full of words and barren of matter.][5]

Jo. WHITGIFT.

All this you have left unanswered, save only that you have touched the last of Musculus his reasons.

[4 Ad hanc hæresim [Donatistarum] in Africa et illi pertinent, qui appellantur Circumcelliones, genus hominum agreste &c. Nam per mortes varias maximeque præcipitiorum et aquarum et ignium se ipsos necare consuerunt; et in istum furorem alios quos potuerint sexus utriusque seducere, aliquando ut occidantur ab aliis, mortem nisi fecerint comminantes.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Quodvultd. Lib. de Hær. 69. Tom. VIII. cols. 21, 2.]

[5 This is inserted from Answ. The portion between asterisks is in Answ. 2 only.]

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¶ Of ministering and preaching by Deacons. Tract. xiv.

The First Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 93, Sect. 2.

Philip deacon baptized.

We read in the eighth of the Acts that Philip, being a deacon, did baptize[1].

T. C. Page 128, Line 1.

Of ministering of the sacraments in private places and by women, I have spoken before; there remaineth therefore only in this section to speak of the deacons, that they ought not to minister the sacrament. Which although I have done partly before, and partly afterward will do when I shall shew that it appertaineth not to them to minister the word, and therefore not the sacraments (being things the ministry whereof ought not to be severed), yet I will in a word answer those arguments that M. Doctor bringeth for to prove that they may minister the sacraments; whereof the first is, that Philip in the viii. of the Acts baptized. But I would gladly ask M. Doctor how he is able to prove that that was Philip the deacon, and not rather Philip the apostle, seeing that St Luke, when he speaketh of Philip that was the deacon, speaketh of him with that title and addition of deaconship, and there is a great doubt[2] amongst writers which Philip that was that St Luke mentioneth in the eighth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. But let it be that Philip that was the deacon. I answer that he was no deacon then[3]; for, the church of Jerusalem, whereof he was deacon, being scattered, he could be no more deacon of it, or distribute the money that was collected for the poor of that church. And, further, I answer that he was afterward an evangelist, and therefore preached not by virtue of his deaconship (whose calling is not to preach), but by that he was an evangelist, whose office put upon him a necessity of preaching.

Jo. Whitgift.

Philip that baptized Samaria was a deacon.

In the beginning of that viii. chap. of the Acts, St Luke declareth that all the apostles did still remain at Jerusalem; wherefore it could not be Philip the apostle which was now at Jerusalem; but it must needs be Philip the deacon that was dispersed with the rest and came to Samaria, where he now preached and baptized. And of this judgment is M. Calvin, whose words upon the same place and chapt. be these:

[1] This sentence has appeared before. See Vol. II. page 519.]

[2] Is great doubt, Repl. 1, 2, and Def. A. Repl. 2 omits all from *baptized* to *deaconship and* inclusive, and places in the margin *Acts xv.* 21.]

[3] But I grant him to be that Philip that was the deacon, and answer that he was no deacon then, Repl. 2.]

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"Seeing Luke had before declared that the apostles did not stir from Jerusalem, it is probable that one of the seven deacons, whose daughters also did prophesy, is here mentioned[4]." M. Gualter, writing upon the same place, saith thus: "This Philip was not the apostle, but he which was reckoned before among the deacons; as the ancient ecclesiastical writers do with one consent testify; especially Epiphanius writing *De Simone et Simoniacis*[5]." That this Philip still remained deacon, and that he was called an evangelist in respect that he preached the gospel though he were but a deacon, it appeareth, Acts xxi.: where St Luke speaketh of him in this manner: "And we entering into the house of Philip the evangelist, which was one of the seven, &c.[6]" And further, that he still remained deacon, although he was now departed from Jerusalem, M. Gualter declareth in the eighth of the Acts, in these words: "Although it was the office of deacons to take charge of the common treasures of the church, and of the poor, yet was it herewith permitted unto them to take the office of preaching, if at any time necessity required; as we have hitherto seen in the example of Stephen. And peradventure there was not so great need of deacons at Jerusalem, when the church was through persecution dispersed; and therefore they which before were stewards of the church-goods did give themselves wholly to the ministry of the word[7]." The words of Epiphanius, whom M. Gualter mentioneth, be these: "For, when Philip, being a deacon, had not

Calvin.

Gualter.

Acts xxi.

Gualter.

Epipha. de Simone et Simoniac.

[4 Porro cum ante narraverit [Lucas], apostolos non movisse pedem Jerosolyma, probabile est unum ex septem diaconis, cujus etiam filiæ prophetabant, hic designari.—Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Comm. in Act. Apost. cap. viii. 5. Tom. VI. p. 70.]

[5 See below, page 60, note 1.]

[6 Cartwright insists that Philip was no longer a deacon at the time mentioned, Acts xxi. Else, he says, St Luke would have written in that place, "which is one of the seven," and not "which was."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 93 (error for 103).]

[7 Fuit is Philippus, non quidem apostolus, sed qui supra inter diaconos numeratus fuit, quemadmodum unanimi consensu veteres ecclesiæ scriptores testantur, Epiphanius maxime de Simone et Simoniacis scribens. Licet enim diaconorum partes essent, communium ecclesiæ opum et pauperum curam gerere, simul tamen illis permissum erat evangelii prædicationem suscipere, si quando necessitas ita postularet, quod in Stephani exemplo hucusque vidimus. Et fortassis non adeo magnus diaconorum usus erat Hierosolymæ, cum ecclesia persecutionis tempestate dispersa esset: et ideo ad verbi ministerium se totos contulerunt, qui prius publica ecclesiæ bona dispensabant.—R. Gualther. Hom. in Act. Apost. Tigur. 1569. Hom. lvii. fol. 117.]

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authority to lay on hands, that thereby he might give the Holy Ghost. &c.[1]" Whereby it is plain that Philip, being deacon, did baptize, though he had none authority *imponendi manus:* "to lay on hands."

Augustine also in his Questions, speaking of Philip, saith thus: *Et iterum multum distare inter diaconum et sacerdotem, liber approbat quem dicimus Actus Apostolorum. &c.*[2] "Again, the book which we call the Acts of the Apostles doth prove that a deacon differeth much from a priest; for, when they of Samaria believed the preaching of Philip the deacon, they sent (saith he) unto them Peter and John, &c."

Aug. in Quæst. ex utroque Test.

The Second Division.

T. C. Page 128, Line 19, and Sect. 1.

After you say that deacons are not permitted with us to celebrate the Lord's supper; and why then should they be suffered to minister baptism? as if the one sacrament were not as precious as the other. This is a miserable rending in sunder[3] *of those things which God hath joined together, not only to separate the ministry of the sacraments from the word, but also the ministry of one sacrament from another.*

And what reason is there that it should be granted unto one that can-
Why? do you account him no minister? this gear would be marked.
not preach (being, as they call him, a minister) to minister both the sacraments, when as the same is not permitted unto a deacon (as they call him) which is able to preach? I do not speak it for that I would have those which be deacons indeed, that is, which have charge to provide for the poor of some one congregation, should[4] *either preach or minister the sacraments; but I say that it is against all reason to permit the ministry of the sacraments to those which cannot preach, and to deny it to those which are able to preach.*

Jo. Whitgift.

I do but in that point agree with the scriptures, and all other writers, for the most part, both old and new, who testify that deacons did preach the word and minister the sacrament of baptism. But I cannot read in any author where they ministered the communion, and therefore I am bold to speak

[1 Ἐπειδὰν γὰρ ὁ Φίλιππος διάκονος ὢν οὐκ εἶχεν ἐξουσίαν τῆς χειροθεσίας τοῦ δι' αὐτῆς διδόναι Πνεῦμα ἅγιον.—Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hær. Lib. I. Tom. II. Hær. xxi. 1. Tom. I. p. 55.]

[2 Et iterum &c. apostolorum. Cum enim ex Samaria credidissent Philippo prædicanti diacono ab apostolis ordinato, *Miserunt*, inquit, *ad Petrum et Johannem ut venirent*, &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Quæst. ex utroq. mixt. Quæst. ci. Tom. III. Append. col. 93.]

[3 A sunder, Repl. 1 and 2.] [4 Repl. 2 omits *should*.]

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as I have learned out of the holy scriptures and other godly writers[5]; neither is this to rend in sunder either the sacraments from the word, or the sacraments from themselves, but to keep the order used in the church in the apostles' time, and since their time.

No man that is able to preach, being for his other qualities also meet, is debarred from ministering the sacraments, if he be in the ministry; but no man, be he never so able in all respects, may presume to take an office upon him whereunto he is not called. Therefore he that cannot preach, and yet by the order of the church is admitted to minister the sacraments, is a lawful minister of the same; and he that can preach, except by order he be thereunto called, may not intrude himself into any function of the ministry. I have also declared before, that even from the beginning the administration of the sacraments have been committed to some to whom the preaching of the word hath not been committed[6]. Tract. VI. and cap. 1. Tract. IX. cap. 1, divis. 15.

The Third Division.

Admonition.

Touching deacons, though their names be remaining, yet is the office foully perverted, and turned upside down; for their duty in the primitive church was to [s]*gather the alms diligently, and to distribute it faithfully; also for the sick and impotent persons to provide painfully; having ever a diligent care that the charity of godly men were not wasted upon loiterers* [t]*and idle vagabonds*[7].

[s] *Rom. xii. 8.*

[t] *2 Thess. iii. 10.*

Answer to the Admonition, Page 118, Sect. 2.

It is true that in the primitive church the office of a deacon was to collect and provide for the poor, but not only; for it was also their office to preach and to

[5 "Now as for his answer it is too frivolous. For, although it be a good reason in the direction of the church to say, there is nothing written touching it; therefore it is not to be admitted; yet in the practice of that which is prescribed to be done it is an evil argument to say, 'it is not written; therefore it was not done,' much more, 'that it may not be done.' For, when our Saviour Christ's acts were not all written (Joh. xx.), is it any marvel although all that Philip did be not written? And by his reason the bishops ought not to administer the supper; considering that in all the scripture it is not mentioned that a bishop ministered it."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 105.]

[6 See Vol. I. pages 538, &c.; Vol. II. pages 456, &c.]

[7 This portion of the Admonition occurs again below, Tractat. xix.; where there are some sentences of the Answ. immediately preceding those which follow here.]

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baptize. For Stephen and Philip being deacons did preach the gospel, Acts vi. vii. viii. And Philip did baptize the eunuch, Acts viii.

T. C. Page 128, Sect. 1.

In the 118. *page, unto the example of Philip he addeth St Stephen, which was one of the deacons, which he affirmeth to have preached. But I deny it; for all that long oration which he hath in the seventh of the Acts is no sermon, but a defence of himself against those accusations which were laid against him; as M. Beza doth very learnedly and substantially prove in his annotations upon those places of St Stephen's disputations and defence*[1]. *Now, to defend himself, being accused, is lawful, not for the deacons only, but for any other Christian; and we read nothing that Stephen did there, either touching the defence of his cause, or the sharp rebuking of the obstinate Pharisees and priests, but that the holy martyrs of God, which were no deacons nor ministers, have done with us when they have been convented before their persecutors; and, whereas he saith that Philip baptized, I have shewed before by what authority he did it, that is, not in that he was a deacon, but for that he was an evangelist.*

No such thing to be found in Beza his annotations.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

Stephen his oration[2] a sermon.

This is a hard and new-devised shift. You imagine (as I think) that you are in the logic or philosophy schools, where you may feign what distinctions you list; but all will not serve. The accusations are contained in the 13. and 14. verse of the vi. chap.: let the reader compare his sermon with them, and judge whether he spake in the way of preaching or of defending himself. Although a man may make his apology in preaching, and answer accusations in a sermon; and surely that sharp and severe reprehension that he concludeth with, beginning at the 51. verse, doth evidently declare that it was a sermon: moreover, it was in the synagogue which was called the synagogue of the Libertines, &c. The end of it was to prove true religion, and the true worshipping of God, to be affixed neither to the temple, nor to external ceremonies, but to consist of faith in God. And yet I do not deny but that Stephen also did use this sermon as an answer to those matters whereof he was accused; but he answered in the way of preaching, and not of pleading. And that doth M. Gualter directly affirm; for, although he call this an oration, and a defence, yet in the viii. chap. he proveth, by this example

Gualter.

[1 See below, note 5.] [2 Orations, Def. B.]

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of Stephen, that "deacons were permitted, together with the charge of the goods of the church, and of the poor, to preach[3];" as I have shewed before. And the authors of the Centuries, speaking of that time, say thus: "It appeareth also out of the vi. and viii. of the Acts that deacons did teach[4]." And in the same book and chapter: "Others were deacons, whose office was to serve the tables at Jerusalem, so long as there was there a community of goods, Acts vi.; notwithstanding, it appeareth by Stephen, Acts vi. and by Philip, Acts viii., that they did teach and work miracles; and everywhere in other churches the office of deacons was to teach and minister[5]." Cent. i. Lib. ii. cap. 7.

I cannot find in M. Beza his annotations any such thing as you here affirm[6]. Although, if it were so, yet doth it not improve this to be a sermon; for then was the oration of Peter's no sermon, Acts ii., wherein he answered to those that accused the apostles of drunkenness; neither can Paul be said to have preached, Acts xxiv., if this be true that an apology may not be made by the way of preaching. If it be lawful thus to invent distinctions to shift off so manifest examples of scriptures, then it is an easy matter to shift off any thing that shall be proponed[7].

I have proved by the scripture itself, by Epiphanius, and by M. Gualter, and by the authors of the Centuries, that Philip being a deacon did both baptize and preach; and you only deny it, without either author or reason.

[3] R. Gualter. Hom. in Act. Apost. Tigur. 1569. Hom. lvii. fol. 117. See before, page 59, note 7.]

[4] Diaconos etiam docuisse, ex Actor. vi. et viii. patet.—Centur. Eccles. Hist. Basil. 1560, &c. Cent. i. Lib. ii. cap. vii. col. 510.]

[5] Alii diaconi: horum officium erat, ministrare mensæ Hierosolymis, dum ibi erat communio bonorum. Act. vi. Sed tamen eos quoque docuisse et edidisse signa, ex Stephano apparet Act. vi. et Philippo, Act. viii. 21. et in aliis passim ecclesiis diaconorum officium fuit, docere et ministrare.—Ibid. col. 508.]

[6] Cartwright acknowledges that he "failed" in quoting Beza, but argues at length against Stephen's oration being a sermon.—The Rest of Sec. Repl. pp. 106, 7.]

[7] Propounded, Def. A.]

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The Fourth Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 118, Sect. 2.

Deacons helped in the ministration of the supper[1].

Justinus Martyr, one of the most ancient writers, in his second Apology saith that, in the administration of the supper, deacons did distribute the bread and the wine to the people[2]. The same doth M. Calvin affirm of deacons in his Institutions, chap. 19.[3]

Tertullian.

[* Tertullian, in his book *De Baptismo*, hath these words: *Dandi quidem habet jus summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus; deinde presbyteri et diaconi, non tamen sine episcopi auctoritate, propter ecclesiæ honorem*[4]: "The high priest, which is the bishop, hath authority to baptize (for that is his meaning; as the words going before and following after plainly declare): so have the ministers and deacons, but not without the authority of the bishop, for the honour of the church."

Hierome.

Hierome *adversus Luciferanos* saith thus: *Non...abnuo hanc esse ecclesiarum consuetudinem, ut ad eos qui longe in minoribus urbibus per presbyteros et diaconos baptizati sunt, episcopus ad invocationem sancti Spiritus manum impositurus excurrat*[5]: "I do not deny but that this is the custom of the church, that the bishop should go to lay his hand by the invocation of the Holy Spirit upon those which afar off in little[6] cities by ministers and deacons were baptized." And a little after he saith, that "neither the ministers nor deacons have authority to baptize without the commandment of the bishop[7]."

Zosomenus.

Zozo., *Li. vii.* of his story, saith that "archdeacons and deacons read the scriptures in the church[8]."

Bucer.

Bucer, in *iv. ad Ephe.*, saith that "in old times

[1 The office of deacons by Justinus Martyr, Answ. 2.]

[2 Just. Mart. Op. Par. 1742. Apol. i. 65. p. 83. See Vol. I. page 215, note 4.]

[3 This sentence is not in Answ. 2. See below, note 6.]

[4 Tertull. Op. Franek. 1597. De Bapt. Lib. 17. p. 225; where *dehinc presbyteri*.]

[5 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Adv. Lucif. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 295.]

[6 This word is printed *like* in Answ. 2, and is altered with a pen into *little*.]

[7 Inde venit, ut sine chrismate et episcopi jussione, neque presbyter, neque diaconis jus habeant baptizandi.—Id. ibid.]

[8 Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. VII. cap. xix. p. 596. See Vol. II. page 176, note 2.]

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deacons did interpret the scriptures in the church; also that they did teach the catechism; likewise that they did help in the administration of the Lord's supper, and give the cup to the people; finally that they were assistant to the bishops and ministers in many other services of the church[9]."

Calvin, in his Institutions, *cap. viii.*, confesseth that "in the old church reading of the scriptures to the people, exhortation to prayer, and distribution of the cup in the supper of the Lord, was committed to deacons[10]."

Master Beza, *Li. Confess. cap. v.*, saith that "deacons did oftentimes supply the office of the pastors in the administration of the sacraments, and celebrating of marriage[11]." And to prove this he quoteth 1 Corinth. i. verse 14, 15, &c., and John iv. verse 2.

Hereby it may appear that more pertained to the office of a deacon in the primitive church, than to distribute to the poor, and provide for the sick and impotent*.][12]

T. C. Page 128, Sect. 1, 2, 3.

He addeth further out of Justin Martyr, that the "deacons did distribute the bread and the wine in the administration of the supper." Tully saith, in a certain place, that it is as great a point of wisdom in an advocate or

[9 Sunt etiam [diaconi] instituti ad juvandos episcopos in ministerio, et disciplina constituenda, conservanda et stabilienda....Alterum jam munus est doctrinæ dispensandæ interpretatio, id est verborum et sententiarum simplicior explicatio. Hoc ministerium episcopi obibant, et presbyteri: nonnunquam tamen ex ordine diaconorum, atque subdiaconorum: &c....Quintam partem, catechismos nunc presbyteris, nunc diaconis,....commendarunt.....Diaconis dispensatio sanguinis Christi est commissa, et singuli clericalis ordinis ministrį aliquid ad sacram cœnam administrabant.—M. Bucer. Prælect. in Epist. ad Ephes. Basil. 1562. cap. iv. pp. 107, 18, 19, 22.]

[10 Quod autem evangelii ad populum lectio illis dabatur, et exhortatio ad precandum: quod item ad porrigendum in sacra cœna calicem adhibebantur: id muneris ornandi causa fiebat, &c.—Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Inst. Lib. iv. cap. iv. 5. Tom. IX. p. 287. In the passage referred to in the preceding page, (see note 2) Calvin seems to be only describing the duties assigned to a deacon in the Romish Church. Conf. cap. xix. 23, 32. pp. 394, 6. See, however, below, page 83.]

[11 Th. Bezæ Confess. Christ. Fid. Genev. 1587. cap. v. 25. p. 137. See Vol. II. page 458, note 1; where the page is wrongly printed 238.]

[12 The paragraphs between brackets are inserted from Answ. 2.]

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pleader of causes to hold back and to keep close that which is hurtful to[1] *his cause, as it is to speak that which is profitable*[2].

M. Doctor observeth none of these points; for, besides that the things which he brought for the defence of the service-books are such as they have before appeared, in seeking to defend it he manifestly oppugneth it. For before he said that the book of service doth not permit deacons to minister the supper of the Lord, and that by way of allowing of the book, and here proveth[3] *that the deacons did minister the sacrament of the supper, and that also as a thing which he doth allow of.*

An untrue and mere cavil.

But, to let that pass, I beseech thee, good reader, mark what a ministering of the supper this is, which Justin maketh mention of, and note with what conscience M. Doctor handleth this cause. Justin saith that, "after the scriptures are read and preached of, and prayers made, bread and wine and water was brought forth, and that the minister made prayers and thanksgiving in the hearing of the people (which is that which the evangelists call the blessing, and hath been of later times called the consecration), and after that the people were partakers of them; that then, this being done, the deacons do[4] *carry of that which was left unto those which were not present" (for that corruption of sending the communion unto the houses was then in the church, against which I have before spoken). Now, if to carry to a private house the bread and wine which was blessed or set apart by prayers, and by the obeying*[5] *the institution of Christ by the minister, be to minister the sacrament of the supper, then Serapion's boy, of whom mention is made by Eusebius, ministered the sacrament. For Serapion, being sick, as I have before shewed, and sending his boy to the minister for the sacrament, received the same at the hands of his boy; for that the minister being sick could not come himself*[6]. *So, by M. Doctor's reason, Serapion's boy ministered the sacrament.* Lib. vi. ca. 43.

JO. WHITGIFT.

Where doth M. Doctor say that deacons did minister the Lord's supper? set down his words. Is there no end of your falsifying and untrue gathering? Let the reader compare the words that I have recited out of Justinus Martyr with your collection, and then judge of the honesty and sincerity of your dealing. The Admonition so speaketh of

[1] In, Def. B.]

[2] Perhaps the following may be the passage intended: Homines enim imperiti facilius quod stulte dixeris, reprehendere, quam, quod sapienter tacueris, laudare possunt.—Cic. Op. Lond. 1680-1. De Orat. Lib. II. Tom. I. p. 119.]

[3] He reproveth, Repl. 1; here he proveth, Repl. 2.]

[4] Did, Repl. 2.] [5] By obeying, Repl. 1, 2, and Def. A.]

[6] Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. VI. cap. XLIV. pp. 200, 1. See Vol. II. page 542.]

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deacons as though their office in the primitive church had been only to gather and to distribute alms. This I deny, and prove that deacons did then also preach, baptize, and distribute the bread and the wine in the administration of the Lord's supper. I nowhere say, neither do I believe, that they did at any time minister the Lord's supper; and you might have understood that to distribute the bread and wine to the people in the administration of the supper is not to minister the sacrament of the supper. For these deacons, of whom Justinus Martyr speaketh, yea, and "Serapion's boy" also, did the one, but they did not the other; and therefore the spirit of cavilling hath driven you to this surmise.

The Fifth Division.

T. C. Page 129, Line 11.

Many words bestowed in the confutation of that which is not affirmed.

A man[7] *would not think that one that hath been the queen's majesty's public professor of divinity in Cambridge should not know to distinguish and put a difference between ministering the sacrament and helping to distribute the bread and the cup of the sacrament. And, if M. Doctor could not learn this in books, yet he might have either seen it, or at least heard tell of it, in all reformed*[8] *churches almost, where the deacons do assist the minister in helping of him to distribute the cup, and in some places also the bread, for the quicker and speedier dispatch of the people, being so many in number, that, if they should all receive the bread and the cup at the minister's hand, they should not make an end in eight hours, which by that assistance may be finished in two; which is that that M. Calvin saith. For he saith, "the deacons did reach the cup*[9]*," and maketh no mention of the bread. And, if this be to minister the sacrament, then they that cut the loaf in pieces, they that fetch the wine for the supper, they that pour it forth from greater vessels into glasses and cups, or whosoever aideth any thing in this action, do minister the sacrament, than the which thing there can be nothing more ridiculous.*

Jo. Whitgift.

A man would not have thought that one which hath ambitiously desired to be the queen's majesty's divinity reader, and yet pretendeth such purity and simplicity, would upon any occasion (much less of none) use such contemptuous and deriding speeches towards one not so much his inferior. But I pass all over quietly, desiring only the reader to take these

[7 And a man, Repl. 1 and 2.]

[8 All the reformed, Repl. 1 and 2.] [9 See before, page 65, note 10.]

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and such like notes of your mortification, modesty, and plain dealing. And mark, I pray you, how many words he spendeth in this place to confute me, which speak no otherwise than he would have me to speak. Surely it is very like that (when you were answering this part) the old grief conceived for missing the divinity lecture came into your mind, and so much overcame you, that you could not understand what I had said[1]; otherwise it could not have been possible that a man in his right wits should so far have been overshot. For mark my saying that you confute, and you shall find it to differ very little in words, but in effect nothing at all, from that which you in confutation hereof affirm to be the use in reformed churches.

The Sixth Division.

Admonition.

Now it is the first step to the ministry, nay, rather a mere order of priesthood.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 119, Line 2.

It may well be counted the first step to the ministry, as it hath been from the apostles' time; and St Paul joineth them together, 1 Tim. iii.

T. C. Page 129, Sect. 1.

In the end M. Doctor, to shut up this matter saith, that "it is the first step to the ministry, and so joined of St Paul in the third chapter and first epistle to Timothy." But what reason[2] is this: To be a deacon is the first step to the ministry; therefore the deacon may preach and minister the sacraments? when as the contrary rather followeth. For, if it be a step to the ministry, then it is not the ministry, but differeth from it, and so ought not to do the things that belong to the minister.

Jo. Whitgift.

You are but disposed to counterfeit: I must give you leave so to do, and be content; but I trust it will turn smally to your credit. The words of the Admonition be these: "Now it is the first step to the ministry, nay, rather a mere order of priesthood." The which words I answer in this manner: "It may well be counted the first step to the ministry, as it

[1 See Strype, Annals, Vol. I. chap. lvii.]
[2 What a reason, Repl. 1, 2, and Def. A.]

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hath been from the apostles' time; and St Paul joineth them together, 1 Tim. iii." Now let the reader consider whether I use this for an argument, or no, to prove that a deacon may preach and minister the sacraments. If I should so have concluded, the argument might have been proved, for preaching and baptizing; but, seeing my answer is direct to the words of the Admonition in another matter, it is too much for you thus deridingly to feign and to utter an untruth. It seemeth you want false arguments to dally with, when you are fain to coin some of your own, and so, for want of other sport, to imitate the cat that playeth with her own tail.

The Seventh Division.

T. C. Page 129, Sect. 1.

But I deny that it is or ought to be always a step to the ministry. I know that it hath been the use of long time, and I know also that there be very many which interpret the place of St Paul, where he speaking of the deacons that behave themselves well, that they get themselves a good βαθμὸν, that is, a degree, to be a minister or a bishop. But I will shew a manifest reason why it cannot so be understanded, which is for that, as the functions of a deacon or a minister are divers, so are the gifts also whereby those functions are executed likewise divers; and therefore there may be some men, for their wisdom and gravity, discretion and faithfulness, and whatsoever other gifts are required in him that should do this office of providing for the poor, and to be a good deacon, which notwithstanding, for some impediment in his tongue, or for want of utterance, shall never be able as long as he liveth to be a good minister of the word; and therefore, the gifts being divers wherewith those offices must be executed (although it is neither unlawful nor unmeet to make of a deacon a minister, if he have gifts for that purpose), yet I deny that St Paul appointeth that the deaconship should be, as it were, the seed or fry of the ministers, or that he meaneth by those words that the deaconship is a step to the pastorship. Which may yet also further appear by the phrase of speech which the apostle useth, for he doth not say that "they that do the office of a deaconship[3] well" shall come to, or get a good standing; but he saith that in so doing they do "get themselves a good standing," that is, they get themselves authority and estimation in the church, whereby they may be both the bolder to do their office, and whereby they may do it with more fruit; whereas, when they live naughtily, they neither dare do oftentimes that which they should do, nor yet that which they do well taketh so good effect, because of the discredit which cometh by their evil behaviour. And so I

[3 Of deaconship, Repl. 1 and 2.]

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conclude that M. Doctor hath brought hitherto nothing to prove why either deacons ought or else have wont either to preach or to minister the sacraments.

Jo. Whitgift.

A deaconship a step into the ministry.

It is not necessary that every one which is a deacon should be preferred to the ministry; for it may be that he shall so evil use himself in that function that he be thought unmeet further to be preferred. But you have not read, as I think, sithence the apostles' time, of any that have been orderly preferred to the ministry not being deacon before.

Ambrose[1], Chrysostom[2], the Greek paraphrast[3], Bullinger[4], Gualter[5], Hemingius[6], and divers other, do so expound these words of Paul, 1 Tim. iii. (*Qui benè ministraverunt, gradum sibi bonum acquirunt, &c.*), that they make the deaconship a step to the ministry. And therefore your reason had need be very good that shall convince all these of unskilfulness.

St Paul doth not make much difference betwixt the gifts that are to be required in a bishop and the gifts that are to be required in a deacon[7]; as it appeareth 1 Tim. iii. And indeed, if you respect the gifts required in them both, there is not much difference between them; and therefore your reason is not so strong as you make it. Moreover, I never heard that an

[1 ...ut hi ad ministerium Dei eligantur, qui non sunt egressi constitutum Dei.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in Epist. ad Timoth. prim. cap. iii. vv. 12, 13. Tom. II. Append. col. 295.]

[2 Ὡσεὶ ἔλεγεν, οἱ ἐν τοῖς κάτω δείξαντες ἑαυτοὺς διεγηγερμένους, ταχέως καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνα ἀνελεύσονται.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In 1. Epist. ad Timoth. cap. iii. Hom. xi. Tom. XI. p. 605.]

[3 Οἱ ἐν τοῖς κάτω πεῖραν ἑαυτῶν δεδωκότες χρηστὴν, ταχέως εἰς προκοπὴν καὶ παῤῥησίαν ἐλεύσονται τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ.—Œcumen. Op. Lut. Par. 1631. Comm. cap. vi. in 1. Epist. ad Timoth. Tom. II. p. 227.]

[4 Quisquis enim in hoc ordine se gesserit graviter et integre, non modo gradum sibi sternit ad munia excellentiora, verum etiam auctionem accipiet a Deo Spiritus sancti.—H. Bullinger. Comm. in Omn. Apost. Epist. Tigur. 1539. In 1. Epist. ad Timoth. cap. iii. p. 577.]

[5 Primo gradum sibi faciunt ad magis sublimia.—R. Gualther. Archetyp. Homel. in Omn. Apost. Epist. Tigur. 1599. In Epist. ad Timoth. 1. cap. iii. Hom. xv. fol. 320.]

[6 Externus fructus est, quod qui in inferiori dignitatis gradu suo munere fideliter perfunguntur, superiorem gradum, Deo sic ordinante, consequuntur.—N. Hemming. Comm. in Omn. Epist. Apostol. Argent. 1586. 1. Timoth. cap. iii. pp. 601, 2.]

[7 "...which is a great untruth."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 108.]

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"impediment in the tongue, or some want of utterance," were sufficient causes to debar a man (otherwise meet) from the ministry. Indeed, St Paul requireth that he should be *aptus ad docendum;* which he may be, though he hath some impediment in speech. For St Paul doth not mean by these words volubility of tongue, but wisdom, discretion, and order in teaching. If you mean such a one as either cannot speak at all, or not utter his mind in such sort as he may be understood, him I think neither to be fit for to be minister, nor a deacon; but (as I told you before) it is not necessary that whosoever is deacon should after be minister, no more than it is that a bachelor of art should be a master of art, or a bachelor of divinity a doctor; for there may be just causes to stay them from proceeding any further. And therefore saith St Paul, *Qui bene ministraverint, gradum sibi bonum acquirunt, &c.:* "They which have ministered well get themselves a good degree." So that this reason of yours is easily pushed away. I know some do expound the words of St Paul as you do; and the interpretation is not amiss: yet are not the reasons sufficient to improve the other; to the which I most incline, because it is allowed of most learned men, and the words themselves do very fitly bear it. But the matter doth not depend only upon these words of St Paul, but upon the continual practice of the church also from time to time. 1 Tim. iii.

The Eighth Division.

T. C. Page 129, Sect. ult.

And, albeit M. Doctor be not able to shew it, yet I confess that it hath been in times past permitted unto them in some churches to baptize, in other some to preach and baptize, and sometimes also to minister the supper; but I say also that this was a corruption, and used at those times when there were very many other gross and untolerable abuses[8]*, from the which I do appeal unto that which was first, that is, the institution of the apostles, which limited and bounded every function within his several limits and borders which it ought not to pass.*

Jo. Whitgift.

Yes, I have proved it by sufficient testimonies to have been so, even in the apostles' time, when the church was Deacons baptized.

[8 Abused, Def. B.]

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furthest from corruption; and now I will add a little more.

Tertull. Tertullian, in his book *De Baptismo*, hath these words: *Baptizandi quidem jus habet summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus; deinde presbyteri et diaconi, non tamen sine episcopi auctoritate, propter ecclesiæ honorem*[1]: "The high priest, which is the bishop, hath authority to baptize: so have the ministers and deacons, but not without the authority of the bishop, for the honour of the church."

Hierom. Hierome, *adversus Luciferianos*, saith thus: "I do not deny but that that is the custom of the church, that the bishop should go to lay his hand by the invocation of the Holy Spirit upon those which afar off in little cities by ministers and deacons were baptized[2]."

And a little after he saith that "neither the ministers nor deacons have authority to baptize, without the commandment of the bishop[2]."

Beza. M. Beza, *Lib. Confess. cap. v.*, saith that "deacons did oftentimes supply the office of the pastors in the administration of the sacraments, and celebrating of marriage[3]." And to prove this he quoteth 1 Cor. i. verse 14, 15, &c., and John iv. verse 2.

But the thing is manifest, and cannot be denied; wherefore you are but disposed to play *Johannes ad oppositum*[4].

[1 Tertull. Op. Franek. 1597. De Bapt. Lib. 17. p. 225. See before, page 64, note 3.]

[2 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Adv. Lucif. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 295. See before, page 64.]

[3 Th. Beza Confess. Christ. Fid. Genev. 1587. cap. v. 25. p. 137. See Vol. II. page 458, note 1.]

[4 Cartwright rejoins that Whitgift "abuseth the reader's patience," and declares that his citations make against him.—The Rest of Sec. Repl. pp. 108, 9.]

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¶ Of matters touching the Communion.

Tract. XV.

Of the orders and ceremonies used in the celebration of the communion.

Chap. i. The First Division.

Admonition.

They had no introit; for Celestinus a pope brought it in about the year 430.[5] *But we have borrowed a piece of one out of the mass-book.*

Answer to the Admonition, Page 94, Sect. 1, 2.

The introit.[6]

What you understand here by the "introit," certainly I know not. The first thing that we say at the communion is the Lord's prayer; which Celestinus did not invent, but Christ, Matt. vi., nor first use in the celebration of the Lord's supper, but the apostles, as we read in good chronicles: next unto that is a very godly and necessary prayer, worthy to be said in the celebration of such a mystery, and therefore no matter at all who invented it, or brought it in. And yet Celestinus was a godly bishop; and the church of Rome at that time had the substance of the sacraments, according to God's word; neither was there any superstition mixed with them: notwithstanding I know not any "introit" of Celestinus' invention that we have in our order of the communion; for the "introit" that he appointed was one of the psalms; as Volateranus[7], Gratianus[8], and Polydorus Vergilius[9], do testify. And we have not any psalm in the celebration of the supper: if we had, it were not to be reproved.

The apostles began the Lord's supper with the Lord's prayer.

Celestinus' introit, what it was.

This I am sure of, that it is not evil because it is the mass-book, except it be repugnant to the word of

[5 Nam Cælestinus missæ introitum dedit.—Plat. de Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Sixt. I. p. 16.]

[6 This is not in Answ., but *Celestinus* instead in Answ. 2.]

[7 Alia alii addidere. Cælestinus introitum, &c.—R. Volaterr. Comm. Urban. Par. 1603. Lib. xxii. col. 785.]

[8 Gratian is, perhaps, erroneously mentioned. A canon, specified by some writers, is not to the point. See Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxxviii. can. 4. col. 189. Conf. H. Pantal. Chronogr. Christ. Eccles. Basil. 1561. p. 36.]

[9 Cælestinus [instituit] missæ introitum, cujus initium est psalmus, Judica me Deus.—Polyd. Vergil. De Invent. Rer. Amst. 1671. Lib. v. cap. xi. p. 349.]

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God; for the Lord's prayer, some of the psalms, the gospels, and epistles, the Nicene creed, &c., be in the mass-book, and yet good, so is there some other good prayers in it also.

Admonition.

The second.

They read no fragments of the epistle and gospel: we use both.

Answer, Page 94, Sect. ult.; and Page 95, Sect. 1.

The epistle and gospel.

And what fault can you find in that? is not the whole scripture, and every piece of it, profitable to edify? can the scripture at any time in the open congregation be read out of season, being in a known tongue? But I think your quarrel is at reading, not against the epistle and the gospel.

Always in the church there hath been read the[1] scriptures in the celebration of the mysteries; and I am sure the gospel was not wont to be read from the one end to the other at one time. Well, it is but your opinion without reason, that the epistle and gospel ought not to be read at that time; for you bring no proof; and I think the contrary. First, because they be scripture, and tend to edify; secondly, because it hath been the manner of long time, even since Alexander's time, Anno 111.

Reading of scriptures at the communion.

Anno 111. Alexander.

Admonition.

The third.

☞ *Note that we condemn not the doctrine contained therein*[3].

☞ *The Nicene creed was not read in their*[2] *communion: we have it in ours.*

Answer, Page 95, Sect. 3.

The Nicene creed[4].

The Nicene creed and every part of it is grounded upon the word of God; it was collected by that famous council of Nice, to confound that detestable heresy of the Arians, and therefore meet to be read in all christian congregations; neither can any mislike it, but Arians and such like; of the which sect you give just suspicions that you be fautors. This creed in this form

[1 Read in the, Def. B.] [2 The, Answ. 2.]
[3 This marginal note is inserted from Adm.] [4 Nicene creed, Answ. 2.]

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was not framed in the apostles' time, because the heresy of Arius was not then hatched. And therefore no good reason to say: It was not read in the apostles' time at the communion; *ergo*, it ought not to be read now. But this argument is intolerable: The Nicene creed is read at the communion; therefore the communion is not sincerely ministered. All these three reasons be taken *ab auctoritate negative;* and therefore of no force, except we will also grant these to be true, and such like, *scilicet:* Then they had no christian princes; and therefore we may have no christian princes. Then they had no civil or politic laws; *ergo*, we ought to have none. Then the church had no external peace, but was under persecution; *ergo*, it should have no peace now. Then Christians had propriety in nothing, but all things were common; *ergo*, no man may have any thing of his own, but common to other. We do not read expressly that children were then baptized; therefore they ought not to be baptized now (for so do the anabaptists reason); neither do we read that women did then receive the supper; therefore they ought not to do it now; with infinite other as absurd as these.

A faulty argument[5].

Arguments *negative ab auctoritate*, or *a non facto ad non jus*[5].

Arguments retorted upon the adversary[5].

NB

[That this argument thus framed: The apostles did it not; *ergo*, we may not do it, hath always been misliked of learned men and counted anabaptistical, it may evidently appear by these words of Zuinglius in his book entituled, *Elenchus contra Anabaptistas. Nunquam licet, neque in divinis, neque in prophanis, a facto ad jus argumentari, sed tunc solummodo licet factum pro lege adducere, quum factum jure factum esse probatum est*[6]: "It is never permitted, neither in divine neither in profane things, to reason from a thing done or an example, to prove that the same ought to be done; but then only it is lawful to use an example or that which is done for a law, when as the example and fact is proved and done by law." Now, if this be not always a good argument to say: The apostles did it; *ergo*, we must do it; this argument is much worse: The apostles did it not; therefore we must not do it. And therefore the

[5 These marginal notes are inserted from Answ. 2.]

[6 H. Zvingl. Op. Tigur. 1581. Elench. contr. Catabapt. Pars II. fol. 9. 2. See Vol. I. page 353, note 7.]

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same Zuinglius addeth a little after in the same place these words: *Nullius facta juri præjudicant, multo minus infecta*[1]: "No man's doings do prejudice that which is lawful; much less those things which be not done."

And in the same book: *Non invenietis rimam ullam qua possitis elabi, factis enim atque exemplis stulte ad negativam argumentamini; imo a non factis et non exemplis. Quid enim aliud agitis quam, Apostoli non leguntur baptizavisse infantes; ergo, baptizandi non sunt? an non omne robur vestrum in hoc...cardine versatur*[2]*?* "You, &c. [as below, page 77] consist in this?" To the same effect doth the same author speak divers times in that book. Calvin also, in his book *Adversus Anabaptistas*, condemneth this kind of reasoning in these words: "They, &c.[3] [as below, page 78] unto any woman."

Surely this kind of reasoning is not only against all art and rule of reasoning, but mere anabaptistical.][4]

T. C. Page 130, Sect. 1.

You may as well call chapters fragments; for they are but pieces of the gospels and epistles, and were first so divided by men.

Unto the three next sections contained in the 94. 95. *and a piece of the* 96. *pages, touching that which is called the introit, and fragments of the epistles and gospels, and the rehearsal of the Nicene creed, I have declared before the causes of our misliking, neither mean I to stand to refute the slanderous surmises which M. Doctor raiseth of the authors of the Admonition, whereby he would bring them into the suspicion of Arianism, to whom all those that fear God bear witness that they are most far from. He himself, notwithstanding, once again in the last of these three sections,* 96. *page, doth lay the manifest foundations of that part of anabaptism which standeth in having all things common, saying,* Acts v. 4.[5] *directly against St Peter, that in the time of the apostles Christians had propriety in nothing: and, further, giving great cause of triumph, of the one side, to the catabaptists and such as deny the baptism of young infants, in matching that with those things which the church may (although not without incommodity, yet without impiety) be without; and of the other side unto the papists, whilst he saith that we read not of any women which received the Lord's supper in the apostles' time. For this is that they allege to prove their unwritten verities, when as it is easily an-*

[1] Id. ibid.]

[2] Id. ibid. fol. 13. See Vol. I. page 179, note 5.]

[3] See below, page 78, note 3.]

[4] The paragraphs between brackets are inserted from Answ. 2. But it is not thought necessary to print again the identical words which appear immediately after.]

[5] The verse is inserted from Repl. 2.]

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swered both to the papists, and M. Doctor, that, forsomuch as the apostle doth witness that the churches of Corinth consisting of men and women did receive, that therefore women also did receive, and were partakers of the Lord's table. Thus it is manifest that M. Doctor, only to displease the authors of the Admonition, sticketh not to pleasure three notable heretics, anabaptists, catabaptists, and papists.

He pleasureth them in declaring the absurdities of their arguments.

JO. WHITGIFT.

Yet you should here have excused their ignorance in certain points, and their absurd reasoning; but, seeing you are content so lightly to pass all this over, and, leaving the defence of the Admonition, seek to confute my collections, I am content also that it stand untouched, and will answer that which you only seem to mislike.

I do not otherwise suspect them of Arianism, than they have given just occasion, by disliking the public reading of that creed which was purposely made to overthrow Arianism. I trust there is a great number of such as fear God in the church of England that know not them, but yet for their rashness in this point have them in some suspicion.

By these examples of negative arguments from the scriptures, I overthrow all the anabaptists' reasons that they do or can use in the defence of their errors, so do I likewise yours used against this church of England; neither speak I any otherwise of the baptism of infants, or of women's receiving the communion, than M. Zuinglius doth in his *Elench.* against the anabaptists, and M. Calvin also in his book written against them.

But this answer sore troubleth you; and therefore you only reply against it with slanderous words; but, lest you should by such means abuse the reader, I will set down both Zuinglius' and Calvin's words. M. Zuinglius, in this[6] *Elench. contra Anabap.*, saith thus: "You can find no hole to escape at. For you foolishly reason negatively from deeds and examples, nay, from no deeds and no examples. For what do you else when you say: We read not that the apostles did baptize infants; *ergo*, infants ought not to be baptized? Doth not all the force of your reasons consist herein[7]?" And again: "Wherefore it is to be marvelled at with what face they dare measure the baptism of infants by the scripture, or rather by not scripture; for they have nothing in the scripture whereunto they may

Zuinglius.

[6 His, Def. A.]
[7 See above, note 1.]

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trust; but they make only the negative their foundation when they say: We read not that the apostles baptized infants; therefore they ought not to be baptized, &c.[1]" And in his book *De Baptismo*: "Of the baptism of infants, and the first original thereof, neither I, nor any other man, can otherwise affirm (if we respect the express and evident word of God) than that it is that true and only baptism of Christ. For we may find many things of this sort, whereof although there be no express and plain testimony of God, yet they are not repugnant to his will, but rather agreeth with the same: of this sort is that, that we make women partakers of the Lord's supper, when as notwithstanding we read of none that sat down in that supper which Christ did institute[2]."

Calvin. And M. Calvin, in his book *Adversus Anabaptist.*, saith in like manner: "They have nothing to say against the baptism of infants but that there is nowhere any mention made that the apostles did use it. To this I answer, that no more do we read in any place that they did at any time minister the supper of our Lord to any woman[3]." And yet these two be neither "anabaptists," "catabaptists," nor "papists," but valiant captains against them all.

Chapter i. The Second Division.

Admonition.

The fourth.

There was then accustomed to be an examination of the communicants; which now is neglected.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 96, Sect. 2, 3.

Examination of communicants. How prove you that there was then any examination of

[1 Unde vehementer mirum est, qua fronte audeant baptismum infantium ad scripturam exigere, imo ad non scripturam: nihil enim habent quo fidant in scripturis, sed solam negativam fundamentum suum faciunt, cum dicunt, Non legimus apostolos baptizavisse infantes, ergo non sunt baptizandi, &c.—H. Zuingl. Op. Tigur. 1581. Elench. contr. Catabapt. Pars II. fol. 39.]

[2 De parvulorum baptismo et prima illius origine, nec ego nec quisquam alius mortalium aliter pronunciare potest (si modo expressum et evidens Dei verbum respiciamus) quam quod verus ille et unicus Christi Salvatoris baptismus sit. Multa enim &c.—Id. De Bapt. Lib. Tract. III. Pars II. fol. 85. See Vol. I. page 255, note 3.]

[3 Nulla igitur superest amplius eis calumnia, ut parvulorum baptismum insectentur et mordeant, præterquam quod aiunt, nusquam commemorari apostolos eo usos esse. Respondeo, nusquam etiam legi administratam ab ipsis fuisse cœnam vel unicæ mulieri.—Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Instr. adv. Anabapt. Art. i. Tom. VIII. p. 359.]

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communicants? If there had been either commandment or example for it in scriptures, I am sure you would not have left it unquoted in the margent. St Paul saith, 1 Cor. xi., *Probet homo seipsum*: "Let a man examine himself, &c." But he speaketh of no other examination; wherefore this reason of yours is altogether frivolous and without reason. Examination of communicants. 1 Cor. xi.[4]

And yet I do not disallow the examination of communicants, so there be a discreet respect had of the persons, places, and other circumstances; neither is it neglected in this church of England, but by learned and discreet ministers with learning and discretion used. But note, I pray you, the force of this argument: Some ministers neglect to examine the communicants; *ergo*, the communion is not rightly and sincerely ministered; as though the examination of the communicants were of the substance of the sacrament. If you would reason after your accustomed manner, you should rather conclude thus: The apostles were not examined when they received the communion, neither is it expressed in scriptures that they examined others; therefore there ought to be no such examination: this is your usual manner of reasoning, but it is childish, unless it were to conclude damnation or salvation.

T. C. Page 130, Sect. 2.

M. Doctor asketh how it is proved that there was any examination of the communicants. After this sort: all things necessary were used in the churches of God in the apostles' times; but examination of those whose knowledge of the mystery of the gospel was not known or doubted of was a necessary thing; therefore it was used in the churches of God which were in the apostles' time.

Jo. Whitgift.

I deny your minor; first, because no such at that time would offer themselves to receive the communion. Secondly, because, if any such did offer themselves, not being known, the fault is particular to themselves, and toucheth them only, not the whole church. Thirdly, because, if it had been so necessary a thing, St Paul would not have omitted it, especially when he had an especial cause to speak of it, as he had when he spake of private examination of a man's self, 1 Cor. xi.: 1 Cor. xi.

[4 This reference is not in Answ.]

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Examination of communicants.

Probet autem seipsum homo, &c. Of the which words M. Calvin, speaking in his book against the anabaptists, saith thus: "But what need we so to dispute? s ing the apostle himself in another place, treating of the ma_ner how every man should be prepared to the receiving of the supper of the Lord (as it behoveth him), doth not bid every one to examine the faults of his neighbour, but speaketh after this manner, *Probet seipsum homo, &c.*: 'Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of this bread and drink of this cup; for he that eateth and drinketh unworthily eateth and drinketh his own damnation.' In which words there are two things to be observed. First, that to communicate with those that are unworthy is not to eat the bread of the Lord unworthily, but not to prepare himself as he ought to do, and not to expend[1] and consider his own faith and repentance. The second, that, when the supper is to be received, we begin not with other men to examine them, but that we try ourselves; and, surely, if all things were exactly considered, even they which have so much leisure to enquire of other men's behaviour are for the most part negligent and forgetful of their own duties[2]." So that it is necessary for every man to examine himself, and not so necessary for one man to examine another. But what I think of this kind of examining by other, I have declared in my Answer to the Admonition.

Calvin.

Two things worthy the noting for those which shall communicate.

Chapter i. The Third Division.

T. C. Page 130, Sect. 2.

A place of scripture fondly applied.

Then he saith he is sure there is "neither commandment nor example in all the scripture." In the second book[3] *of the Chronicles he might have read that the Levites were there commanded to prepare the* 2 Chro. xxxv. 6.[4]

[1] Expend: weigh.]

[2] Quid vero necesse est adeo disputare? quum apostolus ipse alio in loco tractans, quo quisque modo præparari debeat ad recipiendam, ut decet, cœnam Domini, non jubet unumquemque proximi sui vitia examinare: sed ita loquitur, Probet seipsum homo, ac sic de pane illo edat, et de calice bibat. Nam qui edit et bibit indigne, judicium sibiipsi edit et bibit. In quibus verbis duo sunt observanda. Primum, indigne panem Domini edere, non esse cum iis qui indigni sunt communicare: sed non rite præparare seipsum, nec expendere fidem propriam et pœnitentiam. Alterum, quum cœna recipienda est, ne initium faciamus ab aliis, quo examinemus ipsos, sed nosmetipsos probemus. Et certe, si accurate considerentur omnia, qui ita otio abundant, ut inquirant in alios, sæpius in re sua sunt negligentes et obliviosi.—Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Instr. adv. Anabapt. Art. ii. Tom. VIII. p. 361.]

[3] In the book, Repl. 2.]

[4] The verse is added from Repl. 2.]

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people unto the receiving of the passover; in place whereof we have the Lord's supper. Now, examination being a part of the preparation, it followeth that there is commandment of examination[5]. Examination of communicants.

JO. WHITGIFT.

You bewray the weakness of your cause too much, when you are constrained to run so far for a precept to prove the examination of communicants to be commanded; and especially when you are compelled, for want of other, to bring out ceremonial precepts long ago abrogated[6]. This boldness of yours is so by custom confirmed that now without blushing it dare abuse any scripture, yea, even touching the ceremonies of the law, to prove any device of your own; and why may not the papists as well use the same for their auricular confession? The Replier applieth a ceremonial precept to the receiving of the communion.

But what if that commandment signify no such thing? from whence then will you fetch your proof? The words of Josiah to the Levites in the 2 Chron. xxxv. vers. 6, be these: "So kill the passover, and sanctify yourselves, and prepare your brethren, that they may do according to the word of the Lord by the hand of Moses." What one word of examining other is there in this commandment? These words, "prepare your brethren, &c." are thus expounded by learned interpreters: "Exhort your brethren to examine themselves, that they may be ready to eat the passover, according to the word of the Lord by the hand of Moses[7]." And manifest it is that neither the priests nor the Levites did ever use any such kind of examination before the eating of the passover as you would insinuate; and therefore as yet you are utterly destitute of a commandment. His precept proveth not his purpose. Look the marginal note in the Geneva bible.

Chapter i. The Fourth Division.

T. C. Page 130, Sect. 2.

And how holdeth this argument: St Paul commandeth that every man should prove himself; ergo, *there is no commandment that the ministers*[8] This is an argument of your own framing.

[5 Here is commandment of the examination, Repl. 1 and 2.]

[6 Cartwright calls it "shameful dealing" to speak of such precepts as abrogated; since, "by how much our sacrament is excellenter than theirs, by so much ought there to be greater care and diligence in preparing the people thereto."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. pp. 149, 50.]

[7 Exhort every one to examine themselves, that they be not unmeet to eat of the passover.—The Bible transl. according to the Ebrew and Greeke, Lond. 1578. 2 Chron. xxxv. 6. fol. 185.]

[8 Minister, Repl. 1 and 2.]

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Examination of communicants.

should prove and examine them? so I may say that every man is a spiritual king to govern himself; therefore he may not be governed by[2] *others. The authors of the Admonition do not mean that every one should be examined, as those whose understanding in the gospel is well known, or which do examine themselves; and so they interpret themselves in the* 108. *page*[3].

1 Pet. ii. 9.[1]

JO. WHITGIFT.

Surely it holdeth as the most part of your arguments do, that is loosely; for it is your reason, it is not mine: if I have framed any such argument, it will appear in my Answer. But this is your manner peevishly to pervert my words, and therefore have you concealed my book, lest your reader should espy you; as he must needs do, if he hath any judgment.

Examination of communicants not disallowed.

Neither do I mislike that there should be examination of the communicants, as I have said in my Answer; but I mislike this wrangling at the administration of the sacraments used in this church without cause; neither would I have this kind of examination counted as necessary, seeing it is nowhere commanded, neither yet any example of it, either in the apostolical or primitive church.

In what words, or how do "the authors of the Admonition interpret themselves," page 108? or how do they know that men do not examine themselves?

Chapter i. The Fifth Division.

Admonition.

The fifth.

Then they ministered with[4] *common and*[5] *usual bread; now with wafer-cakes brought in by pope Alexander*[6]*, being, in form, fashion, and substance, like their God of the altar.*

Acts ii. 46.[5] Acts xx. 7.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 97, Sect. 2; and Page 98, Sect. 1, 2.

Of bread used in the communion[7].

The place you allege, Acts ii., which is this: "And they continued daily with one accord in the temple, and,

[1] This reference is added from Repl. 1 and 2; Repl. 1 does not give the verse.]
[2] Of, Repl. 1 and 2.] [3] See below, page 132.]
[4] Ministered the sacrament with, Adm.] [5] Acts ii. 42, 46, Adm.]
[6] Oblationem quoque ex azymo, non autem ex fermentato, ut antea, fieri mandavit: quia hoc modo purior ac potior haberetur, et Ebionitis hæreticis calumniandi occasio auferretur.—Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Alex. I. p. 15.]
[7] Communion bread, Answ. 2.]

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breaking bread at home, did eat their meat together with gladness and singleness of heart," maketh as much for your purpose as it maketh for the papists' half communion; for they allege it to prove that the supper may be ministered with bread only; but learned interpreters, and especially M. Calvin, deny this place to be meant of the ministration of the supper[9]. Howsoever it is understanded, it doth not necessarily prove that the sacrament was then ministered in common and usual bread; for there is no mention made of the kind of bread. [The place alleged out of the twentieth of the Acts speaketh of bread, but not of any one certain kind of bread.][10]

Communion-bread.

Exposition of Acts ii. 46.[9]

If any think better of one kind of bread than of another, in the ministration of the sacrament, it is their error, and derogateth nothing from the order of administration.

M. Calvin, in his Institutions, *cap. xix. sect.* 72, touching this matter writeth on this sort: *Cæterum...in manum accipiant fideles necne; inter se dividant, an singuli quod sibi datum fuerit edant; calicem in diaconi manu reponant, an proximo tradant; panis sit fermentatus, an azymus; vinum rubrum, an album, nihil refert: hæc indifferentia sunt, et in ecclesiæ libertate posita*[11]: "But whether the faithful take it in their hands or no; whether they divide it among themselves, or every one eat that which is given unto them; whether they give the cup to[12] the deacon, or deliver it to him that is next; whether the bread be leavened or unleavened; the wine red or white, it makes no matter. These be indifferent things, and put in the liberty of the church[13]."

Calvin's opinion of the kind of bread.

Alexander lived *anno* 111., and was a good and godly bishop: it is reported in some writers that he appointed

Alexander's institution.

[8] This note is inserted from Answ. 2.]

[9] Nam quod hic fractionem panis nonnulli interpretantur sacram cœnam, alienum mihi videtur a mente Lucæ.—Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Comm. in Act. Apost. cap. ii. 46. Tom. VI. p. 24.]

[10] This is inserted from Answ. Immediately after it comes the first paragraph in page 84.]

[11] Calvin. Op. Inst. Lib. IV. cap. xvii. 43. Tom. IX. p. 380; where *aut singuli.*]

[12] Unto, Answ. 2.]

[13] Here in Answ. comes the paragraph in the next page, beginning *M. Bucer likewise, &c.*]

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Communion-bread.

unleavened bread to be used in the eucharist, because that Christ himself used the same according to the law written Exod. xii., Deut. xvi. But that he brought in wafer-cakes, or appointed any certain form of bread, you cannot prove; neither doth any credible author write it.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

To all this there is not one word answered.

Chapter i. The Sixth Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 97, Sect. 2; and Page 98, Sect. 1.

Usual bread.

The truth is, that it skills not what kind of bread is used, leavened or unleavened, so it be bread; although it were to be wished, for the avoiding of superstition, that common and usual bread were used, and also that the form were altered, and the quantity increased. But these things are not *de substantia sacramenti*, and therefore not sufficient to prove that the supper is not sincerely ministered.

M. Bucer's opinion[1].

M. Bucer likewise, in his Censure upon the book of common prayers, is of the same judgment: his words be these: "The third chapter is of the substance, form, and breaking of bread, which all do well enough agree with the institution of Christ, whom it is manifest to have used unleavened bread, and easy to be broken; for he brake it, and gave to his disciples pieces of the bread broken. Touching the form and figure, whether it were round or square, there is nothing declared of the evangelists. And, because this bread is used only for a sign, and not for corporal nourishment, I see not what can be reprehended in this description of the bread which is in this book; except some would peradventure have it thicker, that it may the more fully represent the form of true bread[2].

[1] Bucer's opinion of the same, Answ. 2.]

[2] Caput tertium est, De materia et forma et fractione panis ad S. cœnam adhibendi, quæ omnia satis congruunt instituto Domini, quem constat usum pane infermentato et fragili. Fregit enim et dedit discipulis, particulas scilicet fracti panis. De figura, rotundane illa an angularis fuerit, nihil est ab evangelistis narratum. Quia vero tantum symboli hic panis, non etiam alimenti corporalis

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T. C. Page 130, Sect. ult.

Communion-bread.

I have spoken of this bread before in general; and, if M. Doctor did not disagree with himself, we are here well agreed. For first he saith, it skilleth not what bread we have, and by and by he saith that he wisheth it were common bread, and assigneth a great cause which the book of service likewise assigneth, which is to avoid superstition; and it is certainly known by experience, that in divers places the ignorant people, that have been misled in popery, have knocked and kneeled unto it, and held up their hands whilst the minister hath given it, not those only which have received it, but those which have been in the church and looked on. I speak of that which I know, and have seen with my eyes. Another reason is alleged by M. Bucer, which is that, there being some thicker substance of bread, and such as should move and stir up the taste better, the consideration of the mind which is conveyed by the senses might be also the more effectual, and so the fruit of receiving greater. By the way, note that either Bucer's Censures upon the book of service be falsely ascribed unto him, or be corrupted, or else were not even in his own time here thought good, substantial, and sufficient, when there is some cause by act of parliament afterward found (I mean in the second book of king Edward) to mislike wafer-cakes, and to change them into common bread. Howsoever it be, that circumstance would be well marked, that it was one thing to talk of a wafer-cake in the use of the supper in king Edward's[3] days before they were justly abolished, and another thing now being revoked after they were removed.

Or else you speak of a matter you know not.

Jo. Whitgift.

I am constant, and agree with myself in the truth: I thank God for it. I know the kind of bread to be indifferent: my private judgment I have in my Answer uttered. But in such matters I submit myself to the determination of the church, to whom God doth give his Spirit most abundantly, so long as it followeth and embraceth the truth.

The danger that you speak of is in the form and figure of the bread, not in the other qualities, nor in the substance; and therefore not pertaining to any thing that I have spoken. For the question is of leavened or unleavened bread, not of roundness or squareness, &c. Although the form and figure also is indifferent, and in the power of the church to appoint; wherefore there may no schism or division in the church be made for it.

gratia adhibetur, non video, quid possit in descriptione hujus panis, quæ in libro est proposita, reprehendi aut desiderari: nisi forsan requirant aliqui spissiorem, ut veri panis speciem plenius obtineat.—M. Bucer. Script. Anglic. Basil. 1577. Cens. in Ord. Eccles. cap. iii. 3. p. 459.]

[3 Edward, Repl. 1 and 2.]

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Com-munion-bread.

Bucer's Censure upon the first book in king Edward's days.

M. Bucer's Censures were upon the first book in king Edward's time, not upon the second; therefore you are deceived. The church hath authority in things indifferent to abolish or revoke, as occasion serveth; and therefore "that circumstance" is not worth the noting.

Chapter i. The Seventh Division.

T. C. Page 131, Sect. 1.

Besides that, we be called by the example of our Saviour Christ to use in the supper usual and common bread; for what time our Saviour Christ celebrated his supper there was no other bread to be gotten but unleavened bread, there being a strait charge given by the law, that there should be then no leavened bread; and it is not to be doubted but that, if there had been then when he celebrated his supper, as at other times, nothing but leavened bread, he would not have caused unleavened bread to have been made for that purpose of celebrating his supper.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

Christ used unleavened bread.

It was not usual bread, but properly appointed for the celebrating of the passover, and then to be used, and not otherwise usually and commonly; for their usual and common bread was leavened; wherefore this maketh against you; and, if you will have the commandments that appertain to the eating of the passover perpetual, and to be referred to the celebrating of the Lord's supper, as, by that precept 2 Chron. xxxv., before alleged[1], it seemeth you would, then must we make it a matter of necessity to have unleavened bread; but, as that is untrue, so is this also; for the kind of bread is indifferent, although (as M. Bucer saith) it cometh nearer to the institution of Christ to use unleavened bread, because he did celebrate his supper with it, if there were not other circumstances and reasons to move the church sometimes to use the contrary.

Pag. 130, sect. 2.

The kind of bread of itself indifferent.

Chapter i. The Eighth Division.

T. C. Page 131, Sect. 1.

But this is a gross oversight of M. Doctor, both in this section and that which goeth before, that he hath not learned to make a difference between that which is not sincerely done, and that which is not at all done. For in the former section he triumpheth upon the Admonition because they

[1 See before, page 80.]

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conclude that forasmuch as there is no examination therefore it is not rightly and sincerely ministered. For, saith he, "the examination of the communicants is not of the substance of the sacrament," and in this section he saith that, "forasmuch as it is not of the substance of the sacrament whether there be leavened or unleavened bread, therefore it is not sufficiently proved that the sacrament is not sincerely ministered." But he ought to have understanded that, if either the matter of the sacrament, as bread and wine, or the form of it, which is the institution (which things are only substantial parts) were wanting, that then there should have been no sacrament ministered at all; but, they being retained, and yet other things used which are not convenient, the sacrament is ministered, but not sincerely. For example, in the popish baptism there was the substance of baptism, but, there being used spittle, and cream, and candles, and such beggarly trumpery, it was not sincerely ministered; therefore it is one thing to minister sincerely, and another thing to minister so that that which is of the substance should be wanting. But of this distinction I have spoken in another place, whereinto although M. Doctor falleth in the next section, and in other places, yet this shall be an answer for all.

Communion-bread.

JO. WHITGIFT.

It is as grossly replied unto; but my belief is that the sacrament is as purely and sincerely ministered with the one as it is with the other. For not every fond, superstitious, or vain opinion of every private person, in this or that ceremony, derogateth anything from the pure and sincere administration of the sacraments, except it can be shewed that the things used be wicked, unlawful, or superstitious of themselves. Wherefore this is a gross quarrel of yours: it is no oversight of mine; for I am well assured of the right and sincere administration of the sacraments in this church, both touching substance, ceremonies, and other circumstances. And it is too much injury that you do to this church of England, in comparing the ceremonies thereof (which be pure) to the corrupt and superstitious ceremonies of the papists used in baptism. But how should you otherwise utter your contempt or great spite against it?

Chapter i. The Ninth Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 99, Sect. 1.

These words that you use, "like their God of the altar," be slanderous and false: we are as far from thinking the bread to be our God as you, and teach as sound

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Com-munion-bread.

doctrine touching this sacrament; and therefore you shew of what spirit you be.

T. C. Page 131, Sect. 1.

The meaning of the Admonition in saying "their God of the altar" is plain enough, that it is understanded of the papists, but that M. Doctor doth set himself to draw the authors of it into hatred; and he cannot be ignorant that, when a man speaketh of things which are notoriously known, he often useth "the," or "that," or "their," without naming the things which he speaketh of.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

The words of the Admonition be these: "Then they ministered with common and usual bread; now with wafer-cakes brought in by pope Alexander, being, in form, fashion, and substance, like their God of the altar." Now let the reader judge whether I charge them justly or no. Your excuse is but for a fashion: their opinion of this whole church is as peevishly and opprobriously uttered in sundry other places of their book, as it is in this. And therefore there is no great doubt of their meaning; or, if their meaning be not so, yet was it unadvisedly set down in that order, that men may justly suspect their meaning to be so.

Chapter i. The Tenth Division.

Admonition.

The sixth.

They received it [c]sitting; we kneeling, according to Honorius' decree[1].

[c] *Matt. xxvi. 20. Mark xiv. 18. Luke xxii. 14. John xiii. 28.*

Answer to the Admonition, Page 99, Sect. 1, 2, 3.

Kneeling and sitting at the communion[2].

The places of scripture that you quote in the margent, to prove sitting at the communion, declare that Christ and his disciples sat at the table; but that proveth nothing. For you might as well have said: they received after supper; we before dinner: they at night; we in the morning: they after meat; we before meat: they in a private house; we in the open church: they being all

[1] Sacerdos vero quilibet frequenter doceat plebem suam, ut cum in celebratione missarum elevatur hostia salutaris, se reverenter inclinet, &c.—Honor. III. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. III. Tit. xli. cap. 10. col. 1378. Conf. Gloss. ibid.]

[2] This is not in Answ.]

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men, and in number twelve; we together with women, not strictly observing the number of twelve, or any other number above three or four. Kneeling at the communion.

This your argument toucheth them, as well as it doth us, which receive it standing or walking. But to sit, stand, kneel, or walk, be not of the substance of the sacrament; and therefore no impediments[3] why it may not be sincerely ministered.

It behoveth humble and meek spirits in such indifferent matters to submit themselves to the order of the church, appointed by lawful authority, and not to make schisms and contentions in the church for the satisfying of their own fantasies[4].

[* "It cannot be (saith Master Calvin, in his book against the anabaptists) that every particular man should have just cause to alienate himself from the church as often as things do not go after his desire[5]."

Remember what Bullinger and Gastius, yea, and almost all the late writers say, *sci.* that those be anabaptists which move contentions in the church for external things[6].][7]

Jo. WHITGIFT.

Nothing answered.

Chapter i. The Eleventh Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 99, Sect. ult.; and Page 100, Sect. 1.

Touching kneeling at the communion, it forceth not who did first appoint it (although I can find no such decree made by Honorius): it is the meetest manner of receiving this sacrament in mine opinion, being commonly used in praying and giving of thanks, both which are annexed to this sacrament, and are to be required Kneeling, the meetest gesture[8].

[3] Impediment, Answ. 2.] [4] Fancies, Answ.]

[5] Sed non propterea dicendum, justam esse causam privato cuique se ab ecclesia abalienandi, quoties rerum status ipsius voto minime respondebit.—Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Instr. adv. Anabapt. Art. ii. Tom. VIII. p. 361.]

[6] See Vol. I. page 137, note 5.]

[7] These two paragraphs are inserted from Answ. 2.]

[8] This is not in Answ. Answ. 2 has however at the next paragraph *sitting or kneeling at the communion.*]

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Kneeling at the communion.

in the communicants; and therefore I think this to be a good reason: The meetest gesture for praying and thanksgiving is kneeling; but those that receive the eucharist pray and give thanks; *ergo*, the meetest gesture for them is kneeling.

The only peril is adoration, which may as well be committed sitting or standing. But wherefore then serveth preaching? There is as much danger of contempt the one way, as there is of adoration the other way. In such matters christian magistrates have authority to appoint what they think most convenient; and the same must be observed of those that be *pacifici*, and not *contentiosi*. But of sitting and kneeling at the communion more is to be spoken hereafter in the second part.

T. C. Page 131, Sect. 3.

Although it be not of necessity that we should receive the communion sitting, yet there is the same cause of abolishing kneeling that there is of removing the wafer-cake; and, if there be danger of superstition in one (as M. Doctor confesseth), why is there not danger in the other? and, if there be men that take occasion to fall at the one, and that by superstition, how cometh it to pass that M. Doctor, in the 180. *page*[1], *saith that neither gospeller nor papist*[2], *obstinate nor simple, can superstitiously offend in this kneeling, when as the kneeling carrieth a greater shew of worship, and imprinteth in the minds of the ignorant a stronger opinion, and a deeper print of adoration, than the sight of a round cake. And, if kneeling be so void of all fault as M. Doctor would make us believe, how came it to pass that in king Edward's days there was a protestation added in the book of prayer, to clear that gesture from adoration?*

Jo. Whitgift.

If this be a sufficient argument to alter and change so decent and comely an order and gesture in praising God, then what order can stand in the church, seeing there is nothing that may not be abused? My words in the 180. page be true, and as yet unanswered. I will set them down in their place, that the reader may perceive how little you are able to say against them.

"The protestation made in king Edward's days touching this gesture" was to satisfy (if it might be) such quarrellers

[1 See below, page 95.]
[2 Papists, Repl. 1 and 2, and Def. A.]

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as you are, and to take away all occasion of cavilling, not for any great fear of adoration. Kneeling at the communion.

Chapter i. The Twelfth Division.

T. C. Page 131, Sect. ult.

Another reason why kneeling should be taken away is for that sitting agreeth better with the action of the supper; whereunto M. Doctor taketh exception both in this place and where he speaketh again of it, that, forsomuch as this sacrament is a sacrament of thanksgiving, and thanksgiving a prayer, therefore kneeling to be most fit, as that which we use ordinarily when we pray.

Jo. Whitgift.

If this be a good reason, then let the sacrament be ministered at night; for that doth most of all agree with the supper; let there be also other meat, and let it be made a supper in all points. But are you come now to the gross imagination of the manner and form of an earthly and terrestrial supper? Christ doth will us in the celebration of this sacrament to express his death and passion until he come, and not the manner of his sitting at the table. But to such unapt reasons doth the absurdity of your cause drive you; and therefore you are to be pitied rather than confuted. Matt. xxvi.

Chapter i. The Thirteenth Division.

T. C. Page 132, Sect. 1.

But he should have remembered that that thanksgiving may well come after we have received the sacrament, and that whilst we receive the bread and wine of the sacrament we are not then most fit to speak, they being in our mouths, and during the time we receive them our mind is occupied in considering the inestimable benefit which the Lord hath bestowed upon us, and to meditate of the fruit which we receive thereby, by the analogy and comparison between the bodily nourishment and the spiritual, that by these considerations our minds may be more inflamed and set on fire, and our mouths may be filled with the praise of God after we have received.

Jo. Whitgift.

And you should have learned that the whole action of this supper is a thanksgiving, and therefore it is called *eucharistia;* so that kneeling is a convenient gesture for it during the

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Kneeling at the communion.

whole time of the celebration: moreover, who can be void of thanks, when he is in that consideration you speak of? Can any christian heart think of the unspeakable benefits of the death and passion of Christ, exhibited unto him in this sacrament, and not together be moved in heart and mind to give thanks? for thankfulness is as well in heart and thought as it is in word; and a man may give most hearty thanks unto God, who understandeth his cogitations, though he speak not one word. Ah, dally not, dally not in God's mysteries: seek not for vain reason against most meet and convenient orders.

Chapter i. The Fourteenth Division.

T. C. Page 132, Sect. 1.

And further, if this be a good reason, that therefore it is meet we should kneel at the supper forasmuch as we give thanks, then it followeth that whensoever we have supped or dined it is meet that we should kneel, when as yet we do say grace sitting. And by this he accuseth our Saviour Christ and his apostles as those which did not use that which was most fit; for in his judgment he saith, kneeling is the fittest site or position of the body which can be; and, if our Saviour Christ had been of that judgment, undoubtedly he would have also kneeled and caused his apostles so to do.

Jo. Whitgift.

I do not speak of every private man's gesture in every private place. I know that a man may also pray sitting, lying, standing, walking, and riding. I speak of the public gesture most meet to be used in praying and thanksgiving in the public congregation; and therefore I say again, that in the public church, though kneeling be not the only, yet it is the fittest gesture for praying; neither can you more object the sitting of Christ against it, than you may his supping at night, against our receiving in the morning.

Chapter i. The Fifteenth Division.

Admonition.

The fourth reason.

In this book we are enjoined to receive the communion kneeling, which, beside that it hath in it a shew &of papistry, doth[1] *not so well express the mystery of this holy supper. For, as in the old testament eating the paschal lamb standing signified &*

& 1 Thess. v. 22. Exo. xii. 11.

[1] Of popish idolatry doth, Adm.]

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readiness to pass, even so in the receiving of it[2] *now sitting,* [a] *according to the example of Christ, we signify rest, that is, a full finishing through Christ* [b] *of all the ceremonial law, and a perfect work of redemption wrought, that giveth rest for ever. And so we avoid also the danger of idolatry, which was in times past too common, and yet is in the hearts of many, who have not as yet*[4] *forgotten their breaden god, so slenderly have they been instructed*[5]. *Against which we may set the commandment, "Thou* [c] *shalt not bow down to it, nor worship it."*

Kneeling at the communion.

[a] *Matt. xxvi. 20. Mark xiv. 18. Luke xxii. 14. John xiii. 28.*
[b] *Gal. iv. 10. Gal. v. 3, 4.*[3] *5. Hebr. in many places.*
[c] *Exo. xx. 5.*

Answer, Page 180, Sect. ult., &c.

[Surely this is a sore reason: The book of common prayers requireth kneeling at the communion; *ergo*, it is not to be allowed.

That kneeling is not to be used you prove on this sort: Kneeling is "a shew of papistry, and doth not so well express the mystery of the Lord's supper;" therefore not to be used.

Kneeling at the communion.

Of kneeling at the communion I have spoken before, now, therefore, I will only note in one word or two the slenderness of this argument][6].

You say, "sitting is the most meetest gesture, because it signifieth rest, that is, a full finishing through Christ of all the ceremonial law, &c." What? are you[7] now come to allegories and to significations? Surely this is a very papistical reason: nay then, we can give you a great deal better significations of the surplice, of crossing, of the ring in marriage, and many other ceremonies than this is of sitting. I pray you, in the whole scripture where doth sitting "signify a full finishing of the ceremonial law, and a perfect work of redemption that giveth rest for ever"? If allegories please you so well, let us have either standing, which signifieth a readiness to pass (used also in the eating of the passover), or kneeling, which is the

The admonitors fly to allegories[8].

[2] In receiving it, Adm. edit. 1.] [3] 4, 3, Def. B.]
[4] Not yet, Adm. edit. 1.]
[5] Express a supper, neither agreeth it so well with the institution of Christ as sitting doth. Not that we make sitting a thing of necessity belonging unto the sacrament, neither affirm we that it may not be received otherwise, but that it is more near the institution and also a mean to avoid the danger of idolatry, which was in times past too common, and yet is in the hearts of many who have not forgotten their bread god, so slenderly have they been instructed. Adm.]
[6] These paragraphs are inserted from Answ.]
[7] Ye, Answ.] [8] What needeth allegorical significations, Answ. 2.]

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Kneeling at the communion.

proper gesture for prayer and thanksgiving, and signifieth the submission and humbleness of the mind. But you say, "Christ sat at his supper;" therefore we[1] must sit at the receiving of the supper. You may as well say, Christ did celebrate his supper at night, after supper, to twelve, only men and no women, in a parlour, within a private house, the Thursday at night before Easter; therefore we ought to receive the communion at night, after supper, being twelve in number, and only men, in a parlour, within a private house, the Thursday at night before Easter. But who seeth not the *non sequitur* of this argument?

Ceremonies external do not bind of necessity[2].

T. C. Page 132, Sect. 1.

In the 181. *page, unto the Admonition saying that sitting is most fit, because it betokeneth rest, and accomplishment of the ceremonies in our Saviour Christ, M. Doctor saith it is "a papistical reason," and triumpheth over the authors of the Admonition, because they allegory, when as, notwithstanding, the surplice before, crossing, and rings, &c., afterwards are defended by nothing but with vain allegories, which have nothing so good grounds as this hath. But let it be that this is not so sound a reason (as indeed for my part I will not defend it; and the authors themselves have corrected it), yet M. Doctor might have dealt easilier withal than to call it a papistical reason, which is far from popery, and the reason of two notable learned and zealous men, Johannes Alasco[3], and of M. Hooper in his commentary upon the prophet Jonas[4].*

In Liturgia Eccle. pere.

Jo. Whitgift.

I call it "papistical," because the papists ground the most points of their doctrine upon allegories; as the authors of the Admonition do their sitting. I neither defend surplice nor anything else by allegories, but I shew that I might do it much better than they do sitting at the communion.

[1 Me, Answ. 2.] [2 This is inserted from Answ. 2.]

[3 Intuentes perpetuo meritum mortis et resurrectionis Christi, ac donatam nobis gratuito salutarem illius communionem, cujus equidem vim ac dignitatem publicus noster in cœnæ dominicæ usu consessus symbolo nobis suo adumbrat, attestatur, et commendat: quatenus sane cœnam Domini, nostræ cum Christo communionis, et proinde nostræ quoque in illo quietis certum ac salutare obsignaculum esse (juxta ejus institutionem) non dubitamus.—J. A Lasco, Form. ac Rat. tota Eccles. Minist. in peregr. potiss. vero Germ. Eccles. inst. Lond. &c. s. l. & a. pp. 147, 8.]

[4 See Bp Hooper's Works, Park. Soc. Edit. Sermons upon Jonas, Serm. vi. Vol. I. pp. 536, 7.]

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Chapter i. The Sixteenth Division.

Kneeling at the communion.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 180, Sect. 3.

You say kneeling is a shew of evil, and for proof thereof you allege 1 Thess. v.: "Abstain from all appearance of evil." How followeth this: The apostle willeth us to abstain from all appearance of evil; therefore kneeling at the communion is a shew of evil? But your meaning is that, because the papists kneeled at the sacring[6] of the mass (as they called it), therefore we may not kneel at the receiving of the communion: you may as well say: They prayed to images and saints kneeling; therefore we may not pray kneeling.

A weak reason.

[There is no such peril in kneeling at the communion as you surmise; for the gospeller is better instructed than so grossly to err. And, as for the learned papist, he is so far from worshipping that he disdaineth that holy communion, jesteth at it, and either altogether abstaineth from coming unto it, or else cometh only for fear of punishment, or *pro forma tantum*, for fashion' sake; and the most ignorant and simplest papist that is knoweth that the communion is not the mass; neither do they see it lifted up over the priest's head with such great solemnity as they did when they took it to be their God. [No truly, the contempt of that mystery is more to be feared in them than worshipping;] and, to be short, if they be disposed to worship, they will as well worship sitting as kneeling. But they are far from such an opinion of the bread and wine in the blessed communion; for they make no account at all of it][7].

The papist is far from worshipping our sacramental bread.

The places written in your margent to prove that Christ did sit at supper be needless, and were used for the same purpose before; where I have also spoken my opinion of kneeling.

Pag. 181, sect. 1 & 2.

If you cite the Galat. iv. and v., and the epistle to the Hebrews in many places, to prove that sitting "signifieth rest, that is, a full finishing of the ceremonial law," you do but delude the readers and abuse the scriptures; for there is no such matter to be found in them.

[6] This note is inserted from Answ. 2.] [6] Sacring: the elevation of the host.]
[7] This paragraph is inserted from Answ.]

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Kneeling at the communion.

If you allege them to prove that Christ is the full finishing of the ceremonial law, you take upon you to prove that which no man doubteth of, and is very far from your purpose.

Pag. 132, sect. 1.

You note also the xx. of Exodus: "Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them," to prove that we may not kneel at the communion; but how fitly, every child may judge. For what sequel is there in this argument: God in the second commandment forbiddeth worshipping of images; therefore we may not receive the communion kneeling?

T. C. Page 132, Sect. 1.

For the rest which he hath here, or in the 180. *and* 181. *page, it is either answered before (as that the danger of adoration may be taken away), or hath no matter worthy the answering. I only admonish the reader, that sitting at the communion is not holden to be necessary, but only I*[1] *think that kneeling is very dangerous, for the causes before alleged.*

Jo. Whitgift.

An easy kind of answering, and a very slender defence for the crooked handling of the scriptures by the authors of the Admonition. But it is wittily done, so to pass over that which you cannot maintain. Surely the authors of the Admonition are very little beholding to you; for in most places you leave them to answer for themselves.

Contention about external rites become not the church of God.

If "sitting at the communion be not holden to be necessary," why do you then make a schism in the church for it? Do not you know that M. Calvin, M. Bullinger, and others, writing against the anabaptists, do especially condemn them for making a tumult in the church about external and indifferent things? St Paul saith: "If any lust to be contentious, we have no such custom, neither the churches of God;" and he meaneth in external rites. But the question is, whether the church must give place to you, or you to the church, in that thing that by your own confession may be used[2].

1 Cor. xi.

[1] Only that I, Repl. 1 and 2.]

[2] Cartwright rejoins: "Only let him observe that M. Bucer doth improve the kneeling at the communion, and, in one word, all the gestures which the papists used in this imitation of the supper of the Lord."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 235.]

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Chapter i. The Seventeenth Division.

Admonition.

The seventh.

[c] *Matt. xxvi. 26. Mark xiv. 22. 1 Cor. xi. 24.*

Then it was delivered generally, and indefinitely: "Take, ye[c], and eat ye;" we particularly and singularly: "Take thou, and eat thou."

Answer to the Admonition, Page 100, Sect. 3, 4.

Here is a high matter in a low house; he that saith "Take ye, and eat ye," doth he not also say in effect Take thou, and eat thou? Doth not the plural number include the singular? Christ, Matt. vi., saith: *Ad hunc igitur modum orate vos:* "Pray ye on this manner:" may we not therefore say, Pray thou on this manner, if we speak to one singular person? So speaking to all his apostles he saith: *Ite in universum mundum:* "Go into[4] all the world."

Of the words "take thou," "eat thou," &c.[3]

The plural number includeth the singular.

We use the plural number when we speak to many jointly, we use the singular number when we speak to one severally. And, forasmuch as every one that receiveth this sacrament hath to apply unto himself the benefits of Christ's death and passion, therefore it is convenient to be said to every one: "Take thou, eat thou." But this objection is so ridiculous that it is more worthy to be hissed at than to be confuted.

Every one must apply the sacrament to himself.

T. C. Page 132, Sect. 2.

Unto the three next sections, contained in the 100. *and* 101. *page, I have spoken already, when as I shewed the general faults of the service-book, only that is to be noted that M. Doctor still privily pincheth, or ever he be aware, at our Saviour Christ's action, in the first of these sections, when as he commendeth rather this form of speaking, "Take thou," than that which our Saviour Christ used in saying "Take ye." And, if it be a good argument to prove that therefore we must rather say "Take thou," than "Take ye," because the sacrament is an application of the benefits of Christ; then, forasmuch as preaching is the applying of the benefits of Christ, it behoveth that the preacher should direct his admonitions particularly one after another unto all those which hear his sermon; which is a thing absurd; and therefore [besides that it is good to leave the popish form in those things which we may so conveniently do,] it is best to come as near the manner of celebration of the supper which our Saviour Christ used as may be.*

[3] This note is not in Answ.

[4] Go ye into, Answ.

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Jo. Whitgift.

I see no difference betwixt them, but only in number; for the which I have given some reason before; whereunto you have made no answer. The similitude of preaching that you here use to improve my latter reason is very unapt; for there is great difference betwixt the means of exhibiting the benefits of Christ by his sacraments, and by preaching of his word. And yet there is none doubteth but that a man is more moved by that which is spoken to him particularly, than he is with that which is spoken generally as well to other as to himself. And therefore we may commonly note that godly and zealous preachers, even in their general exhortations, use oftentimes the singular number, and second person, as though they spake to every particular man severally[1]. Therefore be the commandments given in that number and person, as, "Thou shalt have no other gods but me." &c. And Christ doth use the same manner of speech oftentimes in his sermon, Matt. v. vi. and vii: "If thou bring thy[2] gift to the altar, &c." "Agree with thine adversary quickly, &c." It is usual in all exhortations; and it is a manner of speaking that giveth every man occasion to apply that unto himself which is spoken. Neither do I herein "pinch at our Saviour Christ's action," as you surmise; for he spake generally to them all, and therefore used that form of words which was most convenient for that purpose.

Particular exhortations move more than general.

Chapter i. The Eighteenth Division.

Admonition.

The eighth.

They used no other words but such as Christ left: we borrow from papists, "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, &c."

Answer to the Admonition, Page 101, Sect. 2, 3.

From whencesoever these words were borrowed, they were well borrowed; for it is a godly prayer, and

Of the words "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ &c.[3]"

[1 Cartwright says that this "is not to the point of the question. For it is not debated here whether the minister should speak to all at once by 'thou' or by 'ye,' but whether it is meeter that it should be once only spoken to all that communicate at one table, or rehearsed according to the number of persons that communicate."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 235.]

[2 The, Def. B.]

[3 Answ. 2 has simply *The body of our Lord Jesus Christ.*]

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an apt application of that sacrament, and putteth the communicants in mind of the effect of Christ's passion exhibited unto them by that sacrament, and sealed with the same, if it be worthily received.

It maketh no matter from whom we receive any thing, so it be godly, profitable, and consonant to the scriptures. But, I pray you, tell us what pope invented these words, "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c."

Admonition.

The ninth.

[f] *Telesphorus in anno* 130.

They had no Gloria in excelsis *in the ministry of the sacrament then, for it was put* [f] *to afterward*[4]*: we have now.*

Answer to the Admonition, Page 101, Sect. 5; and Page 102, Sect. 1.

Of *Gloria in excelsis*[5].

It is the common consent of ecclesiastical histories that the apostles did celebrate the Lord's supper with the Lord's prayer; and yet we do not read that Christ did so. You also teach that the supper ought not to be ministered without a sermon, and in the ministration thereof you use divers prayers, and other orders which Christ used not: can you espy[7] a mote (if it be a mote, as it is not) in another man's eye, and can you not perceive a beam to be in your own? There is nothing contained in *Gloria in excelsis*, but the same is taken out of the scriptures, and to be used of all true Christians.

The apostles celebrated[6] the Lord's supper with the Lord's prayer.

[* I must answer you here as Zuinglius answered the anabaptists, who would have nothing added to the words of Christ in baptism: *Nolim... quisquam moveatur catabaptistarum calumniis, quibus nudis baptismi verbis nihil omnino admisceri volunt; nec enim quicquam a nobis additur divinæ scripturæ, et oraculis sacris contrarium*[8]: "I would not that any man should be moved with the false surmises of the anabaptists, whereby they will have nothing at all added to the bare words of baptism; for

[4] Constituit item, ut ante sacrificium hymnus ille caneretur, Gloria in excelsis Deo.—Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Telesph. I. p. 17.]

[5] This marginal note is not in Answ.]

[6] Celebrate, Def. B.] [7] Spy, Answ.]

[8] H. Zvingl. Op. Tigur. 1581. De Bapt. Lib. Pars II. fol. 98. 2.]

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we add nothing either contrary to the divine scriptures, or repugnant to holy oracles."*][1]

Telesphorus a good bishop[2].

Telesphorus, whom you note in the margent to have added to the supper of the Lord *Gloria in excelsis*, in the year of the Lord 130., was a good bishop; and the church of Rome was[3] as yet pure in doctrine, and unspotted with heresy.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

No answer to one whit of all this.

Chapter i. The Nineteenth Division.

Admonition.

The tenth.

They took it with conscience; we with custom.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 102, Sect. 3, 4.

This is but your presumptuous and arrogant judgment, who dare take upon you to give this general sentence so generally upon this whole church of England; for you make no exception, but set us *ad oppositum* to them.

If you say some take it without conscience, I think you say truly; and so did some of them, as Judas. But, if you say all or the most part, you go beyond your commission, and make yourselves judges of other men's consciences, contrary to the rule of Christ, Matt. vii., Luke vi.; and of Paul, Rom. ii. and xiv., 1 Cor. iv.; and of James, iv.

T. C. Page 132, Sect. 3.

When as many receive they know not what, some other without any examination, either of themselves or by others, how they come, with what faith in Christ, with what love towards their brethren; I see not against what rule of our Saviour Christ it is, or what rash judgment, to say that they come rather of custom than of conscience, when neither they speak generally of all, nor singularly of any one particular person.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

Generally to charge the whole church with that which is

[1] This is inserted from Answ. 2.] [2] This note is not in Answ.]
[3] *Was* is not in Answ.]

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but the fault of some, and thus boldly to enter into many men's consciences, must needs be both lack of great discretion, and also against those rules of scripture that I have quoted in my Answer to the Admonition. Shutting from the communion.

¶ Of shutting men from the communion, and compelling to communicate.

Chapter ii. The First Division.

Admonition.

The eleventh.

They shut men by reason of their [g] *sins from the Lord's supper: we thrust them in their sin to the Lord's supper.*

[g] 1 Cor. v. 11.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 102, Sect. 6, 7.

The place that you allege out of the fifth chapter of the first to the Corinthians, which is this: "But now I have written unto you that you company not together, if any that is called a brother be a fornicator, &c.", doth not particularly touch the secluding of men by reason of their sins from the communion, but generally prohibiteth true Christians to have any familiarity or friendship with any such notorious offender.

If you were not with malice blinded, you might understand that by the order and rules of this church of England all notorious and known offenders, even such as St Paul here speaketh of, are secluded from the Lord's supper. But peradventure your meaning is, that no man should be compelled to the communion at any time; wherein you greatly gratify the papists, and shew yourself a good patron of theirs. When you shew any reason why men may not be compelled to come to the communion, then you shall be answered: in the mean time you are worthy of your fee. The admonitors gratify the papists[4].

T. C. Page 132, Sect. ult.

If the place of the v. to the Corinth.[5] *do forbid that we should have any familiarity with notorious offenders, it doth much more forbid that they should be received to the communion.*

[4] Instead of this marginal note Answ. 2 has *No man to be compelled to the communion.*]

[5] Corinths, Repl. 1 and 2.]

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Shutting from the communion.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

I will answer you as M. Calvin answered the anabaptists, objecting the same place of St Paul, 1 Cor. v., in effect to the same end and purpose that the authors of the Admonition do, and using the like collection that you do in this place: "But, whereas," saith he, "Paul doth forbid to eat with those that live dissolutely, that pertaineth to private conversation, not to the public communion. But some will say, If it be not lawful for a christian man to keep company with him that is wicked, for corporal meat, much less may he receive with them the Lord's bread. I answer, that it is in our power whether we will be familiarly conversant with the wicked or no; and therefore every one ought to fly from them. But it is not so in our power to receive the communion, or not to receive it; therefore the reason is not all one; we must therefore note that, if the church do tolerate and suffer an unworthy man, he shall do well that (knowing him to be such a one) doth abstain from his company as much as he can; so that his doing make no schism or separation in the church[1]." This I speak only touching the true understanding of that place of St Paul to the Corinthians, and not because I would have the church to suffer any such notorious offenders to receive the communion.

Calv. adversus Anabapt.

Chapter ii. The Second Division.

T. C. Page 132, Sect. ult.

And therefore papists, being such as which are notoriously known to hold heretical opinions, ought not to be admitted, much less compelled to the supper. For, seeing that our Saviour Christ did institute his supper amongst his disciples, and those only which were, as St Paul speaketh, within, it is evident that the papists, being without, and foreigners and strangers from the church of God, ought not to be received if they would offer themselves; and that minister, that shall give the supper of the Lord to

[1 Quod autem vetat Paulus &c. communionem. At dicet aliquis, si homini christiano non liceat cum scelerato versari, corporei victus percipiendi causa, multo minus panem Domini cum illo sumere licebit. Respondeo, in libertate nostra et facultate positum esse, an familiariter versemur cum sceleratis. Quo fit, ut unicuique sit ab eo abstinendum. At non est ita in arbitrio nostro positum, an cœnam recipiamus, necne. Itaque diversa est ratio. Notemus ergo, si ecclesia hominem indignum ferat et toleret, probe facturum eum qui talem noverit, si ab ejus consuetudine abstineat, idque, quoad poterit, facere debere; modo ne schisma ullum aut separationem in ecclesiæ communione inducat.—Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Instr. adv. Anabapt. Art. ii. Tom. VIII. p. 362. See Vol. I. page 387, note 7.]

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him which is known to be a papist, and which hath never made any clear renouncing of popery, with which he hath been defiled, doth profane the table of the Lord, and doth give the meat that is prepared for the children to dogs, and he bringeth, into the pasture which is provided for the sheep, swine and unclean beasts, contrary to the faith and trust that ought to be in a steward of the Lord's house, as he is. For, albeit that I doubt not but many of those which are now papists pertain to the election of God, which God also in his good time will call to the knowledge of his truth, yet notwithstanding they ought to be unto the minister, and unto the church, touching the ministering of the sacraments, as strangers and as unclean beasts. And, as for the papists, howsoever they receive it, whether as their popish breaden god, as some do, or as common and ordinary bread, as other some do, or as a thing they know not what, as some other; they do nothing else but eat and drink their own condemnation; the weight whereof they shall one day assuredly feel, unless they do repent them of such horrible profaning of the Lord's most holy mysteries.

Shutting from the communion.

JO. WHITGIFT.

When our Saviour Christ did institute his supper, Judas was present, and partaker thereof with the rest, as it is evident in the evangelists; and yet was not Judas of the church, but without the church, and a reprobate. You allege St Paul, but there is neither epistle, nor chapter, nor any other place quoted; which argues a guilty conscience, and willing to use untrue allegations, or at the least unapt.

I do not allow that papists, being notoriously known, and continuing in their popery, should be admitted to receive the communion; neither are they admitted thereunto in this church. And, being such as you speak of, I think they would not come, although they were compelled.

Chapter ii. The Third Division.

T. C. Page 133, Line 16.

And, if this be to gratify the papists, to shew that they ought not to be compelled to receive the supper of the Lord as long as they continue in their popery, I am well content to shew them this pleasure; so that both they and you forget not what I have before said, that the magistrate ought to compel them to hear the word of God, and, if they profit not, nor with sufficient teaching correct not themselves, that then they should be punished. And, if you do ask [why they should be more compelled unto the sermons than unto the supper of the Lord,] or why they are not as well to be admitted unto the one as unto the other, you see the like done in the sacrament of baptism; which may not be ministered unto all to whom the word may be preached.

You said before that, if they be not meet to receive the communion, neither are they meet to hear the word. Pag. 118, sect. 1.[2]

[2 See Vol. II. page 554.]

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Shutting from the communion.

The reason also is at hand; for the preaching of the word of God to the papists is an offer of the grace of God, which may be made to those which are strangers from God; but the ministering of the holy sacraments unto them is a declaration and seal of God's favour and reconciliation with them, and a plain preaching, partly that they be washed already from their sins, partly that they are of the household of God, and such as the Lord will feed to eternal life; which is not lawful to be done to those which are not of the household of faith. And therefore I conclude that the compelling of papists unto the communion, and the dismissing and letting of them go when as they be to be punished for their stubbornness in popery (with this condition if they will receive the communion), is very unlawful, when as, although they would receive it, yet they ought to be kept back, until such time as by their religious and gospel-like behaviour they have purged themselves of that suspicion of popery which their former life and conversation hath caused to be conceived.

JO. WHITGIFT.

Pag. 118, sect. 1.

This is directly contrary to that which you before affirmed, page 118. For there you say that those "which are not meet to receive the holy sacrament of the supper are not meet to hear the word of God, if they be meet for the one, they be meet for the other; and that, with what lawfulness they may offer themselves to the prayers and to the hearing of the word of God, they may also offer themselves to the Lord's supper; and, to whomsoever of them the Lord will communicate himself by preaching the word, unto the same he will not refuse to communicate himself by receiving of the sacraments." These be your words there; and now you sing another song, going about to prove that "the magistrate may and ought to compel those to the hearing of the word" who are not meet to be received to the Lord's supper. Surely this is great inconstancy; but I agree with you in this place, and I have before declared the untruth of your assertion in the other place. This only I must let you understand, that, when I speak of compelling either papists or other to the communion, I do not mean that they persisting in their wickedness and errors should be constrained to come to the Lord's supper, but that, all ordinary means of persuasion being used, if they still continue in their stubbornness, and refuse to communicate with us, such discipline would[1] be used towards them as is convenient for their wilfulness and contempt of the truth.

Men persisting in wickedness and errors are not to be compelled.

[1] Should, Def. A.]

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Yourself before, page 117., said that "such as withdraw themselves from the communion should, both by ecclesiastical discipline and civil punishment, be brought to communicate with their brethren[2]:" the same do I affirm also. But the authors of the Admonition say that "this is to drive men in their sins to the Lord's supper;" and therefore, page 109., they would neither "have papists nor other constrained to communicate in the mysteries of salvation[3];" meaning (as I think) that they would have no correction nor discipline (for that is to compel) used against such as refuse to communicate. I think indeed the special[4] quarrel is their own, because they have separated themselves from the church, and would not be constrained to communicate with us, but they make their doctrine general, thereby to cloak their intent. Wherefore, whether they do it to gratify the papists, or no, it may be doubted; but certain it is that the papists could not have had better proctors.

Shutting from the communion.

The Replier agreeth not with the Admonition.

The Admonition would have none compelled to communicate.

Chapter ii. The Fourth Division.

T. C. Page 133, Line 37.

As for the "fee" that M. Doctor saith we be worthy of for shewing ourselves (as he saith) so "good patrons" of the papists, he hath given us well to understand what it should be if he were the paymaster; but, as we serve the Lord in this work, so we look for reward at his hand, not fearing but that the Lord will in the end give such blessing unto our labours as we shall not need greatly to fear at the hands of those which God hath placed in authority the reward which you do so often call for.

Jo. Whitgift.

Surely that fee you should look for at my hands, that it behoveth a christian man to give unto such as continue in disturbing the church; and yet peradventure should it not be by the twenty part so sharp as the fee that you would bestow upon me, if it were in your power. Howbeit, I commit myself to him by whom hitherto I have been protected (notwithstanding all the devices and practices of slanderous tongues and hateful countenances), and I nothing doubt but that in the end God will turn all to his glory, and profit of the church.

[2 See Vol. II. page 552.] [3 See below, page 132.]
[4 Especial, Def. A.]

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¶ Of plain and simple ministering and receiving of the communion.

Chapter iii.

Admonition.

The twelfth.

They ministered the sacraments[1] *plainly; we pompously, with singing, piping, surplice and cope-wearing.*

The thirteenth.

They, simply as they [h] *received it from the Lord; we, sinfully mixed with man's inventions and devices.*

[h] 1 Cor. xi. 23.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 103, Sect. 2, 3; and Page 104, Sect. 1.

This is a very slender reason to prove that the sacrament of the supper is not sincerely ministered, because there is singing, piping, surplice, and cope: when you shew your reasons against that pomp which is now used in the celebration of that sacrament, you shall hear what I have to say in defence[2] of the same. I think that there is nothing used in the administration thereof that doth in any respect contaminate it or make it unpure[3]. As for piping, it is not prescribed to be used at the communion by any rule that I know. Singing I am sure you do not disallow, being used in all reformed churches, and an art allowed in scriptures, and used in praising of God by David. Of surplice and cope I have spoken before, and will speak more hereafter, as occasion is ministered.

Singing used in all reformed churches[4].

There is no such inventions or devices of man mixed with the supper of the Lord as can make it sinful, being all pertaining to edifying, and to good and decent order, and nothing there appointed to be done contrary or not agreeable to the scriptures. Calvin himself saith in his Institutions, *Lib. iv. cap.* 10., "that those things which be parts of decency commended unto us by the apostle, though they be prescribed by man, yet are they God's

Calvin[4].

Decent orders be God's traditions.

[1] Sacrament, Adm.] [2] In the defence, Answ.]
[3] Impure, Answ. and Def. A.]
[4] These marginal notes are not in Answ.]

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traditions and not man's, as kneeling at solemn prayer, and such like[5]." The supper itself in all points of any moment is ministered now in this church of England even as Christ delivered it, as the apostles used it[6], and as the primitive church continued the same.

[*And therefore thus I conclude with Œcolampadius: *Hæc Christianis libera sunt, quibus aut addere, si commodum videtur, et populo utile, aut demere, si abusus obrepserit, pro temporis ratione, quemadmodum in cæteris ceremoniis fit, possunt pii et sancti episcopi. De externis nullum certamen excitavimus: quæ media sunt verbo Dei non repugnant*[7]: "These things be free unto Christians, whereunto holy and godly &c."*][8]

These be all the reasons you use to prove that the sacrament of the supper is not rightly and sincerely ministered; whereof some be impious, some ridiculous, and all of them unworthy any confutation.

T. C. Page 133, Sect. 1, 2.

Unto that which is contained in the two next sections, in the 103. *and a piece of the* 104. *pages, I have answered before, partly particularly, and partly when I noted the general faults of the service-book, especially seeing that M. Doctor will not defend the piping and organs, nor no other singing than is used in the reformed churches, which is, in the singing of two psalms, one in the beginning and another in the ending, in a plain tune, easy both to be sung of those which have no art in singing, and understanded of those which because they cannot read cannot sing with the rest of the church.*

For that which is in the 105. *page and concerneth the surplice I have answered before.*

[5 ...hic testari operæpretium est, eas demum humanas constitutiones me probare quæ et Dei auctoritate fundatæ, et ex scriptura desumptæ, adeoque prorsus divinæ sint. Exemplum sit in geniculatione quæ fit dum solennes habentur precationes. Quæritur sitne humana traditio,...Dico sic esse humanam ut simul sit divina. Dei est quatenus pars est decori illius cujus cura et observatio nobis per apostolum commendatur: hominum autem, quatenus specialiter designat quod in genere fuerat indicatum magis quam expositum.—Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Inst. Lib. IV. cap. x. 30. Tom. IX. p. 323.]

[6 Def. A. and B. omit *it*.]

[7 Jo. Œcolamp. Epist. ap. J. Gast. De Anabapt. Exord. Error. &c. Basil. 1544. Lib. II. p. 329.]

[8 This paragraph is inserted from Answ. 2; which proceeds with the translation as below, page 108.]

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JO. WHITGIFT.

The sacraments purely ministered.

To the most of it you have not answered anywhere; and the substance of it you have left untouched, that is, whether "these things be of that weight, or no, that in any respect they can contaminate the sacraments, or make them impure, as they be now used." Neither have you proved, or can prove, that the sacraments are not ministered in this church of England, in all points of any moment, even as Christ delivered them, the apostles used them, and the primitive church continued them. Touching "singing, piping (as you call it), surplice and cope-wearing," I answer with Œcolampadius:

Œcolamp. in Epist. apud Gastium, Lib. II. de erro. Catabaptist.

"These things be free unto Christians, which holy or godly bishops may either add, if it seem unto them convenient and profitable for the people, or take away, if there be any abuse, as the time requireth; even as they may also do in other ceremonies. We have made no contention for external things: those things that be indifferent are not repugnant to the word of God[1]."

I have heard no reasons as yet to improve the manner of singing used in this church of England, neither do I say that I allow "no other singing than is used in other reformed churches." For I would not have any church to arrogate that perfection unto itself, that it should think all other churches to be bound unto it: it was the original cause of the pride of the church of Rome. I have only said that other reformed churches allow singing; which is true.

The original cause of the pride of the Romish church.

[1] See last page, note 7.]

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¶ Of matters touching Baptism.

Tract. XVI.

Interrogatories to infants.

Of interrogatories ministered to infants.

Chapter i. The First Division.

Admonition.

Acts viii. 35, 36, 37. Acts x. 47. *And, as for baptism, it was enough for them if they [1]had water, and the party to be baptized faith, and the minister to preach the word and minister the sacraments. Now, we must have surplices devised by pope Adrian, interrogatories ministered to the infant, godfathers and godmothers, brought in by Higinus[2], holy fonts invented by pope Pius, crossing, and such like pieces of popery, which the church of God in the apostles' time[3] never knew (and therefore not to be used), nay (which we are sure of), were and are man's devices, brought in long after the purity of the primitive church.*

Answer to the Admonition, Page 105, Sect. ult. &c.

Interrogatories ministered to infants.

[4]Interrogatories to be ministered to the infant be not strange, neither lately invented, but of great antiquity. For Dionysius Areopagita (as some men name him)[5], in his book entituled *De Cœlest.*[6] *Hierar.*, and seventh chapter, speaking of the baptizing of infants, and of their sureties or godfathers, and answering to certain profane deriders (as he termeth them) which said that one was baptized for another, because the godfather did promise and answer for the child, speaketh thus in the name of[8] the godfather: *Neque enim hoc ille ait, Ego pro puero abrenunciationes facio, aut fidei sacramenta profiteor; sed ita puer renunciat et profitetur, id est, spondeo puerum inducturum, cum ad sacram intelligentiam venerit, sedulis adhortationibus meis, ut abrenuntiet contrariis omnino, profiteaturque et peragat divina quæ pollicetur*[9]: "Neither doth he say this, I renounce for the child, or profess the sacraments of faith; but in this sort the child doth renounce or profess, that is to say, I promise so to instruct the child, when he cometh to the

Of godfathers and godmothers[7].

Dionysius Areopag.

[2] The seven preceding words are not in Adm.] [3] Times, Adm.]
[4] Here come in Answ. the paragraphs which appear Vol. II. pages 47, 8.]
[5] The words in the parenthesis are introduced from Answ. 2.]
[6] This is a mistake for *Ecclesiast.*, and is so corrected in the copy used of Answ. 2.]
[7] This marginal note is inserted from Answ. 2.]
[8] The of name, Answ. 2.]
[9] Dion. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. vii. 11. Tom. I. p. 419.]

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Interrogatories to infants.

years of discretion, with daily exhortations, that he shall renounce all contrary things, and profess and perform those heavenly things which he doth promise.

T. C. Page 133, Sect. ult.; and Page 134, Sect. 1.

There followeth the interrogatories or demands ministered unto the infants in baptism; for the proof whereof is brought in the first place Dionysius Areopagita, a worthy cover for such a cup. For, to let pass that M. Doctor allegeth the Celestial Hierarchy instead that he should have cited the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, this testimony being found in the one and not[1] *in the other, dare M. Doctor be so bold as to delude the world in so great light with such baubles as this? Doth he think that the author of these books of Hierarchies, being so full of subtle speculations, vain and idle fantasies*[2]*, wicked blasphemies, making one order of popes, another of prelates, the third of sacrificers, and then of monks (some of which orders came not many hundred years after that time wherein Denis the Areopagite lived), which mentioneth many foolish ceremonies and corruptions (that no other author, neither Greek nor Latin stories, nor other*[3] *divers hundred years after doth make mention*[4] *of besides him)—I say, doth he think to abuse men, and to give them such dross instead of silver, such chaff instead of corn, as to make us believe that he that wrote these books of Hierarchy was St Paul's scholar? For the better blazing of this Denis' arms I will send the reader*[5] *unto that which Erasmus writeth of this Denis of M. Doctor's upon the xvii. of the Acts of the Apostles, where he also sheweth, together with his own judgment, the judgment of Laurentius Valla*[6]*. I am not ignorant what Nicephorus, a fabulous historiographer and of no credit in such matters (in*[7] *those matters especially which might like or mislike those times wherein he wrote), saith of St Paul's communicating with Denis and another concerning the Heavenly and Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*[8]*.* H. Lib. xx. cap. *But, because I think M. Doctor be now ashamed of his Denis, I will follow it no further.*

By this it may appear that, M. Doctor's Dionysius being a counterfeit and start-up, these interrogatories and demands ministered unto infants[9] *have not so many grey hairs as he would make us believe; although indeed the question lieth not in the antiquity. As for reasons he hath none, but only, as one which hath learned his æquipollences*[10] *very evil, he maketh*

[1 This word is introduced from Repl. 2.] [2 Fancies, Repl. 1 and 2.]
[3 Others, Repl. 1 and 2.] [4 Make any mention, Repl. 1 and 2.]
[5 Repl. 2 has *the* (*reader*): i. e. thee, reader.]
[6 Laurentius hoc loco refellit eorum opinionem, qui putant hunc *Areopagitam* fuisse auctorem eorum librorum, quos habemus *de Hierarchiis ac Divinis nominibus*, et eundem esse, qui apud Lutetiam Parisiorum martyrio fuerit laureatus, e tribus, ni fallor, *Dionysiis* unum reddentes. &c.—Erasm. Op. Lugd. Bat. 1703-6. Adnot. in Act. Apost. cap. xvii. Tom. VI. col. 503. Conf. Laur. Vall. Op. Basil. 1540. Annot. in Act. Apost. cap. xvii. p. 852.]
[7 And in, Repl. 2.]
[8 Niceph. Call. Par. 1630. Lib. II. cap. xx. Tom. I. p. 167.]
[9 Unto the infants, Repl. 1 and 2.] [10 Æquipollences: equivalents.]

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it all one to say, "I renounce," and to say, "I will teach another to renounce." Interrogatories to infants.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

I know there is contrary opinions of learned men touching the authority and author of these books. And yet it cannot be denied but that they be very ancient; neither is it any shame for me to allege his authority, seeing the bishop of Sarisbury is not ashamed to allege the same book against Harding, to prove reading of the scriptures in the church, with as great credit as I do[11]. Howbeit I will not take upon me the defence of them, neither do I doubt but that something may be thrust in unto them[12]; but of all other things this is the least to be suspected that I have in this place alleged. Neither am I any more ashamed of him than you are of so often alleging the canons of the apostles, Hyginus, &c.; the which authorities are as much doubted of as the books of Dionysius. His reason is to be considered, agreeing fully with the true meaning of this church of England; but you wipe it away with a flout, as your manner is, when you are driven to a pinch. Defence of the Apolog. Part v.

Chapter i. The Second Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 106, Sect. 1; and Page 107, Sect. 1.

Augustine also, in his epistle written *ad Bonifacium*, answering this question, why, seeing we dare promise nothing of the infant's behaviour and manners when he cometh to man's state, yet, when he is brought to baptism, and the question is asked of those that offer him to be baptized, whether the infant believe or no, they answer that he doth believe, saith on this sort: *Nisi sacramenta quandam haberent similitudinem &c.*[15]: "Except Augustine[13]. An objection made by Augustine. The[14] Answer to the same.

[11 See Bp. Jewel's Works, Park. Soc. Edit. Vol. IV. p. 856.]

[12 "His evidence to prove him legitimate, 'because these books be very ancient,' implieth that a number of horrible abuses are as ancient. And therefore, instead of saying some 'falsehood might be thrust in,' he should have said some truth might be thrust in, to give credit to the rest."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 224.]

[13 This word is not in Answ.] [14 An, Answ. 2.]

[15 Si enim sacramenta quamdam similitudinem earum rerum, quarum sacramenta sunt, non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque etiam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt. Sicut ergo secundum quemdam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est, sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est, ita sacramentum fidei fides est. Nihil est

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Interrogatories to infants.

sacraments had a certain similitude and likeness of those things whereof they be sacraments, they were no sacraments at all; and by reason of this same similitude oftentimes they are called by the names of the things themselves; therefore, as after a certain manner of speaking the sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ, the sacrament of the blood of Christ is the blood of Christ, so the sacrament of the faith is faith; neither is it any thing else to believe than to have faith; and therefore, when answer is made that the infant doth believe, not having as yet faith indeed, it is answered that he doth believe for the sacrament of faith, and that he doth convert himself unto God for the sacrament of conversion, because the answer itself doth pertain to the celebration of the sacrament." And a little after he saith: *Itaque parvulum, etsi nondum fides illa quæ in credentium voluntate consistit, jam tamen ipsius fidei sacramentum fidelem facit. Nam sicut credere respondetur, ita etiam fidelis vocatur, non rem ipsa mente annuendo, sed ipsius rei sacramentum percipiendo*[1]: "Therefore, although that faith which consisteth in the will of the believers doth not make the child faithful, yet doth the sacrament of that faith make him faithful; for, even as it is answered that he doth believe, so is he also called faithful, not by signifying the thing itself in his mind, but by receiving the sacrament of the thing."

By these two authorities it is manifest that interrogatories were ministered to infants at the time of their baptism, and that they had sureties, which we call godfathers, that answered for them and in their name.

T. C. Page 134, Sect. 1.

As though St Augustine's reason did rest upon your allowing.

As for St Augustine's place (although I cannot allow his reason that he maketh, nor the proportion that is between the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ and his body and blood itself of one side, and between the sacrament of baptism and faith of the other side; saying that, "as the sacrament of the body of Christ after a sort is the body, so the

autem aliud credere, quam fidem habere. Ac per hoc cum respondetur parvulus credere, qui fidei nondum habet affectum, respondetur fidem habere propter fidei sacramentum, et convertere se ad Deum propter conversionis sacramentum, quia et ipsa responsio ad celebrationem pertinet sacramenti.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Bonifac. Epist. xcviii. 9. Tom. II. cols. 267, 8.]

[1 Id. ibid. 10. col. 268.]

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baptism of the sacrament of faith is after a sort faith"; whereas he should have said that, as the supper, being the sacrament of the body of Christ, is after a sort the body of Christ, so baptism, being a sacrament of the blood of Christ, is after a sort the blood of Christ. For faith is not the subject of baptism as the body and blood of Christ is the matter of the supper), yet I say that St Augustine hath no one word to approve this abuse of answering in the child's name, and in his person, but goeth about to establish another abuse, which was, that it was lawful for those that presented the child to say that it believed; so that it is like that the minister did ask those which presented the infant, whether they thought that it was faithful, and did believe; and those which presented it said it was so; whereupon this question rose, whether it was lawful to say that the child believed.

Interrogatories to infants.

T. C. teacheth St August. to speak.

JO. WHITGIFT.

I never heard that any learned man as yet misliked this place of Augustine, but I know they have used it as a most manifest testimony against transubstantiation and the real presence, and as a true declaration wherefore the sacramental bread and wine be called the body and blood of Christ, being but the sacraments of the body and blood of Christ. And now you, with unwashed hands, not understanding the place, presume to give a blind and unlearned censure upon so worthy and learned a father, even there where he speaketh most soundly and learnedly. But how should your arrogancy else appear? The supper is a sacrament both of the body and blood of Christ, the bread of the body and the wine of the blood, as St Augustine there saith; and baptism is truly called by him "the sacrament of faith," because it is *signaculum justitiæ fidei;* as circumcision, the figure of baptism, was according to the word of the apostle, *ad Rom. iv.;* and therefore, in reproving St Augustine for calling it "the sacrament of faith," you seem to be ignorant of this place of the apostle. To this saying of Augustine doth that of Tertullian in his book *De Pœnitentia* very well agree; where he, speaking of baptism, saith, *Lavacrum illud obsignatio est fidei*[2]: "That washing is the sealing of faith." And Chrysostom, *Opere Imp. Homil. v. in Matth.*, saith also that "baptism is the seal of faith[3];" neither did ever any man before you mislike this kind and phrase of speech, that "baptism is the sacrament of faith[4]."

Baptism the sacrament of faith.

Rom. iv.

Tertull.

Chrysost.

[2 Tertull. Op. Franek. 1597. Lib. de Pœnit. 6. p. 115.]

[3 Baptismum autem signaculum fidei est.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. v. ex cap. iv. Tom. VI. p. xliv.]

[4 "... he mispendeth the time in proving 'that baptism is the seal of faith,'

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Interrogatories to infants.

St Augustine's words be evident, that there were questions in baptism moved in the name of the infant; which could not be, unless there were also answering to the same.

Chapter i. The Third Division.

Admonition.

Thirdly, they profane holy baptism in toying foolishly, for that they ask questions of an infant which cannot answer, and speak unto them as was wont to be spoken unto men, and unto such as, being converted, answered for themselves, and were baptized. Which is but a mockery[1] *of God, and therefore against the holy scriptures.*

[1] Gal. vi. 7.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 192, Sect. 1, 2.

Augustine alloweth questions to the infant.

To the third superstitious toy (as you call it), that is, "the questions demanded of the infant at the time of baptism," I have also answered out of St Augustine, in the first part[1]; where it may also appear that this manner of questioning was used in the baptizing of infants long before Augustine's time; for Dionysius Areopagita maketh mention of them[2] in like manner[3].

To prove that this questioning with the infant is a mocking of God you quote Gal. vi. verse 7: "Be not deceived: God is not mocked; for whatsoever a man soweth that shall he reap." Paul in this place taketh away excuses which worldlings use to make for not nourishing their pastors; for no feigned excuse will serve, because God is not mocked; but what is this to the questioning with infants? how followeth this: God is not mocked; *ergo*, he that questioneth with infants mocketh God? Truly you mock God when you so dally with his scriptures, and seek rather the glory of quoting of many places of scripture, than the true applying of any one.

which none denieth; but that it is called faith (which he ought to have proved) he could not find a word."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 224.]

[1 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Bonifac. Epist. xcviii. 7, &c. Tom. II. cols. 266, &c.]

[2 It, Answ. 2.]

[3 Dion. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. vii. 11. Tom. I. pp. 417, &c.]

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T. C. Page 134, Sect. 2.

Interrogatories to infants.

In the 191. *and* 192. *pages he speaketh of this again; but he doth nothing else but repeat in both places that which is here, only he saith that it is a mocking of God to use the place of the Galatians, "God is not mocked," against this abuse; and his reason is, because St Paul speaketh there against those that by feigned excuses seek to defraud the pastor of his living; as who should say, St Paul did not conclude that particular conclusion, thou shalt not by frivolous excuses defraud the minister, with this general saying, "God is not mocked;" for his reason is, God is not mocked at all or in any matter; therefore he is not mocked in this*[5]*; or as who should say, because our Saviour Christ saying that "it is not lawful to separate that which God hath joined," speaking of divorce, it is not lawful to use this sentence, being a general rule, in other things; when as we know it is*[6] *as well and properly used against the papists, which sever the cup from the bread, as against the Jews, which put away their wives for every small and trifling cause.*

Gal. vi. 7.[4]

Matt. xix. 6.[4]

JO. WHITGIFT.

Indeed it is a very mocking of God thus to abuse the scriptures; for the authors of the Admonition allege this text to prove that to question with infants is to mock God, when there is not one word in that place spoken of questioning with infants; and therefore this text is alleged without purpose, except you will say that it is quoted only for the phrase and manner of speaking. It is true that God is not mocked; but this proveth not that questioning in baptism is to mock God; and therefore vainly it is applied. Those, "which sever the cup from the bread" in the Lord's supper, do separate that which God hath coupled; and therefore that text may well be alleged against them; but such as question in baptism, in the name of those that are to be baptized, do not mock God; and therefore that text is in the Admonition altogether abused.

Chapter i. The Fourth Division.

T. C. Page 134, Sect. ult.

And, as for this questioning, it can be little better termed than a very trifling and toying; for, first of all, children have not, nor cannot have, any faith, having no understanding of the word of God. I will not deny but children have the Spirit of God, which worketh in them after a wonderful fashion. But I deny that they can have faith which cometh by hearing, and understanding which is not in[7] *them.*

[4] These references are inserted from Repl. 2.]
[5] The preceding twenty-one words are not in Def. B.]
[6] This word is omitted in Def. B.] [7] *In* is repeated, Repl. 1.]

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Interrogatories to infants.

Secondarily, if children could have faith, yet they that present the child cannot precisely tell whether that particular child hath faith or no, and therefore cannot so absolutely answer that it believeth: because it is comprehended in the covenant, and is the child of faithful parents, or at least[1] *of one of the parents, there is warrant unto the presenters to offer it unto baptism, and to the minister for to baptize it. And, further, we have to think charitably and to hope that it is one of the church. But it can be no more precisely said that it hath faith, than it may be said precisely elected; for indeed it is all one to say that it is elect, and to say that it*[2] *believeth; and this I think the authors of the Admonition do mean, when they say that they require a promise of the godfathers*[3] *which is not in them to perform.*

An untruth.

JO. WHITGIFT.

I have told you before, out of Dionysius and Augustine, in what sense the answer is made in the name of the infant; and therefore this is no reason; for, though the infant have not faith that cometh by hearing and understanding the word of God, yet may the godfathers promise that they will endeavour, so much as lieth in them, that the infant may be instructed in that faith that they have professed in his name. Likewise, as Augustine saith, it may be said to believe, *propter sacramentum fidei*[4]: "for the sacrament of faith."

Not all one to say it believeth, and it is elected.

Your second reason is all one with the former reason; and therefore one answer doth serve them both, saving that you here add a manifest untruth; for it is not "all one to say that it is elect, and to say it believeth;" for the scripture, *Actor. viii.*, saith that "Simon Magus believed," yet was he not elected[5].

Acts viii.

Chapter i. The Fifth Division.

T. C. Page 135, Lin. 7.

Thirdly, if both those things were true, that is, that infants had faith, and that it might be precisely said that it believeth, yet ought not the minister demand this of the child, whom he knoweth cannot answer him, nor those that answer for the child ought to demand to be baptized, when they neither mean, nor may be (being already baptized); but it is meet that all things should be done gravely, simply, and plainly in the church. And so (if

[1] At the least, Repl. 1 and 2.]

[2] To say it, Repl. 1 and 2.] [3] Godfather, Repl. 1 and 2.]

[4] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Bonifac. Epist. xcviii. 9. Tom. II. col. 267. See before, pages 111, 2, note 15.]

[5] "... whereas I meant the true faith, he flieth to that of Simon Magus, which was counterfeit."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 225.]

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those other two things were lawful) it ought to be done as seemeth to have been done in St Augustine's times, when the minister asked those that presented the infant, and not the infant, whether it were faithful; and those which presented answered in their own persons, and not in the child's, that it was faithful.

Interrogatories to infants.

JO. WHITGIFT.

These be mere cavils, and unworthy the name of reasons. Those, that shall read the book of common prayer touching that matter, may easily perceive that this reason might well have been blotted out of your book. For the minister, speaking to those that answer for the child, saith thus: "Wherefore, after this promise made by Christ, these infants must also faithfully, for their part, promise, by you that be their sureties, that they will forsake the devil and all his works, and constantly believe God's holy word, and obediently keep his commandments;" whereby you may understand what is meant both by those questions and answers. But what will not malice quarrel with? and what is there so good and profitable that may not be (by contentious persons) drawn into question? The question is asked in the name of the child: the godfathers answer in their own persons, signifying thereby that they will labour and endeavour, so much as in them lieth, to bring that to pass in the child which they have promised for it, and in the name of it.

And why is it not as lawful for such questions to be asked in the name of the child, as it is for the child to make a rehearsal of his faith, and to desire to be baptized in the same, by the mouth of the parent, or some other in the parent's name; as the Admonition affirmeth, fol. 109, in these words: "That the parties to be baptized, if they be of the years of discretion by themselves and in their own persons, or if they be infants by their parents (in whose room, if upon necessary occasion they be absent, some one of the congregation, knowing the good behaviour and sound faith of the parents), may both make rehearsal of their faith, and also, if their faith be sound and agreeable to the holy scriptures, desire to be in the same baptized[6]." Is it not as much for the infant to profess his faith (which you say he hath not) by his parents, and by him also to desire to be baptized, as it is

[6 See below, page 132.]

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for the godfather to answer interrogatories ministered unto him in the name of the child[1]?

¶ Of godfathers, and their promise.

Chapter ii. The First Division.

Admonition.

Secondly, they require a promise of the godfathers and godmothers (as they term them), which is not in [k] *their powers to perform. ... We say nothing of those that are admitted to be witnesses, what ill choice there is made of them*[3].

[k] *Rom. vii. 15, 16, 21.* *Rom. ix. 16.*

Answer to the Admonition, Page 191, Sect. 1, 2.

The promise of the godfathers restrained to their power[4].

The second thing you mislike is, that we "require a promise of the godfathers and godmothers, which is not in their power to perform." To this cavillation I have answered before, and have declared, both out of Dionysius Areopagita[5], as they name him[6], and August.[7], why they answer so in the infant's name, and why they make that promise, which I think they perform sufficiently, if they pretermit nothing that lieth in them to the performance thereof; and so saith Dionysius; for such promises are not made absolutely, but *quantum in nobis est:* "so much as lieth in us[8]."

To prove that it is not in the godfathers to perform that which they promise, you quote the saying of St Paul to the Rom. *cap. vii.* vers. 15: "I allow not that which I do; for what I would that I do not, but what I hate that I do;" and vers. 18: "For I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing; for to will

[1 "For albeit the Adm. words might have been warelier set, yet it is but a hawking after syllables; when their meaning is plain, that there ought to be no such strange and unwonted kind of speeches in the common service."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 225.]

[2 11, Def. B.]

[3 This sentence is incomplete: the remainder appears below, page 138.]

[4 Promise made by godfathers restrained to their poore, Answ. 2.]

[5 Dion. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. vii. 11. Tom. I. p. 419. See before, page 109.]

[6 These four words are inserted from Answ. 2.]

[7 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Bonifac. Epist. xcviii. 7, &c. Tom. II. cols. 266, &c. See before, pages 111, 2.]

[8 As in us lieth, Answ. 2: Answ. 1 omits the translation.]

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is present with me, but I find no means, &c.;" and vers. 21: "I find then by the law, that when I would do good evil is present with me." In all these places the apostle declareth that infirmities remain even in the faithful by reason of the flesh, and that they cannot come to such perfection in this life as they do desire. But how do these places prove that godfathers are not able to perform that which they promise for the infant? Truly these proofs are too far-fetched for my understanding. In the ninth to the Romans the apostle saith that "it is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth; but in God that sheweth mercy." In the which words he sheweth that the cause of our election is not in ourselves, but in the mercy of God. But what is this to the promise of godfathers made at the baptizing of infants? If you would have a man to promise nothing but that which is in his power to perform, then must you simply condemn all promises made by man; for there is nothing in his power to perform, no, not moving of his foot, not coming to dinner or supper, &c. Therefore, as all other promises be made with these secret conditions, "if God will;" "so much as lieth in me;" "to the uttermost of my power;" "if I live, &c.;" so is the promise in baptism made by the godfathers likewise.

God-fathers.

Infirmities be in all men.

What man is able to perform his promises[9].

Conditional promises.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

There is nothing answered to this.

Chapter ii. The Second Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 107, Sect. 2; and Page 193, Sect. 1.

It is also manifest by these authorities that godfathers or sureties were required at the baptizing of infants; which Tertullian also signifieth in his book *De Baptismo*[10]. But you yourselves confess godfathers to

Tertullian[9].

Of godfathers[11].

[9] These marginal notes are inserted from Answ. 2.]

[10] Quid enim necesse est, si non tam necesse sponsores etiam periculo ingeri? —Tertull. Op. Franek. 1597. De Bapt. Lib. 17. p. 225.]

[11] This note is omitted in Answ. 2.]

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God-fathers.

Higinus, *anno* 141.[2]

be of great antiquity in the church of Christ, for you say that Higinus brought them in[1]; and Higinus was the ninth bishop of Rome, and lived *anno* 141.

[* That godfathers be not only lawful to be had, but very convenient also, it may appear unto you by these words of Zuinglius, in his epistle to his book *De Baptismo:* "It is certain that every faithful man is as desirous to have his children sealed and consecrated unto God as Abraham was. This is the chief care of all Christians and true faithful men. This is also the cause why the church appointed godfathers and godmothers, lest, when the parents were dead and the children orphans, they might be withdrawn from God by the means of wicked teachers and of infidels[3]." And again in the same book: "This is the cause why the church appointed godfathers and godmothers, that, the parents of the child being dead, they should take upon them their office, and bring up those in christian religion for whom they have given their faith and promise to the church. Neither do we much regard those things which certain of the old and new writers speak of, the confession of the witnesses; for it is manifest that they be no other than the witnesses of the parents, in whose name they bring the children to baptism, and they be also witnesses that they be baptized, and that therefore they ought to be instructed in Christ's religion; and they promise that they also (if necessity require) will perform this office[4]."

[1 Voluit item unum saltem patrimum unamve matrimam baptismo interesse: sic enim eos appellant, qui infantes tenent dum baptizantur.—Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Higin. I. p. 17.]

[2 This marginal note is inserted from Answ. 2.]

[3 Certo enim nobis compertum est, unumquenque fidelium liberos suos non minus Deo obsignatos et sacros esse velle, quam ipse Abraham. Hæc omnium Christianorum et vere fidelium potissima cura est. Hæc etiam causa est, quæ compatres et commatres dedit in ecclesia: ne scilicet defunctis veris parentibus liberi orphani impiis doctorum infidelium traditionibus a Deo abstrahantur.—H. Zvingl. Op. Tigur. 1581. Epist. præf. De Bapt. Libr. Pars II. fol. 58. 2.]

[4 Hæc enim causa est, quæ compatres et commatres dedit in ecclesia, ut defunctis forte parentibus, ipsorum officium in sese suscipiant, et eos, pro quibus fidem suam dederunt ecclesiæ, in religione christiana instituant. Atque hujus rei ab ecclesiæ ministris diligenter admonentur. Nec enim multum moramur, quæ tam veteres quam neoterici quidam de testium confessione tradiderunt. Constat enim hos non alios, quam parentum testes esse, quorum nomine parvulos ad baptismum deferunt, et testes sunt eos baptismo inauguratos esse, et proinde doctrina

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And a little after he saith: "But the anabaptists raise up new clamours touching witnesses of such as be baptized. For where, say they, is it appointed that there should be witnesses in baptism? And who saith that they be required of necessity? but those that be faithful and true Christians may well use witnesses in anything; as it may manifestly be gathered by that that was spoken before. For, as those that admonish a brother are willed by Christ to take witness with them, so may witnesses be used no less godly and worthily about [t]he first beginning of christian faith and life, if either necessity or the order of the church or custom require them[5]." *Hæc Zuinglius.*][6] God-fathers.

Touching the last which you rhetorically say you "will speak nothing of," that is, "the evil choice of witnesses," I think in part it is true; but you speak that without the book, and therefore without my compass of defence; for I mean not to take upon me the defence of any abuse within the book (if there be any), much less without the book. No abuses defended[7].

T. C. Page 135, Sect. 1.

For godfathers there is no controversy between the Admonition and Master Doctor's book, which appeareth not only in their corrections, but plainly in the 188. *page, where they declare that they rather condemn the abuse, whilst it is urged more than greater matters, and which are indeed necessary, this being a thing arbitrary and left to the discretion of the church, and whilst there is so evil choice for the most part of godfathers, which is expressly mentioned of the Admonition, and whilst it is used almost for nothing else but as a mean for one friend to gratify another without having any regard to the solemn promise, made before God and the congregation, of seeing the child brought up in the nurture and fear of the Lord. For* Godfathers allowed by T. C.

christiana institui debere: quin se quoque, si quando necessitas postulet, officium hoc præstituros esse pollicentur.—Id. De Bapt. Lib. fol. 97.]

[5 Cæterum de testibus quoque baptizatorum catabaptistæ novos clamores suscitant. Ubi enim locorum (inquiunt) institutum est, ut testes baptismo adhibeantur? Quis vero ô boni, eos necessario requiri dicit? Qui vero fideles et vere Christiani sunt, testimoniorum fide in re quavis commode et rite uti possunt, quod ipsum ex iis, quæ supra dicta sunt, non obscure potest intelligi. Ut enim fratrem admonituri, juxta Christi sententiam testes adhibere jubemur, ita non minus digne et pie circa prima fidei christianæ et vitæ principia testes adhiberi possunt, si vel necessitas vel ecclesiæ ordo et consuetudo postulet.—Id. ibid. fol. 97. 2.]

[6 This paragraph is inserted from Answ. 2.]

[7 This note is inserted from Answ. 2.]

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God-fathers.

the thing itself, considering that it is so generally received of all the churches, they do not mislike of it.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

Godfathers allowed, though brought in by pope Higinus.

Peradventure they are better advised now than they were when they wrote the Admonition. But it is good for the reader to note that you make godfathers a thing arbitrary, and left to the discretion of the church; and yet was it invented (as the authors of the Admonition say) by pope Higinus. So that something belike of the pope's inventions may remain in the church, though the same be not expressed in the word of God. Indeed this is the liberty that you challenge, to allow what you list, and disallow at your pleasure; all is perfect that you confirm, of whomsoever it was borrowed. And why may not I say the same for interrogatories ministered to the infant? You add this reason in the end, "considering it is so generally received of all churches;" and yet, page 18., you disallow St Augustine's rule tending to the same effect[1], so that you may say and unsay at your pleasure, and no man say unto you, black is your eye, or, *Domine, cur ita facis*[2]*?*

The Replier unconstant. Pag. 18, Sect. 7.

Of fonts, and crossing in baptism.

Chapter iii. The First Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 107, Sect. ult.

Of fonts.

You may as well find fault with pulpit and church as with the fonts; and the reason is all one. In the time of the apostles they did not baptize in basons, as you do now, but in rivers and other common waters; neither was there in the apostles' time any churches for Christians, or pulpits to preach in; and therefore you had best to pluck down churches and pulpits, and to baptize in common rivers and waters.

The apostles baptized not in basons[3].

[1 See Vol. I. page 238.]

[2 "The contrariety with myself...is unworthy of answer. For there is great difference in allowing the church's authority absolutely or without condition, and in reverencing her authority in an indifferent matter in itself, and touching the use profitable, when it is used accordingly; so that a blind man might see how I might justly improve the first and approve the last."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 225.]

[3 No basons in baptism in the apostles' time, Answ. 2; which omits *of fonts*.]

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T. C. Page 135, Sect. 2.

As for fonts, I have spoken of before, both particularly and in general. But, whereas M. Doctor saith, "in the apostles' times they baptized in no basons, but in rivers and common waters," I would know whether there was a river or common water in Cornelius' and in the jailor's houses, where Paul and Peter baptized.

Jo. Whitgift.

And I would also gladly learn how you can prove that they did baptize in basons there. I do not say that they always baptized in rivers and common waters, but that they did so, and that most commonly; which no man can deny. But I require one syllable in scripture to prove that they did baptize in basons, not that I did disallow[4] it if time and place do require, but because I would have you to perform that in your ceremonies which you require in ours, that is, to prove them directly by the word of God.

The Replier put to the proof of his ceremonies.

Chapter iii. The Second Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 108, Sect. 1.

Touching crossing in baptism, I will only recite unto you the opinion of M. Bucer, which is this: *Signum hoc, non tam quod est usus in ecclesiis antiquissimi, quam quod est admodum simplex, et præsentis admonitionis crucis Christi, adhiberi nec indecens nec inutile existimo: si adhibeatur modo pure intellectum, et religiose excipiatur, nulla nec superstitione adjuncta, nec elementi servitute, [nec levitate,] aut vulgari consuetudine*[6]*:* "I think it neither uncomely nor unprofitable to use the sign of the cross, not only because the use thereof is very ancient, but also because it hath an express signification of the passion of Christ; so that it be purely understood and religiously received, without any superstition or servitude of the element, or levity[7], or common custom."

Of crossing in baptism[5]. Bucer.

[*To all these your quarrels picked at our manner of baptizing I answer as Zuinglius answered the like objec-

[4] I disallow, Def. A.]

[5] Signing with the cross, Answ. 2, which has not *Bucer.*]

[6] M. Bucer. Script. Anglic. Basil. 1577. Censur. in Ord. Eccles. cap. xii. p. 479; where *in ecclesia.*]

[7] Lenity, Def. B.]

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Crossing in baptism.

tions of anabaptists in the like case in his book *De Baptismo: Num...tanti momenti res istæ sunt, ut tantas turbas et dissidia propter eas excitare conveniat? Externa quædam sunt et ceremonialia, quibus, ut aliis rebus externis, ecclesia digne et honeste uti potest, vel eadem omittere et rite tollere, quatenus ipsi ad ædificationem et salutem omnium facere videntur. Nec enim hic periculum est ut quis a Deo vero abducatur, aut idololatriæ laqueis intricetur, quemadmodum in missæ negotio et aliis rebus quamplurimis evenire solet*[1]: "Be those things of so great importance that it is meet to stir up for them so great troubles and contentions? they be but external matters and ceremonies, the which (as other external things) the church may worthily and honestly use, or omit and take away the same, as shall seem best unto her for the edifying of all. Neither is there any danger that any man should be withdrawn from the true God, or inwrapped with the snares of idolatry, as there is in the mass and many other things." And again in the same book he saith: "All those external things must serve us, and not we them[2]."*][3]

T. C. Page 135, Sect. 3.

To prove crossing in baptism M. Bucer's authority is brought. I have said before what injury it is to leave the public[4] *works of Bucer, and to fly unto the apocryphas; wherein also they might drive us to use the like, and to set down likewise his words which we find in his private letters. But it is first of all to be observed of the reader, how and with what names*[5] *those notes are called which are cited of M. Doctor for the defence of these corruptions: they are called, by M. Doctor's own confession, "Censures;" which word signifieth and implieth as much as corrections and controlments of the book of service; and therefore we may take this for a general rule throughout the whole book of service, that, in whatsoever things in controversy M. Doctor doth not bring Bucer's authority to confirm them, that those things Bucer misliked of; as for example in private baptism and communions ministered in houses, for interrogatories ministered to*[6] *infants, and such like; forsomuch as they are not confirmed here by M. Bucer's judgment, it may be thought that he misliked of them. And no doubt, if*

[1 H. Zvingl. Op. Tigur. 1581. De Bapt. Lib. Tract. III. Pars II. fol. 96, where *res hæc est ut, propter hanc excitare, externum quiddam est et ceremoniale quo ut, vel idem hoc omittere*, and *facere videtur*.]

[2 Externa enim hæc omnia nobis servire debent, nec nos illis alligatos esse convenit.—Id. ibid. fol. 97.]

[3 This paragraph is inserted from Answ. 2.]

[4 Public the, Def. B.]

[5 Name, Repl. 1, 2, and Def. A.]

[6 Unto, Repl. 1 and 2.]

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either M. Bucer's notes had not either condemned or misliked of divers things in the service-book, we should have had the notes printed and set forth to the full. This I thought in a word to admonish the reader of. Crossing in baptism.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

To your first cavil I have answered before, where you made the same. To your second of Master Bucer's Censures (though the book be not so intituled) the answer is short and plain: it was his judgment upon the first communion-book, in the time of king Edward, wherein he misliked some things, but alloweth both private baptism, and the communion ministered to the sick; as I before declared, and you might have remembered, if your memory had not failed you. M. Bucer's censures upon the first book in king Edward's time.

Chapter iii. The Third Division.

T. C. Page 135, Sect. 4.

Unto M. Bucer's authority I could here oppose men of as great authority, yea, the authority of all the reformed churches; which shall also be done afterward. And, if there were nothing to oppose but the word of God, which will have the sacraments ministered simply, and in that sincerity that they be left unto us, it is enough to make all men to cover their faces and to be ashamed, if that which they shall speak be not agreeable to that simplicity.

The reasons which M. Bucer[7] *bringeth I will answer, which in this matter of crossing are two; first that it is ancient, and so it is indeed; for Tertullian maketh mention of this usage*[8]. *And, if this be sufficient to prove the goodness of it, then there is no cause why we should mislike of the other superstitions and corruptions which were likewise used in those times. For the same Tertullian sheweth that they used also at baptism to taste of milk and honey, and not to wash all the week after they had ministered baptism*[9].

Li. de Resurrect. Carnis.

Li. de Corona Militis.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

These be but words without proof. Crossing in that manner and form that we use it very well agreeth with that[10] simplicity of the word of God. If it do not so, shew any word against it.

Your answer to that reason is very base; for it is not only

[7 Which Bucer, Repl. 2.]

[8 Caro signatur, ut et anima muniatur.—Tertull. Op. Franek. 1597. Lib. de Resurr. Carn. 8. p. 318.]

[9 Inde suscepti, lactis et mellis concordiam prægustamus. Exque ea die, lavacro quotidiano per totam hebdomadam abstinemus.—Id. De Cor. Mil. 3. p. 180.]

[10 The, Def. A.]

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Crossing in baptism.

ancient, but it hath continued, and been generally received; which you allowed before as a sufficient reason for godfathers. As for "milk and honey," the use of them was neither continued long, nor yet general; and therefore the reason of them and of the other is not like[1].

Chapter iii. The Fourth Division.

T. C. Page 135, Sect. ult.

But here I will note the cause whereupon I suppose this use of crossing came up in the primitive church; whereby shall appear how there is no cause now why it should be retained, if there were any why it should be used in the primitive church. It is known to all that have read the ecclesiastical stories, that the heathen did object to the Christians in times past in reproach, that the God which they believed of was hanged upon a cross. And they thought good to testify that they were not ashamed therefore of the same God, by the often using of the sign of the cross; which carefulness and good mind to keep amongst them an open profession of Christ crucified, although it be to be commended, yet is not this means so; for they might otherwise have kept it, and with less danger, than by this use of crossing. And, if they thought the use of the cross to be the best means, yet they should not have been so bold as to have brought it into the holy sacrament of baptism, and so mingle the ceremonies and inventions of men with the sacraments and institution of God. And, as it was brought in upon no good ground, so the Lord left a mark of his curse of it, and whereby it might be perceived to come out of the forge of man's brain, in that it began forthwith, while it was yet in the swaddling-clouts, to be superstitiously abused. For it appeareth by Tertullian also, in the same book De Corona Militis, *that the Christians had such a superstition in it, that they would do nothing nor take nothing in hand unless they had crossed them, when they went out, when they came in, when they sat or lay down, and when they rose[2]; and, as superstition is always strengthened and spreadeth itself with the time, so it came from crossing of men unto crossing of everything that they used. Whereupon Chrysostom commendeth the crossing of the cup before a man drink, and of the meat before it was eaten[3]. But, if it were granted that, upon this consideration which I have before men-*

Upon the 1 Tim.[4] iv. cap.

[1 "His reasons that 'the milk endured not long nor was general,' besides that they are popish reasons, are not proved."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. pp. 225, 6.]

[2 Ad omnem progressum, atque promotum, ad omnem aditum, et exitum, ad vestitum, et calceatum, ad lavacra, ad mensas, ad lumina, ad cubilia, ad sedilia, quacunque nos conversatio exercet, frontem crucis signaculo terimus.—Tertull. Op. Franek. 1597. De Cor. Mil. 3. p. 180.]

[3 ... σφράγισον, εὐχαρίστησον, δόξασον τὸν Θεὸν, καὶ πᾶσα ἀκαθαρσία ἀπέπτη.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In 1. Epist. ad Timoth. cap. iv. Hom. xii. Tom. IX. p. 611.]

[4 1 of Tim. Repl. 1 and 2.]

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tioned, the ancient Christians did well, yet it followeth not that we should so do; for we live not amongst those nations which do cast us in the teeth or reproach us with the cross of Christ. If we lived amongst the Turks, it were another matter; and then there might peradventure some question be whether we should do as they did, and having the same sore use the same plaster. But now we live among the papists, that do not contemn the cross of Christ, but which esteem more of the wooden cross than of the true cross of Christ (which is his sufferings); we ought now to do[5] *clean contrariwise to the old Christians, and abolish all use of these crosses; for contrary diseases must have contrary remedies. If therefore the old Christians, to deliver the cross of Christ from contempt, did often use the cross, the Christians now, to take away the superstitious estimation of it, ought to take away the use of it.*

Crossing in baptism.

JO. WHITGIFT.

I think your supposition in part to be true: I am also persuaded that the original cause of using this sign was lawful and good, and yet the thing itself afterwards abused, and the cause of using is clean altered, and wholly converted to superstition; but, the abuse being taken away, I see no cause why it may not be used in baptism, in that manner and form as it is in this church of England, that is, "In token that hereafter he shall not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified, and manfully to fight under his banner, against sin, the world, and the devil, and to continue Christ's faithful soldier and servant unto his life's end." And, though there be no Turks among us or Jews, yet is it lawful to use such christian ceremonies to put us in mind of our duty. And, notwithstanding the same might be done by other means, yet it hath pleased the church to think this means also convenient, and therefore hath used her liberty therein. As for papists, we are far enough off from them; for they pictured the sign of the cross and did worship it; so do not we: they used it to drive away spirits and devils; so do not we: they attributed power and virtue unto it; so do not we: they had it in their churches; so have not we: they used it daily and nightly for religion' sake; we only in baptism for a sign and token, as I have said before; so that their abusing of it is sufficiently corrected. Neither is there any man that knoweth not to what end and purpose we use it.

Difference between crossing in papistry and in our church.

[5 Now do, Repl. 1 and 2.]

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Crossing in baptism.

Chapter iii. The Fifth Division.

T. C. Page 136[1], somewhat past the midst.

Concerning the other reason of the profitable signification of the cross, I have shewed that that maketh the thing a great deal worse, and bringeth in a new word into the church; whereas there ought to be no doctor heard in the church but only our Saviour Christ. For, if these significations be good, then the papists have to answer us that their ceremonies be not dumb, which have as likely and as glorious significations as these are; and so indeed they say that their ceremonies are not dumb ceremonies, forsomuch as they signify so good things. But, although it be the word of God that we should not be ashamed of the cross of Christ, yet is it not the word of God that we should be kept in remembrance and observation of that by two lines drawn across one over another in the child's forehead, but a fond toy, and idle device of man's brain.

JO. WHITGIFT.

Difference betwixt papistical ceremonies and ours.

The signification of the papistical ceremonies was only known to themselves, being used in the church without any declaration of such signification, and therefore they might worthily be counted dumb, and unprofitable; but it is not so in this; for the signification is joined with the sign, and published in a tongue known. The papistical ceremonies were in number many, and they had annexed unto them an opinion of worship, and a necessity unto salvation, &c., which made them wicked; but all these be far from this, and other ceremonies used by us; and, forasmuch as there is no word of God against it[2], and it hath a profitable signification, the church may use it, though it be not expressed in the word; as it may do other rites, according to that that I have proved before intreating of the authority of the church in such matters[3].

Tract. II.

Chapter iii. The Sixth Division.

Admonition.

Fourthly, they do superstitiously and wickedly institute a new sacrament which is proper to Christ only, marking the child in the forehead with a cross, "in token that hereafter he shall not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ." We have made mention before of that wicked divorce of the word and sacraments.

[1 134, Def. B.]

[2 "...which is untrue. For, although the ceremony of crossing were convenient, yet to raise a doctrine of it is unlawful: &c."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 227.]

[3 See Vol. I. pages 175, &c.]

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Answer to the Admonition, Page 192, Sect. 3.

Crossing in baptism.

Concerning the fourth "toy," that is, "crossing the child in the forehead," which you call "wicked and superstitious," I have before declared Master Bucer's opinion: it may be left, and it hath been used in the primitive church, and may be so still, without either superstition or wickedness. Neither doth it any more make a sacrament (because it is "in token that hereafter he shall not be ashamed to confess Christ crucified") than your sitting doth at the communion in token of rest, that is, a full finishing through Christ of the ceremonial law, &c. I think you know that every ceremony betokening something is not by and by a sacrament; and therefore here is as yet no wicked divorce of the word and sacraments, except it be made by you.

Crossing no[4] sacrament.

Every signifying ceremony is not a sacrament[5].

T. C. Page 136[6], Sect. ult.

In the 192. page, unto the Admonition, objecting that by this signification it is made a sacrament, M. Doctor answereth that "every ceremony which betokeneth something is not a sacrament." I would know what maketh a sacrament, if a doctrine annexed unto an outward sign doth not make a sacrament. And I am sure there was no outward sign, neither in the old testament nor in the new, which hath a doctrine joined with it, which is not a sacrament. For, if he will take the nature of the sacrament so straitly as Augustine doth, and that there be no sacraments but when as to the element there cometh the word, the circumcision can be no sacrament: besides that, seeing that M. Doctor hath condemned the allegory and signification of sitting at the Lord's supper, saying that it is papistical, I marvel what privilege he hath, or special licence, that he may allow that in himself and in his own assertions, which he saith is unlawful and papistical in others; especially seeing the allegory of sitting was never used by the papists, but this of crossing is. And, if the[7] licence of allegories be allowed, I see not why oil may not be brought into the sacrament as well as crossing, both because it hath been a sacrament of God before, and for that the signification thereof (betokening the gifts of the Holy Ghost, and shadowing out the power and efficacy of those gifts) carrieth as great a shew of wisdom and christian instruction as doth the crossing.

A manifest untruth.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

You are not ignorant, I am sure, that to the making of a sacrament, besides the external element, there is required a commandment of God in his word that it should be done,

What is required to the making of a sacrament.

[4] Crossing is no, Answ. 2.]
[5] This note is not in Answ.]
[6] 134. Def. A. and B.]
[7] This, Repl. 1 and 2.]

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Crossing in baptism.

and a promise annexed unto it, whereof the sacrament is a seal: so it was in circumcision, and so it is in the supper and baptism. And surely I marvel at this your saying, "If we will take the nature of the sacrament straitly as Augustine doth, and that there be no sacraments but where as to the element there cometh the word, the circumcision can be no sacrament." I think you are not well advised; for what doth St Augustine require in a sacrament? Doth he not require the word and an external element[1]? and are not both these to be found in circumcision? The external element is the foreskin, it is commanded in Genesis xvii.; and there is the promise annexed, whereof it is a seal and a sacrament: and what doth St Augustine require more in a sacrament? But I will impute this saying of yours rather to some oversight or lack of due consideration, than to ignorance; for I think it unpossible that a man of your profession should be ignorant in the nature and definition of a sacrament—a sacrament, I mean, not in the largest signification, but as it is properly used, and as we call the Lord's supper and baptism sacraments. For sacraments, in the proper signification, "be mystical signs ordained by God himself, consisting in the word of God, in figures and in things signified, whereby he keepeth in man's memory, and sometimes reneweth his large benefits bestowed upon his church, whereby also he sealeth or assureth his promises, and sheweth outwardly, and as it were layeth before our eyes, those things to behold which inwardly he worketh in us; yea, by them he strengtheneth and increaseth our faith, by the Holy Ghost working in our hearts. And, to be short, by his sacraments he separateth us from all other people, from all other religions, consecrating us, and binding us to him only, and signifieth what he requireth of us to be done." Now every ceremony signifying anything hath not these conditions and properties. Wherefore every ceremony signifying anything is not a sacrament; and therefore crossing in baptism, though it signifieth something, yet it is no sacrament.

Circumcision a sacrament according to Augustine's rule.

Gen. xvii.

The proper signification of sacraments.

Every signifying ceremony is not a sacrament.

"The allegory of sitting" is dumb and speaking nothing; but to the sign of the cross is added the signification in ex-

[1 Accedit verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum, etiam ipsum tamquam visibile verbum.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. xv. Tractat. lxxx. 3. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 703.]

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press words, as I have before declared; wherefore there is more cause to condemn the one than there is to condemn the other. Moreover, sitting at the Lord's supper hath not been used in the church that I can read of; but crossing in baptizing hath; wherefore that were to invent a new ceremony; and this is to retain the old; so that the reason of their allegory and of this ceremony is not like. Crossing in baptism.

Of refusing oil in baptism the church hath just cause; and it useth her liberty in retaining crossing; neither will it burden the sacraments with a multitude of unnecessary and unprofitable ceremonies, and yet retain such as shall be thought most convenient.

Chapter iii. The Seventh Division.

T. C. Page 137, Line 3.

And, to conclude, I see no cause why some crosses should be unlawful, and other some commendable; and why it should be a monument of popery in wood and metal, and yet a christian badge in the forehead of a man; why we should not like of it in streets and highways, and yet allow of it in the church.

JO. WHITGIFT.

As there is great difference betwixt the painting of an image to set forth an history, and placing of it in the church to be worshipped, so is there also as great difference, or more, betwixt crossing a child in the forehead at the time of baptism, with expressing the cause and use of it, and the placing of crosses in churches or highways and streets.

The crossing of the child's forehead is but for a moment[2]; the cross of wood and stone remaineth and continueth: the cross in the child's forehead is not made to be adored and worshipped, neither was ever any man so mad as to imagine any such thing of it; but the crosses in churches, streets, and highways, of metal and wood, were erected to be worshipped, and were so accordingly; and therefore there is no like peril in the one as there is in the other.

[2 "That of the 'small endurance' will not help. For, if there be danger of idolatry when it is long before our eyes, considering that that idolatry hath her beginning in one moment, it may as well have it in that moment, as in another." —The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 231.]

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¶ Of the parties that are to be baptized.

Chapter iv. The First Division.

Admonition.

[*To redress these, your wisdoms have to remove (as before) ignorant ministers, to take away private communions and baptisms, to enjoin deacons and midwives not to meddle in ministers' matters, if they do, to see them sharply punished. To join assistance of elders and other officers that, seeing men will not examine themselves, they may be examined, and brought to* [n]*render a reason of their hope. That the statute against wafer-cakes may more prevail than an injunction. That people be appointed to receive the sacrament rather sitting, for avoiding of superstition, than kneeling, having in it the outward shew of evil, from* [o]*which we must abstain. That excommunication be restored to his old former force. That papists nor other, neither constrainedly nor customably, communicate in the mysteries of salvation. That both the sacrament of the Lord's supper and baptism also may be ministered according to the ancient purity and simplicity.*][2] *That the parties to be baptized, if they be of the years of* [p]*discretion by themselves and in their own persons, or, if they be infants by their parents (in whose room, if upon necessary occasion they*[3] *be absent, some one of*[4] *the congregation, knowing the good behaviour and sound faith of the parents), may both make rehearsal of their faith, and also, if their faith be sound and agreeable to holy scriptures, desire to be in the same baptized. And finally, that nothing be done in this or any other thing but that which you have the express warrant of God's word for.*

[n] 1 Cor. xi. 28. 1 Pet. iii. 15.

[o] 1 Thess. v. 22.

[p] Matt. iii. 6.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 111, Sect. 1, 2.

Removing of unlearned ministers.

[Indeed it is to be wished that ignorant ministers were removed, if there were a sufficient number of such as be learned to place in their rooms. As for private communions, I know none allowed in this church.

Private baptisms.

Private baptisms are allowable by God's word; and there is neither precept nor example to the contrary in scripture.

If deacons or midwives meddle further than they ought to do, good reason it is they should be punished, and that sharply.

Your eldership is not for this time and state, as it is before declared; and yet many men be compelled to render a reason of their faith if any be doubted of;

[1] 2, Answ. 2.] [2] This is inserted from Adm. and Answ.]
[3] Necessary occasions and businesses they, Adm.] [4] Some of, Adm.]

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although your places quoted for that purpose prove no such thing. For Paul, the 1 to the Corinth. xi. verse 28, willeth "a man to examine himself before he eat of that bread, &c." and not to be examined of any other. Peter, 1 Epist. chap. iii. verse 15, willeth every christian man to "be ready without fear in time of persecution to render a reason or defence" (for the Greek is πρὸς ἀπολογίαν) of his faith, and not at all times to every man; as Master Calvin himself noteth upon that place[5].

Of the authority of statutes and injunctions, it pertaineth not to my faculty to determine; I leave that to such as list to contend with the prince for her authority in such cases. This only I say, that, if it be bread, whether it be wafer-cake, or loaf-bread, the matter is not great; as it is before declared. Wafer-cakes.

Of sitting and kneeling at the communion, I have spoken before: kneeling is no shew of evil, but of an humble, reverent, and devout mind. Kneeling at communion.

Of excommunication you have spoken nothing hitherto; and therefore it cometh in here out of place: we shall have afterward more occasion to speak of it.

Surely the papists have to thank you, that you would not have them constrained to come to the communion: this one lesson of liberty hath made all the stubborn and stiff-necked papists in England great patrons and fautors of your book: you might as well have said that you would have every man freely profess what religion he list without controlment, and so set all at liberty; which is your seeking. Advantage for the papist offered.

The sacraments are ministered in as great purity and simplicity as ever they were, since there was any church established; neither are you able to prove the contrary.][6]

I muse what you mean to say on this sort: "The parties to be baptized, if they be of the years of discretion, &c." You know that in this church of England Of those that are to be baptized[7].

[5 Cæterum, non præcise jubet Petrus ut ubique et semper, et apud omnes promiscue asseramus ac publicemus quicquid nobis a Domino datum est...Tantum jubet paratos esse ad responsionem, ne sua socordia vel ignavo carnis metu, Christi doctrinam impiorum ludibriis silendo exponant.—Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Comm. in Epist. 1. Petr. cap. iii. 15. Tom. VII. p. 22.]

[6 The paragraphs between brackets are inserted from Answ.]

[7 This marginal note is not in Answ. 2; which has instead *years of discretion.*]

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none tarry for baptism so long, except it be in some secret congregation of anabaptists. The place alleged out of the third of Matthew telleth how they that were baptized confessed their sins; it speaketh nothing of any confession of faith.

Of the parents' answering for their children[1].

It is well that you admit some to answer for the infant in the absence of the parent; and why not in his presence too? what scripture have you that the parent at the baptizing of his child should make a rehearsal of his faith, and desire that his child should be therein baptized? this I desire to know for mine own learning; for I neither remember any such thing in scripture, neither yet in any ancient writer; I do herein but desire to be instructed.

T. C. Page 137, Line 6.

And, because I would have all those things together that touch this matter of baptism, I come to that which he hath in the next section and in 111.[2] *page, where, after his old manner, he wrangleth and quarrelleth. For, although the Admonition speaketh so plainly and so clearly, that, as Hesiod saith, it might ἀρέσκειν τῷ Μώμῳ[3]: "satisfy Momus," yet M. Doctor goeth about there to bring it in suspicion of anabaptism, because, allowing in plain words the baptism of infants, they add that, if the parties be of discretion and years, themselves in their own persons should demand to be baptized. "For," saith he, "in this church they tarry not for baptism so long." But is there no cause[4], or may there not be, when they that be of age may be baptized? It may be there are Jews in England which, understanding their blindness and confessing their sin, may desire to be baptized; and there be divers Moors in noblemen's and gentlemen's houses which are sometimes brought to the knowledge of Christ, whereby there is some use and practice of this case.*

Jo. Whitgift.

Anabaptism a crafty heresy.

Anabaptism being so crafty an heresy that it dissembleth many things, until it have sufficient aid, a man cannot be too suspicious of it, especially in those that walk in steps so like unto it. And yet I speak nothing in that place that may bring the authors of the Admonition into suspicion of anabaptism, unless they suspect themselves, or that you would have them suspected; for you know the old proverb, *conscius ipse*

[1] This marginal note is not in Answ.] [2] In the 111. Repl. 1 and 2.]

[3] No such expression has been found in Hesiod. Lucian has the idea:...καὶ ὃ οὐδεὶς ἄν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὁ Μῶμος μωμήσασθαι δύναιτο.—Lucian. Op. Halæ Magd. 1800-1. Quom. Hist. sit conscr. 33. Tom. i. p. 428.]

[4] Case, Repl. 1 and 2.]

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sibi, &c. It may be indeed that "there be Jews in England, and Moors," and Turks also, and that some of them, being converted to the faith, be afterward baptized; and I think sometimes it is so; but the case is very rare; and there is no man that doubteth but they ought to be examined in their faith before they be admitted to baptism. This is against nothing that I have said.

Chapter iv. The Second Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 111, Sect. 3; and Page 112, Sect. 1.

Of the faith and good behaviour of the parents, &c.[5]

I know not what you mean when you say that "in the absence of the parents some one of the congregation, knowing the good behaviour and sound faith of the parents, may both make a rehearsal of their faith, and also, if their faith be sound and agreeable to holy scriptures, desire in the same to be baptized." What if the parents be of evil behaviour? what if it be the child of a drunkard, or of an harlot? what if the parents be papists? what if they be heretics? what if they err in some point or other in matters of faith? shall not their children be baptized? herein you have a further meaning than I can understand; and I fear few do perceive the poison that lieth hid under these words. May not a wicked father have a good child? may not a papist or heretic have a believing son? will you seclude for the parent's sake (being himself baptized) his seed from baptism?

Whether the child of a wicked man may be baptized.

[* "When it is said," saith Zuinglius (answering the opinion of the anabaptists, in his book to Baltazar an anabaptist) "that children are baptized or circumcised in the faith of their parents and elders, it is not meant that the faith of the parents bringeth salvation unto the children; for it may be, and it doth oftentimes come to pass, that the parents be infidels and wicked persons. But, because the parents have faith, that is, profess Christianity in words, therefore is their children also initiated into the church of Christ. Wherefore it is manifest that the faith of the parents and elders is that that they have publicly confessed or received by the instruction of

[5 This note is not in Answ.]

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others[1]." And again in the same book: "Some may object and say: How should it appear whether the parents be in the covenant or no? for it may be that they be void of faith and all religion, and yet feign themselves to have faith and religion, and falsely glory that they be contained in the covenant of God. If they be such, the faith of the parents, which is none, cannot commend the children that we should acknowledge them to be in the covenant of God; seeing their parents be most far from it. To this we answer on this sort: We cannot look into the secrets of man's heart, neither can we give to any man the inward purification of the heart; for that is the work of that most highest Workman and Master, and of none other, which knoweth and seeth that inward disease and corruption of man. Wherefore, when we only add the external signs, and administer only the external doctrine, we must also be content with external confession, and acknowledge him to be partaker of the heavenly covenant (in the respect of baptism and circumcision) whosoever would have his children initiated with the sign of the covenant. For, except we shall keep this rule, no man should ever either be circumcised or baptized; for, although he confess faith with his mouth, yet no man can tell whether this be a true or a false confession. Now therefore you do more plainly understand in what sense this word faith is taken, when we say that children are saved, circumcised, or baptized in the faith of their parents. For faith in this place is not taken for that trust wherewith the parents trust in God, but for that external obligation or covenant rather, into the which by the consent of the parents, according to their outward confession, children are received. Wherefore, if the parents be contained in the covenant, and will have the sign of the covenant given to their children, it is manifest

[1 Cum enim dicitur, parvulos in fide parentum vel majorum baptizari aut circuncidi, nequaquam hoc ita dici consuevit, quasi parentum fides liberis salutem conferre possit. Fieri enim potest, et sane frequenter fit, ut parentes infideles sint et impii. Sed eo quod parentes fidem habent, id est fidem christianam ore confitentur, ideo fieri solet, ut parvuli quoque christianæ ecclesiæ inaugurentur. Unde constat, parentum vel majorum fidem hoc dici, quod ipsi publice confessi sunt, vel quod illi ab aliorum institutione acceperunt.—H. Zvingl. Op. Tigur. 1581. Ad Libell. Baltaz. Hvebm. Resp. fol. 108.]

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that they also be partakers of the covenant. Wherefore Paul also, 1 Cor. vii., saith, 'Or else your children were unclean, but now they are holy.' This is more manifest in Simon Magus; of whom Luke, *Acto. viii.*, writing saith: 'Then Simon himself believed, and when he was baptized he did cleave unto Philip;' and yet those things that follow declare manifestly that he did not believe. It is therefore manifest that he did but follow the confession and manners of Christians, in that he was baptized. See therefore how in the scriptures faith is oftentimes taken for the outward confession of faith, and for the use of the sign[2]." And a little after: "Be it that he be an hypocrite that offereth the child to be baptized; yet the outward confession of the mouth is sufficient to the church and to the people of God; and the infant is notwithstanding contained in the covenant of God. For the iniquity and hypocrisy of the parents cannot hurt

[2 Objiciat hic aliquis, Unde vero constabit, num parentes in fœdere sint, vel minus? Fieri enim potest, ut fide carentes et omni religione vacui, fidem tamen et religionem simulent et se in Dei fœdere contineri falso glorientur. Qui si tales sint, non poterit utique parentum fides, quæ nulla est, liberos commendare, ut eos in fœdere Dei esse fateamur, cum parentes ab hoc sint alienissimi. Huic nos ad hunc modum respondemus. Humani cordis arcana nos nec inspicere, nec etiam internam cordis purificationem cuiquam hominum conferre possumus. Hoc enim summi illius (nec ullius alterius) opificis et magistri opus est, qui interiorem illum hominis morbum et latens ὕπουλον solus intuetur. Quapropter, cum externa tantummodo symbola adhibeamus, et externam tantummodo doctrinam administremus, externa quoque confessione nos contentos esse oportet, ut illum fœderis divini consortem et socium agnoscere (quatenus vel circuncisionis vel baptismi ratione agitur) quicumque liberos suos fœderis signo initiari vult. Nisi enim hanc rationem servaverimus, nemo mortalium quemquam vel circuncisionis vel baptismi signo notare unquam potuisset, nec etiamnum hodie posset. Licet enim quis ore fidem fateatur, vera tamen vel falsa ne sit confessio hæc humana ratione deprehendi nequaquam potest. Jam ergo apertius paulo et clarius intelligis, quo sensu fidei vocabulum accipi soleat, cum dicimus, Parvuli in parentum fide salvantur, vel circunciduntur, vel baptizantur. Fides enim hoc loco non pro ea animi fiducia, qua parentes Deo innituntur, accipitur, sed pro externa illa obligatione, vel ipso fœdere potius, in quod parentum consensu juxta externam confessionem parvuli suscipiuntur. Quod si ergo parentes fœdere continentur et liberis suis fœderis signum volunt tribui, jam et hos fœderis consortes esse constat. Quam ob rem Paulus quoque in priori ad Corinth. cap. 7. inquit, Alioqui filii vestri immundi essent, nunc autem sancti sunt. Clarius autem idem hoc in Simone Mago elucescit. De hoc enim Lucas Acto. 8. cap. sic scribit, Tunc Simon et ipse credidit, et cum baptizatus esset, adhærebat Philippo. Atqui sequentia luce clarius, eum nequaquam credidisse, demonstrant. Constat ergo eum non nisi baptismi symbolo, quod et ipse assumpsit, fidelium mores et confessionem fuisse imitatum. En ut in scripturis non raro fides pro externa fidei confessione, pro signi usu, adeoque simulatione accipiatur?—Id. ibid. foll. 109. 2, 110.]

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The children of papists and of excommunicate persons.

the infant; as the scripture declareth, Deut. xxiv., and Ezek. xviii., &c.[1]" Hitherto Zuinglius.

Truly this kind of speech which you use, "Some one of the congregation, knowing the good behaviour and sound faith of the parents, &c." smelleth of that branch of anabaptism that Zuinglius confuteth in this place.][2]

Surely your fantasies[3], nay, your dangerous errors, will burst out one day in more plain manner.

Retorsio[4].

This reformation you seek for and desire were rather a deformation, nay, a confusion; and, whilst you will nothing to be done but that for the which there is express warrant in God's word, you yourselves prescribe that which is not to be found in all God's word.

Admonition.

How convenient it were, seeing the children of the faithful only are to be baptized, that the father should and might, if conveniently, offer and present his child to be baptized, making an open confession of that faith wherein he would have his child baptized, and how this is used in well-ordered churches[5].

Answer to the Admonition, Page 193, Sect. 2.

But I know not whereto this tendeth that followeth: that is, "How convenient it were, seeing that the children of the faithful only are to be baptized, &c." Do you[6] not comprehend those under the name of faithful which be baptized? for else it passeth man's understanding to know who be faithful indeed; because the unbelievers may make a confession of faith in words; and in this world it cannot certainly by man be determined who among Christians be faithful, who be unfaithful. I pray you, answer me this one question: If a child be found whose father and mother be unknown (as it hath happened sometimes in our remembrance), will you not baptize it because the parents be not forthcoming to

No man knoweth who is faithful, who is not.

[1 Sed esto, hypocrita sit, qui infantem inaugurari vult, ecclesiæ tamen vel populo Dei externa illa oris confessio sufficere potest, et infans nihilominus iis adnumeratur, qui sub fœdere Dei continentur. Parentis enim iniquitas et hypocrisis infanti fraudi esse non potest, quemadmodum Dei oracula, Deut. 24. et Ezech. 18. abunde satis testantur: &c.—Id. ibid. fol. 110.]

[2 The paragraphs between the brackets are inserted from Answ. 2.]

[3 Fancies, Answ.] [4 This is introduced from Answ. 2.]

[5 Baptized as is used in well reformed churches, Adm.] [6 Ye, Answ.]

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make a confession of their faith? or because the sound faith of the parents is unknown? But hereof I have spoken in another place.

The children of papists and of excommunicate persons.

T. C. Page 137, Sect. 1.

After that M. Doctor hath cast himself in derision at the feet of the authors of the Admonition, and desired to be taught of them whom he hath so contemptuously condemned as unlearned, he doth by and bye raise up himself into his chair, and there sitteth doctorally, apposing the authors of the Admonition as if they were his scholars; and, upon occasion of the sound faith and good behaviour of the parents of the infant, mentioned by the Admonition, asketh first of all "what if the infant be the child of a drunkard? what if he be of a harlot? shall not," saith he, "the infant be baptized?" If it were not that M. Doctor, in asking these questions, doth also answer them, and answereth them far otherwise than the truth doth suffer, I would not be drawn from the causes which we have in hand by these roging[7] *questions: now I cannot leave them unanswered, because I see that M. Doctor doth make of the holy sacrament of baptism (which is an entry into the house of God, and whereby only the family of God must enter) a common passage whereby he will have clean and unclean, holy and profane, as well those that are*[8] *without the covenant, as those that be within it, to pass by; and so maketh the church no household, but an inn to receive whosoever cometh.*

Jo. Whitgift.

All this is but a declaration of your modesty, and a signification of the mildness of your spirit; and therefore I will pass it over, and leave it to the reader to be considered of. Only I must tell you, that I "make the holy sacrament of baptism" no other kind of "passage" than God himself hath made it, and the church of Christ hath ever used it. Good and evil, clean and unclean, holy and profane, must needs pass by it; except you will indeed in more ample and large manner tie the grace of God unto it than ever did the papists, and say that all that be baptized be also saved, or else join with the anabaptists in this, that after baptism a man cannot sin.

Who can tell whether he be holy or unholy, good or evil, clean or unclean, elect or reprobate, of the household of the church or not of the church, that is baptized, be he infant or at the years of discretion? I tell you plain, this assertion of yours savoureth very strongly of heresy in my opinion. But let us come to your reasons, if you have any.

[7 Roguing: insidious, knavish.] [8 Were, Def. B.]

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The children of papists and of excommunicate persons.

Chapter iv. The Third Division.

T. C. Page 137, Sect. 1.

I will answer therefore almost in as many words as the questions be asked. If one of the parents be neither drunkard nor adulterer, the child is holy by virtue of the covenant, for one of the parents' sakes. If they be both, and yet not obstinate in their sin, whereby the church hath not proceeded to excommunication (themselves being yet of the church), their child cannot, nor ought not to be refused. To the second question, wherein he asketh "what if the child be of papists or heretics;" if both be papists or condemned heretics (if so be I may distinguish papists from heretics), and cut off from the church, their[1] children cannot be received, because they are not in the covenant; if either of them be faithful, I have answered before that it[2] ought to be received.

To other questions, wherein[3] he asketh "what if they err in some points of matters of faith;" if it be but an error, and be not in those points which raze the foundations of faith, because they still, notwithstanding their error, are to be counted amongst the faithful, their children pertain unto the promise, and therefore to the sacrament of the promise.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

The presumption of the Replier.

Surely these be very short answers for so weighty questions, and so necessary points of doctrine: will you presume thus to determine in matters of salvation and damnation, the doctrine being so strange and unheard of, without either scripture, reason, or other authority? are we now come to *ipse dixit?* nay, it may not be so; you have no such authority or credit that I know. But let us a little better consider your assertions, and mark your drift. Page 34., you say that

Page 34, sect. 1.

there are "no whoremongers nor drunkards in the church that are known, because the church doth excommunicate them[4];" whereby you seem to run headlong into this heresy of the anabaptists, that that is not the church of Christ in the which are known drunkards and whoremongers, and no excommunication used against them. The which heresy is

Calvin.

well and learnedly confuted by M. Calvin, in his book against

Bullinger.

the anabap.[5]; and by M. Bullinger likewise, *Lib. vi. cap.* 10. *adversus Anabap.*[6]

[1 Church then their, Repl. 2.] [2 They, Repl. 2.]

[3 To the other question wherein, Repl. 2.]

[4 See Vol. I. page 382.]

[5 Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Instr. adv. Anabapt. Art. ii. Tom. VIII. pp. 359, &c. See Vol. I. page 186, note 2.]

[6 H. Bullinger. adv. Anabapt. Libri VI. Tigur. 1560. Lib. VI. cap. x. fol. 234. 2. See Vol. I. page 186, note 3.]

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Moreover this your assertion seemeth to bring in re-baptization. For, if whoremongers, drunkards, and such like wicked persons, by excommunication be so cut off from the church that their children may not be baptized, then must it follow that their baptism is cut off also; which if it be true, how can they upon repentance be admitted again except they be re-baptized? and what is this else but to make baptism to be iterated, as the Lord's supper is, when as by the consent of all the churches there is but one baptism, wherewith it is sufficient once to be christened, seeing that baptism once received doth endure for ever, as a perpetual sign of our adoption. And how can you allow the baptism of heretics to be good, if you disallow the baptizing of their children that be excommunicated? may an heretic excommunicated baptize, and is that baptism good, and may not the children of him that is excommunicated receive the sacrament of baptism? can any fault of the parents, having once received the seal of the covenant, seclude their children from receiving the same seal? You have neither example nor precept in scripture to justify your assertion with: it is against the nature of the sacrament, the practice of the church, and the whole consent of learned writers (some few excepted which erred in re-baptization); and yet you boldly here set it down, without any further proof at all.

The children of papists and of excommunicate persons.

The assertion of the Replier tendeth to re-baptization.

Baptism once ministered remaineth perpetual.

St Augustine, in his book *Contra Epist. Parme.*, reasoneth wholly to the contrary, for there he proveth that heretics which cut off themselves from the church do neither *amittere baptismum*, nor *jus dandi baptismum*, that is, "neither leese their baptism, nor authority to baptize[7];" and thereupon concludeth against re-baptization; which must needs follow if either of the other be taken away. The Donatists themselves were at the length compelled to confess that heretics divided from the church did not *amittere baptismum*: "leese their baptism." And in the same book August. hath this general sentence: "That the fault of such heretics is in cutting off themselves from the church; which may be corrected by returning again to the church, *non in sacramentis, quæ ubicunque*

Heretics lose not their baptism.

[7 Nam illud quod quidam eorum veritate convicti dicere cœperunt, *Baptismum quidem non amittit qui recedit ab ecclesia, sed jus tamen dandi amittit*: multis modis apparet frustra et inaniter dici.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Epist. Parmen. Lib. II. cap. xiii. 28. Tom. IX. col. 44.]

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Children of papists and of excommunicate persons.

sunt, ipsa vera sunt: not in the sacraments, which, wheresoever they are, are true[1]." This being so (as it is), then are you very near to Donatism, nay, far beyond it, in saying that the children of the heretics, and such as by excommunication are cut off from the church, may not be baptized. Surely, if the parents, being heretics and cut off from the church, do notwithstanding *retinere baptismum:* "keep still their baptism," (as St Augustine saith), I see not how by any means you can justify the secluding of their children from being baptized; or, if otherwise, I cannot see how a papist being converted can be received into the church without he be anew baptized; or how such children of known papists and excommunicate persons, as have been baptized in this church of England or elsewhere, from the beginning of the gospel to this day, can be counted Christians, unless they be re-baptized.

The Replier near to Donatism.

Pag. 34, Sect. ult.

And concerning papists, whom you have denied to be in the church[2], and to whose children also you here deny baptism, I will ask you but this one question, what you think of all those which are not only children to professed and known papists, but baptized also in the Romish church? for, if the children of known papists may not be baptized, what shall we say of ourselves, and of our parents and predecessors, who all, or the most of them, were professed papists? is not this the ground of re-baptization and anabaptism?

But, that the reader may the better understand your error, and the rather believe it to be an error indeed, I will set down M. Beza his opinion of this matter; from whom you are loth (I am sure) to be thought to dissent. In his book of Epistles,

Beza, Lib. Epist. Epist. 10.

Epist. 10., answering this question, "whether the infants of such as are excommunicated may be baptized, and in whose faith, when as they of whom they are begotten are not members of the church," determineth thus:

"God forbid that we should judge all one and alike of all such as are not called the members of the church; for there are four kinds of men far differing among themselves. One is of them which neither by election, neither in themselves are by any means the members of Christ, whom we call by the word of God reprobate and the vessels of anger, and appointed

[1 ...quia in præcisione fuerat vitium, quod unitatis pace correctum est; non in sacramentis, quæ ubicumque sunt, ipsa sunt.—Id. ibid.]

[2 See Vol. I. pages 385, 6.]

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to destruction, although many of them sometime in appearance, that is, in outward profession, yea, and a certain semblance of faith, continuing for a time, wherewith they mock both themselves and other, are reckoned among the members of the church; of whom John saith, 'If they had been of us, they would have tarried with us.' Children of papists and of excommunicate persons.

"The second is of those which are chosen in Christ by eternal election, and therefore are the members of Christ, yet by purpose only, not in deed; in which sense Paul saith that he was 'severed from his mother's womb,' when as notwithstanding he was a long time the member of Satan persecuting Christ; and in another place saith that grace 'was given us in Christ before everlasting times;' and again, that 'God loved us when we were his enemies.'

"In the third kind we count them that both by election and in deed are the sons of God; because, as the apostle saith, they are 'ruled by the Spirit of God.'

"Finally, in the fourth place, we reckon those who, whereas they appertain to the election of God, and be engraffed in Christ, yet, because having fallen in something (as men often do), they be an offence to the other members, therefore, lest the wound should be deadly, which Satan and the flesh hath given them, need a more sharp remedy, and are therefore excommunicated or delivered to Satan, not that they should perish (for it is not possible that they should perish which are the members of Christ), but that godly sorrowfulness may cause repentance, either that, their flesh (that is the old man) dying, their spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord.

"These therefore be they whom we call excommunicated, and who for two respects are not members of the church, one according to men, because they are excluded from the holy fellowship of the faithful; the other according to God, because that saying of Christ is sure, that that is bound in heaven which is rightly bound of the church in the earth.

"But it is another thing truly to be bound in heaven than to be cast out of that true kingdom of heaven; which never happeneth to any of the elect. For that saying of Christ standeth, that those shall never be cast out whom the Father hath given the Son; and that of John: 'If they had been of us, they would have tarried with us;' and that of the apostle: 'The foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, The

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Lord knoweth who be his.' Therefore, as, touching Christ, these are said not to be his, nor members of the church, not as the first, which are reprobate and damned, but because for a time, as concerning the force and efficacy of the Spirit, they are without him, as being so engraffed in him, that they receive not that lively nourishment of the Spirit of Christ for a time, that is, till grace of repentance be given them. To conclude, the difference betwixt these and the first is such, as is between a leg of wood joined cunningly to a true body (which notwithstanding is not a leg indeed, neither is truly called a part of that man) and betwixt a true leg, that yet for a time receiveth not nourishment, in such sort that, unless it be refreshed by the strength of some sharp medicine, it will necessarily putrefy and clean perish. Wherefore, seeing these things be thus, and charity biddeth us to hope well of all, yea, and also to take care for them which are held as captives in the snare of the devil, God forbid that, the parents being excommunicated, we should conclude that their posterity belongeth not to the kingdom of God. Furthermore, there is great difference between those, which, although they be notorious offenders, nevertheless depart not from the church, and between those that are manifest renegates, joining themselves with the enemies to oppress the truth of the gospel. Further, it were unreasonable to esteem of papists, much less Christians excommunicated, no otherwise than of Turks; for, although it be unpossible to serve the pope and Christ together, yet it is certain that popery is an erring of the christian church. Wherefore the Lord hath in the midst of that gulf of papistry preserved baptism, that is the first entering into the church; whereby it appeareth (as also the thing itself proveth in us) that, although papism be not the church, yet the church hath been and is (as it were) drowned or covered in it; which cannot by any means be said of the Turks, which never gave their names to Christ. Lastly, forsomuch as the goodness of God is extended to a thousand generations, that is, as it were without end, it were hard if we should judge of the children, whether they belong to the covenant of God or no, by the profession of their last parents. Therefore, of all these arguments joined together, we conclude that the children of persons excommunicate, abiding yet in the church of God, can by no right be debarred from baptism, if in case

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a meet surety be had which will make promise to the church that they shall be virtuously brought up, which I think ought to be done of the ministers themselves, and other godly men, rather than their baptism should any longer be deferred. Yet it shall not be amiss if the minister, before he baptize the infant, taking hereof occasion, earnestly exhort the father that is excommunicated, being present, to repentance before the assembly; which is oftentimes practised in our churches[1]." Hitherto Beza.

Children of papists and of excommunicate persons.

[1 An infantes excommunicatorum sint baptizandi, et in quorum fide, quum ii ex quibus sunt progeniti, non sint membra ecclesiæ.

Absit ut omnes qui membra ecclesiæ non dicuntur, eodem et pari judicio comprehendantur. Quatuor enim sunt ejusmodi hominum genera, longe inter se diversa. Unum eorum est, qui neque secundum electionem neque in seipsis ullo modo sunt Christi membra, quos reprobos et vasa iræ, et ad interitum descriptos ex Dei verbo vocamus, quamvis eorum nonnulli interdum specie tenus, id est, externa professione, atque adeo etiam quodam fidei temporariæ simulacro, quo et seipsos et alios ludificantur, inter ecclesiæ membra censeantur, de quibus dicit Ioannes, Si fuissent ex nobis, mansissent utique nobiscum. Alterum eorum est, qui secundum electionem æternam sunt in Christo electi, ac proinde Christi membra, sed adhuc sola destinatione necdum reipsa, quo sensu Paulus dicit se segregatum fuisse ab utero, quum tamen diu fuerit Satanæ membrum Christum persequentis: et alibi, Datam esse nobis gratiam in Christo ante tempora æterna: et alibi, Deum nos dilexisse, quum ipsi inimici essemus. Tertios numeramus eos qui et secundum electionem, et reipsa sunt filii Dei, quia, ut inquit apostolus, Spiritu Dei reguntur. Quarto denique loco recensemus eos, qui quum ad electionem Dei pertineant, et Christo sint insiti, tamen quoniam humanum aliquid passi, reliquis membris sunt offendiculo, ac proinde, ne sit lethale vulnus, quod a Satana et carne est ipsis inflictum, acriore remedio egent, ideoque excommunicantur sive Satanæ traduntur, non ut pereant (non possunt enim perire qui sunt Christi membra) sed ut tristitia secundum Deum pœnitentiam in ipsis gignat, sive ut intereunte carne, id est, vetere homine, spiritus eorum sit salvus in die Domini. Isti sunt igitur quos excommunicatos appellamus, quique duplici respectu non sunt membra ecclesiæ, uno secundum homines, quoniam a sacra fidelium communione excluduntur: altero secundum Deum, quia ratum est illud Christi dictum, ligatum esse in cœlis, quod rite ab ecclesia ligatum est in terris. Sed aliud est profecto ligatum esse in cœlis, quam extra verum illud regnum cœlorum ejectum esse, quod nullis unquam electis accidit. Stat enim illud Christi dictum, nunquam ejectum iri foras, quos Pater Filio donavit. Et illud Ioannis, Si ex nobis fuissent, mansissent utique nobiscum: et illud apostoli, Solidum fundamentum Dei stat habens hoc sigillum, novit Dominus qui sint sui. Itaque quod ad Christum ipsum attinet, dicuntur isti non esse ipsius, neque ecclesiæ membra, non ut primi illi qui reprobi et perditi sunt, sed quoniam ad tempus quod ad vim et efficaciam Spiritus attinet, sunt extra ipsum, utpote sic in ipsum insiti, ut ad tempus, id est, donec eis tribuatur resipiscentiæ gratia, vivificum illud Spiritus Christi alimentum non percipiant. Denique tale est inter hos et primos illos discrimen, quale est inter ligneam aliquam tibiam vero cuipiam corpori artificiose adjunctam, quæ tamen tibia non sit, neque pars ejus hominis merito dicatur: et veram quidem tibiam, sed quæ ad tempus ἀτροφίᾳ laboret, adeo quidem ut nisi vi acrioris alicujus medicamenti recreetur, necesse sit tandem computrescere ac

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Children of papists and of excommunicate persons.

Chapter iv. The Fourth Division.

T. C. Page 137, Sect. 2.

And in the 193. *page he asketh, "what if the parents of the child be unknown?" if it be*[1]*, yet, if godly men will present it to baptism, with promise of seeing it brought up in the fear of the Lord, forsomuch as it is found in a place where the church is, and therefore by likelihood to appertain to*[2] *some that was of the church, I think it may be baptised, if the church think it good in this last case.*

JO. WHITGIFT.

And why should you but think so? what reason is there why it should not be baptized? But yet this answer of yours doth nothing justify the Admonition, which would "the parents to present their children, if conveniently, making an open confession of that faith wherein he would have his child baptized;" for this cannot be done where the parents be unknown; neither is (in such case) any other man able to testify of what faith or behaviour the parents were.

penitus interire. Quæ quum ita se habeant, et caritas nos jubeat de quibusvis bene sperare, atque adeo de illis etiam laborare, qui captivi tenentur diaboli laqueo, absit ut excommunicatis parentibus posteritatem eorum concludamus ad regnum Dei non pertinere. Huc accedit quod magnum est discrimen inter flagitiosos quidem, sed nihilominus ab ecclesia non recedentes, et manifestos apostatas, sese ad oppugnandam evangelii veritatem cum hostibus conjungentes. Præterea iniquum esset papistas nedum excommunicatos Christianos non alio loco quam Turcas habere. Etsi enim papæ et Christo servire simul impossibile est, certum est tamen papismum esse christianæ ecclesiæ aberrationem. Quamobrem etiam Dominus baptismum, id est, ecclesiæ suæ initiationem in medio illo papatus gurgite servavit, ex quo apparet, quod res etiam ipsa in nobis comprobat, quamvis papatus ecclesia non sit, tamen in papatu fuisse et esse velut immersam ecclesiam, quod de Turcis dici nullo pacto potest, qui Christo nunquam nomen dederunt. Postremo quum Dei beneficentia ad mille usque generationes; id est, veluti in infinitum protendatur, durum sane fuerit ex proximorum parentum professione de liberis ad Dei fœdus pertineant necne, judicare. Itaque ex iis omnibus simul conjunctis argumentis concludimus nullo jure posse a baptismo arceri excommunicatorum adhuc in ecclesia Dei manentium liberos, modo idoneus sponsor interveniat, qui de sancta ipsorum educatione ecclesiæ fidejubeat, quod ab ipsis etiam ministris et piis aliis hominibus potius procurandum putamus, quam ut eorum baptismus diutius differatur. Operæ pretium tamen faciet minister, si arrepta hac occasione præsentem fratrem excommunicatum serio ad resipiscentiam coram cœtu antequam infantem tingat exhortetur, quod est in nostris ecclesiis non semel factitatum.—Th. Bezæ Epist. Theolog. Lib. Genev. 1575. Ad Neocom. Epist. x. pp. 88, &c.]

[1 If they be, Repl. 2.] [2 Unto, Repl. 1 and 2.]

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Children of papists and of excommunicate persons.

Chapter iv. The Fifth Division.

T. C. Page 137, Sect. ult.

Then he goeth forth in the 111. *page to prove that the children of those which he hath reckoned may be baptized, and demandeth "whether a wicked father may have a good child, a papist or heretic father a believing child?" Yes, verily, may they. So may have, and hath, the Turk and the Jew; and yet their children are not to be received unless their faith doth first appear by confession. But you say the papist and heretic be baptized, and so are not the Jews and Turks. Their baptism, being*[3] *cut off from the church, maketh them as much strangers unto it as was Ismael and Esau, which, albeit they were circumcised, yet, being cast out of the church, they were no more to be accounted to be of the body of God's people than those which never were in the church. Now you see "the poison (as you term it) which lieth hid under these words;" and, if it be as you say poison, let us have some of your triacle*[4]. *In all the rest of that*[5] *section there is nothing but that which he spake of before, only the eldership is named, which cometh to be entreated of in the next section.*

It is poison indeed, and the same which I suspected.

JO. WHITGIFT.

If "their baptism be so cut off," that it also taketh away the privilege from their children, how can they be admitted again into the church without re-baptization? St Augustine, in the place before recited, saith that heretics, though they be cut off from the church, yet they do retain their baptism[6]; which being true, there is no reason to seclude their children from it. I cannot learn but that the sons of Ismael were circumcised; for it is written of the Egyptians (as P. Martyr doth note) that "they circumcided at 14. years of age; because Ismael was then circumcised. Which time of circumcision the Arabians observed in like manner[7]." And therefore it is not unlike but that the posterity of Ismael was circumcised. And, as for the sons of Esau, it is not like that they were debarred from circumcision; seeing Esau himself received the sign of

P. Martyr in Iv. Rom.

Rom. ix.

[3 Their baptism they being, Repl. 2.] [4 Triacle: treacle.]

[5 The, Repl. 2.]

[6 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Epist. Parmen. Lib. II. cap. xiii. 28. Tom. IX. col. 44. See before, page 141, note 7.]

[7 Alia quoque ratione, ut idem auctor est Ambrosius, apud ethnicos servabatur vitiata circumcisio: quod Ægyptii, non octavo, ut Deus præceperat, sed decimoquarto anno circumciderent, quod ea ætate Ismaël circumcisionem acceperit. Quod Arabas quoque factitasse credibile est.—P. Martyr. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. Heid. 1613. cap. iv. p. 114. Conf. Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Abrah. Lib. II. cap. xi. 78. Tom. I. col. 348.]

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Children of papists and of excommunicate persons.

the covenant, notwithstanding he was before rejected. And that his posterity were not so far estranged from the people of God as those that never were in the church, it may appear by that which is written in Deuteronomy, where the Israelites are willed to acknowledge them for their brethren, and to[1] admit their children in the third generation into the congregation of the Lord. And yet are not the papists like unto Ismael and Esau, but rather the same with the Israelites under Jeroboam, &c.; for, as they professed the law of Moses, had circumcision, and were not in all points strange from the faith of the Jews, but yet joined thereunto idolatry and the false worshipping of God, even so the papists pretend the law of God, use the sacraments, profess christianity, and are not in all points strange from christian faith, but yet have corrupted the same with idolatrous worshipping, and divers other kinds of superstition and errors. Therefore saith M. Beza very well in the words before recited: *Papismus est ecclesiæ christianæ aberratio:* "Papism is the erring of the christian church." And: *Ecclesia est velut immersa in papatu, quod de Turcis dici nullo modo potest, qui nunquam Christo nomen dederunt*[2]*:* "The church is as it were covered or drowned in papism; which can by no means be said of Turks, which never gave their names to Christ or professed christianity." Wherefore, if you had made a right comparison, you should not have compared them to Ismael and Esau, but to the revolting Israelites, as M. Martyr doth, saying thus expressly: *Quales olim Israelitæ &c.*[3]*:* "Such are the papists at this day, if they be compared with the professors of the gospel, as were the Israelites in respect of the Jews." But full well you knew that in so doing your error would soon have been espied; for, though the Israelites were separated from the true church, yet were not their children cut off from the covenant or debarred from the sign thereof.

Deut. xxiii. vers. 7, 8.

The papists like to the Israelites under Jeroboam, &c.

Beza, Epist. 10.

Martyr, in iii. cap. 1 Reg.

The poison that is hid in the Replier's doctrine.

"The poison" which (you say) "we now see," and "that lieth hid under these words," is the debarring of children from baptism for their parents' offences being baptized, and

[1 Do, Def. B.]

[2 Th. Bezæ Epist. Theolog. Lib. Genev. 1575. Ad Neocom. Epist. x. p. 90. See before, pages 145, 6, note 1.]

[3 Quales olim Israelitæ fuerunt cum Judæis collati, tales hodie papistæ sunt et anabaptistæ, si cum evangelicis conferantur.—P. Martyr. Melachim, i. e. Reg. Libr. Duo Post. cum Comm. Heid. 1599. In i. Lib. cap. iii. fol. 24.]

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re-baptization: both which you do in more plain manner affirm than the Admonition doth; and therefore for "triacle" to cure these venomous diseases I send you to the learned works of St August. *Contra Epist. Parmeniani; De Baptis. contra Donatistas*[4]; of M. Bullinger, Zuinglius, Calvin and others, which have written against these poisoned points of the anabaptists and Donatists.

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[4 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Epist. Parmen. Libri Tres; De Bapt. Contr. Donatist. Libri Septem, Tom. IX. cols. 11, &c. 79, &c.]

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Of seniors.

¶ Of the Seigniory or Government by Seniors.

Tract. XVII.

Whether there were such as the Admonition calleth seniors in every congregation.

Chapter i. The First Division.

T. C. Page 138, Sect. 1.

As though M. Doctor were at utter defiance with all good order and method of writing, that which was given him orderly by the Admonition he hath turned upside down. For, where the Admonition speaketh first of the elders, then of that which is annexed unto them, which is the discipline (whereof excommunication is a part), considering that the subject is in nature before that which is annexed unto it, M. Doctor hath turned it clean contrary, and first speaketh of excommunication, and then of the elders. I will therefore (that the reader may the easilier understand that which is said) follow the order of the Admonition, and first of all speak of the elders or seniors which ought to be in the church; and in speaking of them I must call to remembrance that division which I made mention on before, that is, of those which have care and govern[1] *the whole congregation: some there be which do both teach the word and govern also; some which do not teach, but only govern and be aiders in the government unto those which do teach. This division is most manifestly set forth in the epistle unto Timothy; where he saith: "The elders which rule well are worthy of double honour, and especially those which labour in the word and doctrine;" where he maketh by plain and express words two sorts of elders, the one which doth both govern and teach, the other which governeth only. These therefore are the seniors which are meant; whose office is in helping the pastor or bishop in the government of that particular church where they be placed pastors and elders.*

1 Tim. v. 17.[2]

Jo. WHITGIFT.

It is no rare matter in handling anything, first to entreat of that which is *natura posterius;* and we see it commonly so used by logicians, who first treat of that part which is called *judicium*, then of the other which is called *inventio*, notwithstanding *inventio* in nature is before *judicium*. But I will not spend ink and paper in answering so vain a cavillation. The truth is, that I in mine Answer follow the order of the Admonition. For I prove that it was not the office of those seniors to govern the church, &c.; because they had

[1] And which govern, Repl. 2.] [2] The verse is added from Repl. 2.]

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nothing to do with excommunication, being the chiefest discipline in the church, seeing the execution thereof was committed to the minister of the word only. So that I first take away authority from their seniors, and then answer the places which they abuse for the establishing of their authority. Seniors.

My words be these: "What scripture have you to prove that such seniors as you mean, and deacons, had anything to do in ecclesiastical discipline?" But all this is from the purpose. Your division of seniors, though I know that it hath learned patrons, yet do I not understand how it agreeth with the word of God; for, if we consider the writings of the apostles, it will evidently appear that *presbyter* is usually taken for *episcopus*, or *minister*, or *pastor*, as 1 Pet. v.: *Presbyteros qui inter vos sunt hortor, qui sum et ipse presbyter, &c.: Pascite &c.:* "The elders which are among you, I beseech, which am myself also an elder, &c." "Feed the flock, &c." And in the Acts St Paul calleth the same men "seniors" and "bishops," and by seniors meaneth none other than bishops and pastors; as it is evident in that place. Likewise, *ad Titum i.*, he saith that Titus was left at Creta, *ut constituat oppidatim presbyteros:* "that he should appoint elders in every city." And, declaring what qualities they ought to have, he addeth: *Oportet episcopum immunem esse a crimine, &c.:* "A bishop must be unreproveable, &c." Whereby it is manifest that he taketh them both for one. *Presbyter* usually taken for a minister. 1 Pet. v. Acts xx. Tit. i.

The only place that hath any shew for the proof of your distinction is that, 1 Tim. v.: *Presbyteri qui bene præsunt, &c.:* "The elders that rule well are worthy double honour, specially they which labour in the word and doctrine." Where although St Paul maketh a distinction of seniors, yet it is certain that under the name of seniors he doth comprehend such only as be ministers of the word or sacraments. And I have before sufficiently proved that the administration of the sacraments may be committed to some to whom the preaching of the word of God is not committed[3]. And this distinction of ministers doth this place, 1 Timoth. v., very well justify; for, unless the apostle St Paul had meant, that of ministers some preached, some only ministered the sacraments, he would not have said, *maxime qui laborant sermone et doctrina* only, but, *qui laborant sermone et administratione sacramentorum;* Two kinds of *presbyteri*. 1 Tim. v. Tract. IX. cap. I. the 15. division, and Tract. VI. cap. I.

[3 See Vol. II. pages 456, &c.; Vol. I. pages 538, &c.]

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Seniors. for so should he plainly have declared that there were some *presbyteri* which did neither labour in preaching, nor in the administration of the sacraments. This same distinction of ministers is also justified by that which the apostle speaketh,

1 Cor. i. 1 Corinth. i.: *Non misit me Christus ut baptizarem, &c.;* meaning, because the word was the greater, therefore he might not leave the greater for the less. Now, if all they that baptized had the gift of preaching also, why might not and ought not they in like manner to say, "Christ sent us not to baptize, but to preach?"

Ambrose, 1 Tim. v. St Ambrose, writing upon these words, *Adversus presbyterum &c.:* "Against an elder receive no accusation, &c.," which immediately follow the other, doth understand thereby ministers and priests only; for he calleth them *vicarios Christi:* "Christ's vicars," and *antistites Dei:* "God's prelates[1]." So doth M. Calvin in like manner expound the same word of pastors and teachers[2]. I know that, in the exposition of this sentence, *Qui bene præsunt presbyteri, &c.*, he maketh two kinds of seniors[3]; but yet doth he, *Instit. cap. viii. sect.* 52. (where he purposely speaketh of seniors), say that they were all preachers[4]. Neither do I see any cause why this word *presbyter* should not in both these places be taken in one and the same signification. Chrysostom also (if his words be well marked) upon this place of Timoth., *Presbyteri qui bene præsunt, &c.*, it will appear that he doth not extend this word *presbyter* to any other than to ministers of the word and sacraments[5].

Calvin in 1 Tim. v.

Chrysost.

Jerome. The words of Jerome be plain; for, expounding these words, *Maxime qui laborant, &c.*, he saith thus: *Non dixit omnium qui habent verbum, sed qui laborant in verbo: cæterum*

[1 Quoniam hujus ordinis sublimis honor est (hujusmodi enim vicarii Christi sunt) idcirco &c....Incredibile enim debet videri istum, qui Dei antistes est, criminose versatum, &c.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in Epist. ad Timoth. prim. cap. v. v. 19. Tom. II. Append. col. 301.]

[2 Postquam stipendia jussit erogari pastoribus, Timotheum etiam admonet, ne sinat eos infamari calumniis, &c.—Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Comm. in Epist. 1. ad Timoth. cap. v. 19. Tom. VII. p. 463.]

[3 Colligere autem hinc licet, duo fuisse tunc presbyterorum genera: quia non omnes ad docendum ordinabantur.—Id. ibid. 17. ibid.]

[4 Quibus ergo docendi munus injunctum erat, eos omnes nominabant presbyteros.—Id. Inst. Lib. IV. cap. iv. 2. Tom. IX. p. 286. Conf. ibid. cap. iii. 8; cap. v. 9; cap. xii. 2. pp. 283, 292, 329.]

[5 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In 1. Epist. ad Timoth. cap. v. Hom. xv. Tom. XI. pp. 635, &c.]

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omnes habentes præcipit ordinare[6]: "He saith not, of all that have the word, but 'that labour in the word;' but he commanded him to ordain all that have the word." And surely I have not read this word, in any ancient history or father, commonly taken in any other signification[7]. Seniors.

Chapter i. The Second Division.

Admonition.

Instead of chancellors, archdeacons, officials, commissaries, proctors, doctors, summoners, churchwardens, and such like, you have to place[8] *in every congregation a lawful and godly seigniory.*

Answer to the Admonition, Page 125, Sect. 1.

But, I pray you, do thus much for me; first prove that there was in every congregation such as you call seniors: when you have done that, then shew me that that office and kind of regiment ought to be perpetual, and not rather to be altered according to the state and condition of the church: last of all, that those[9] seniors were laymen, as we call them, and not rather ministers of the word, and bishops. When you have satisfied my request in these three points, then will I proceed further in this matter. [In the meantime I do not defend any chancellor, archdeacon, &c., which abuse their office; I wish such reformed with all my heart. But wherein have churchwardens offended you? I perceive nothing that is now in the church can please you.][10] Certain questions demanded to be proved. Abuse of offices is not defended.

T. C. Page 138, in the midst.

Now that it is known what these seniors be, in entreating of them I am content to answer M. Doctor three requests which he maketh in the 125. *page, where he desireth that one "would do so much for him, as first to shew that these seniors were in every congregation;" secondarily, he will have it proved that "this regiment is perpetual, and not to be altered;" last of all, he desireth to know whether "these seniors were laymen, and not rather*

[6 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Epist. 1. ad Timoth. cap. v. Tom. V. col. 1092.]

[7 In his rejoinder to this division, Cartwright says that Whitgift "confuteth himself," that the places cited are "shamefully abused," &c.—The Rest of Sec. Repl. pp. 32, &c.]

[8 Plant, Adm.] [9 These, Answ.]

[10 This is inserted from Answ.]

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Seniors.

ministers of the word, and bishops." This last is a fond request, and such as is already answered; but he must be followed.

For the first therefore, which is that there were seniors in every congregation, although M. Doctor, in the 114. *page, and in the* 132. *page, constrained by Ambrose' authority, confesseth it in plain words, yet, because he requireth it to be shewed, and maketh a jest at those places which are alleged out of the scripture to prove it, something must be spoken thereof.*

Jo. WHITGIFT.

You build your platform upon marvellous slender proofs; and, except the reader will believe your bare words, he shall find great scarcity of any other arguments. For where have you as yet proved your opinion of seniors to be true? The place of St Paul, 1 Tim. v., doth not help you, being otherwise taken and expounded of the ancient fathers; but I will follow your race. "The last question," you say, "is fond, and already answered." Answered as yet it is not; and the fondness of it will appear by the wisdom of your answer hereafter.

In 1 Tim. v.

The words of Ambrose be, that "the synagogue, and after the church, had seniors, &c.[1];" but he saith not that every several congregation had seniors; for it was not so among the Jews. Therefore it cannot be gathered of Ambrose that every particular parish had seniors. Neither is there any ancient author that affirmeth it. Touching the having of seniors in the church, why it was then convenient, and is not so now, I have declared in the Answer to the Admonition.

Chapter i. The Third Division.

T. C. Page 138, somewhat past the midst.

The first place is in the Acts, which is that Paul and Barnabas did appoint by election elders in every congregation; but Acts xiv. 23.[2]

A cavil.

it is not like they did appoint divers ministers or bishops which preached in every congregation, which were not to be had for such a number of congregations as were then to be preached unto; therefore in every congregation there were besides those that preached other elders, which did only in government assist the pastors which preached. And what should we follow conjectures here, when St Paul doth in the place before alleged declare what these elders are? 1 Tim. v. 17.[2]

[1 Nam apud omnes utique gentes honorabilis est senectus; unde et synagoga, et postea ecclesia seniores habuit, quorum sine consilio nihil agebatur in ecclesia. —Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in Epist. ad Timoth. prim. cap. v. vv. 1, 2. Tom. II. Append. col. 296.]

[2 The verses are added from Repl. 2.]

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Jo. Whitgift. Seniors.

If you have no stronger place to confirm your seniors by than this, they will fall flat to the ground. For it is most certain that Luke in this place by *presbyteros* doth only mean pastors and preachers of the word, as he doth also through the whole Acts speaking of Christians; and it is a strange matter that you dare be bold to ground any point of government or doctrine upon so simple and slender conjectures. For what reason call you this: "Paul and Barnabas did appoint by election elders in every congregation, &c.; but it is not like they did appoint divers ministers or bishops which preached in every congregation, &c.; therefore in every congregation there were besides those that preached other elders, &c."? First, I say that this argument doth consist only upon a vain conjecture; for it might be that the number of preachers were such that every congregation where Paul and Barnabas had to do might have more preachers than one[3]. But, Lord, what moveth you to play the sophister in so serious a cause? and so to dally in a matter so manifest? for how can you conclude by anything here spoken that Paul and Barnabas did ordain more than one *pastor* or *presbyter* in one congregation? for this that is said, that they ordained "elders or ministers in every congregation," doth not import that they ordained more than one in every congregation, but that they ordained for divers congregations divers ministers, that is, for every congregation a pastor. Doth not the apostle St Paul, *ad Tit. i.*, use the like kind of speech when he said unto him, "For this cause I left thee at Creta, &c., *ut constituas oppidatim presbyteros, &c.?*" Where it is manifest, as I said before, that he meaneth bishops and pastors; and yet his intent was not that Titus should appoint for every congregation many pastors. This is mere cavilling; but, to cut off all other doubts, M. Calvin is sufficient to determine this controversy, who, expounding this place of the *xiv. Acto.*, doth understand it of pastors only and preachers. His words be these: *Presbyteros hic vocari interpretor, quibus injunctum erat docendi munus:* "I interpret those here to be called *presbyteros*, unto

The place Acts xiv. proveth nothing for seniors.

Tit. i.

Calvin.

[3 "...said without either proof or likelihood, the untruth whereof may easily appear, in that to the great cities, where there was greatest store, St Paul was fain to send Timothy and Titus for supplies, which otherwise he could so hardly spare."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 35.]

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Seniors. whom the office of preaching was committed." And a little after: "Now, whereas Luke saith that they were appointed over several churches, thereof may the difference between their office and the office of the apostles be gathered; for the apostles had in no place any certain abiding, but went from place to place always to found new churches; but pastors were everywhere addicted to their proper churches[1]." So Brentius. saith Brentius likewise: *Constituerunt per singulas ecclesias presbyteros, quos alias scriptura episcopos, alias pastores vocat*[2]: "They appointed through every congregation elders; whom the scripture sometimes calleth bishops, sometimes pastors." So that this place of the Acts speaketh not one word of your seniors. And therefore you cannot expound it by that in the 1 Tim. v., though it served your purpose, as it doth not. For Luke (to my remembrance) nowhere in the Acts doth take this word *presbyter* for any other than such as have authority to preach the word and minister the sacraments, except he meaneth the elders of the Jews.

Chapter i. The Fourth Division.

Admonition.

Let us come now to the third part, which concerneth ecclesiastical discipline. The officers that have to deal in this charge are chiefly three, ministers, preachers, or pastors, of whom before; seniors or elders; and deacons. Concerning seniors, not only their office, but their name also, is out of this English church utterly removed. Their office was to govern [q] *the church with the rest of the ministers, to consult, to admonish, to correct, and to order all things appertaining to the state of the congregation.*

[q] *Acts xiv. 4.* [3] *1 Cor. xii. 28.*

Answer to the Admonition, Page 113, somewhat past the midst.

To prove that the office of seniors "was to govern the church with the rest of the ministers, to consult, to

[1 Presbyteros &c. munus...Jam quum dicit Lucas, singulis ecclesiis præfectos fuisse, hinc discrimen inter eorum et apostolorum munus colligitur. Apostolis enim nusquam erat certa statio: sed ad fundandas subinde novas ecclesias huc illuc cursitabant. Pastores autem propriis ecclesiis singuli fuerunt addicti, et quasi locati ad præsidium.—Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Comm. in Act. Apost. cap. xiv. 23. Tom. VI. p. 132.]

[2 J. Brent. Op. Tubing. 1576-90. In cap. xiv. Act. Apost. Hom. lxv. Tom. VII. p. 272.]

[3 Acts xv. 4. Adm.]

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admonish, to correct, and to order all things appertaining to the state of the congregation," you allege Acts xiv. and the 1 Corinth. xii. In the xiv. of the Acts it is written that Paul and Barnabas ordained elders at Antioch in every church; but there is not one word spoken of their office; and therefore that text serveth not your purpose. You have alleged this self-same place twice before to prove that no minister of the word ought to be placed in any congregation but by consent of the people, and that the election of ministers ought to be by the congregation: now you allege it to prove the office of your seniors: can it both be meant of seniors and of the ministers of the word, being, as you say, distinct offices? will you thus dally with the scripture, and make it a nose of wax (as the papists term it[4]) to wrest and writhe it which way you list? here you must needs confess either contradiction in yourselves, or falsification. Seniors.

T. C. Page 138, towards the end.

But M. Doctor saith, that there is no mention made of the office of such an elder; therefore that place maketh nothing to prove that there should be such elders in every congregation: so M. Doctor write, he careth not what he write. Belike he thinketh the credit of his degree of doctorship will give weight to that which is light, and pith to that which is froth, or else he would never answer thus. For then I will, if this be a good reason, say that, forsomuch as St Luke doth not in that place describe the office of the pastor or bishop which preacheth the word, therefore that place proveth not that in every congregation there should be a bishop or a pastor. Besides that, M. Doctor taketh up the authors of the Admonition for reasoning negatively of the testimony of all the scriptures, and yet he reasoneth negatively of one only sentence in the scripture. For he would conclude that, forsomuch as there is no duty of a senior described in that place, therefore there is no duty at all, and consequently no senior.

Acts xiv. 17.[5]

An untruth; for he maketh no such conclusion.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

The authors of the Admonition, fol. 112., to prove that the office of the senior was "to govern the church with the rest of the ministers, to consult, to admonish, to correct and to order all things appertaining to the state of the congregation," allege the xiv. of the Acts, vers. 4, 1 Cor. xii. vers. 28. I declare in mine Answer how unaptly these places are alleged for that purpose, being not one word there spoken of any such

[4 See before, page 33, note 6.]

[5 This is inserted from Repl. 2. 17 is probably an error for 23.]

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Seniors.

office of seniors; as it may appear in the words themselves being placed before. Now whether I make any such reason as you frame in my name or no, let the reader judge. The places be quoted in the Admonition to prove the office of seniors, and not to prove that there were seniors in every congregation; and you, being not able to salve that their unskilfulness, make M. Doctor speak what you please, and shift off the matter after your accustomed manner. I make not that conclusion you charge me with; if I do, set down my words and convince me; if I do not, who hath taught you to speak untruly? my words I have expressed: let the reader consider of them, and here also take a note of your truth and honesty.

Chapter i. The Fifth Division.

T. C. Page 139, Sect. 1.

Afterwards he saith that, forsomuch as this place hath been used to prove a pastor or bishop in every church, therefore it cannot be used to prove these elders; so that (saith he) there must needs be either a contradiction, or else a falsification. The place is rightly alleged for both the one and the other, and yet neither contradiction to themselves, nor falsification of the place; but only a mist before M. Doctor's eyes, which will not let him see a plain and evident truth, which is, the[1] *word "elder" is general, and comprehendeth both those elders which teach and govern, and those which govern only; as hath been shewed out of St Paul.*

Jo. Whitgift.

If it had these two significations (as I have proved that it hath not), yet that it is so taken in the xiv. of the Acts, I cannot read in any writer; and I have shewed M. Calvin's and M. Brentius' judgments to the contrary; which in any wise man's opinion are able to countervail your credit and bare denial. And surely in that place it cannot be taken but in one and the self-same signification; except you will say that the Spirit of God speaketh ambiguously, and useth "equivocations[2]." Which were to derogate much from the simplicity

[1 Which is that the, Repl. 1 and 2.]

[2 "...it is a great oversight that he cannot put a difference between a word that is general and hath divers forms under it, of which sort this word 'elder' is, and between that which hath divers significations...Besides that those which have knowledge in the Hebrew tongue know that the scripture useth sometimes 'equivocations' (Judg. x. 4; xv. 16), and yet nothing 'thereby derogated from the simplicity thereof.'"—The Rest of Sec. Repl. pp. 36, 7.]

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and plainness of the scriptures. Wherefore the authors of the Admonition, in alleging that text in some place to prove the election of pastors, and in some other place to prove the office of seniors, speak they know not what, and dally with the scriptures; even as you do in like manner when you take upon you the defence of so manifest a contradiction. Seniors.

Chapter i. The Sixth Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 114, Sect. 1.

In the 1 Corinth. xii., St Paul saith that "God hath ordained in the church first apostles, then prophets, thirdly teachers, then them that do miracles, after that the gifts of healing[3], helpers, governors, diversities of tongues:" here is not one word of the office of seniors, neither yet of their names; for this word, "governors," teacheth us that Christ hath ordained in his church some to bear rule and govern[4]; but whether one in every congregation or more; whether ministers of the word or other; whether magistrates or seniors, it is not here expressed; howsoever it is, it maketh nothing for your purpose. Governors in the church.

T. C. Page 139, Sect. 1.

1 Cor. xii. *And, whereas M. Doctor saith that the place of the Corinths may be understanded of civil magistrates, of preaching ministers, of governors of the whole church, and not of every particular church, and, finally, anything rather than that whereof it is indeed understanded; I say, first, that he still stumbleth at one stone, which is, that he cannot put a difference between the church and commonwealth, and so between the church-officers, which he there speaketh of, and the officers of the commonwealth, those which are ecclesiastical, and those which are civil. Then that he meaneth not the minister which preacheth, it may appear, for that he had noted them before in the word "teachers;" and, last of all, he cannot mean governor of the whole church, unless he should mean a pope; and, if he will say he meaneth an archbishop which governeth a whole province, besides that it is a bold speech without all warrant, I have shewed before that the word of God alloweth of no such office; and therefore it remaineth that it must be understanded of this office of elders.*

A manifest untruth; for there is no such thing affirmed.

JO. WHITGIFT.

Here have you manifestly falsified my book and greatly abused me. For I have not these words, "of governors of

[3 Teaching, Answ.] [4 And to govern, Answ.]

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Seniors.

the whole church, and not of every particular church;" neither anything sounding that way: the reader hath my words before his eyes, let him consider whether you have reported them truly or no. Surely, if there were nothing else, your oft leasings might sufficiently convince your doctrine of mere vanity and forgery.

But to return to your Reply.

First, I "cannot put any such difference betwixt the church and a christian commonwealth, the church-officers and christian magistrates," that they may not be comprehended under this word used in this place by the apostle. For I utterly renounce that distinction invented by papists and maintained by you, which is, "that christian magistrates do govern, not in the respect they be Christians, but in the respect they be men; and that they govern Christians, not in that they be Christians, but in that they be men." Which is to give no more authority to a christian magistrate in the church of Christ than to the great Turk. I am fully persuaded, therefore, that there is no such distinction betwixt the church of Christ and a christian commonwealth, as you and the papists dream of. And therefore there is no cause why the apostle may not in this place, under this word "governors," comprehend as well civil magistrates as ecclesiastical. The which notwithstanding I do not determinately affirm, as likewise I have not done in mine Answer; for I would be glad to learn and to hear some reason to the contrary. Master Gualter seemeth to favour this opinion; for expounding this place he saith: "He comprehendeth seventhly in this order governors, under whom are contained civil persons, which in worldly matters did aid all men, and had the hearing of causes if any fell out amongst the Christians." And a little after: "There is no need of such publicly now-a-days; seeing there are christian magistrates, by whose authority all these things may be better provided for[2]." Moreover, the apostle may mean in that place bishops or pastors, of whom he made no mention

The papists' opinion of christian magistrates.

Gualter in 1 Cor. xii.[1]

[1 This is introduced from Def. A.]

[2 Septimus in hoc ordine gubernationes ponit, quibus comprehenduntur viri politici, qui in rebus hujus seculi quosvis juvabant, et causas cognoscebant, si quæ inter Christianos orirentur...Hodie talibus in publico non ita opus est, quando ...magistratus christiani sunt, quorum auctoritate ista omnia felicius possunt transigi.—R. Gualther. Hom. in prior. ad Corinth. Epist. Tigur. 1588. Hom. lxvi. fol. 196. 2.]

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before. For you will not have the office of a pastor and of a doctor confounded; wherefore you forget yourself in saying that, "in this word, teachers, he meaneth the minister that teacheth," that is, the pastor, for of him I am sure you mean. Last of all, I have nowhere said that he meaneth one "governor of the whole church;" neither have I written one word tending to that end; but this I say again, whether the apostle meaneth "one ruler in every congregation or more" is not here determined; and I see no cause, as I have said, why in this place of the apostle this word "governors" may not either signify the christian magistrates, or ecclesiastical, as archbishops, bishops, or whatsoever other by lawful authority are appointed in the church; neither is there any reason to be shewed why he should rather mean your seniors than any other magistrates. Sure I am that there be learned men which think that the apostle in this word doth comprehend *ecclesiæ gubernatores, tum civiles, tum ecclesiasticos:* "the governors of the church as well civil as ecclesiastical." Howsoever it is, the place being doubtful, it cannot establish the office of your seniors as perpetual[3]. Seniors.

Chapter i. The Seventh Division.

Admonition.

[1] Rom. xii. 8. *Instead of these seniors in every* [2]*church, the pope hath brought in, and yet we*[4] *maintain, the lordship of one man over sundry churches, yea, over many* [5]*shires*[6].

Answer to the Admonition, Page 115, Sect. ult.

You allege in the margent these words in the xii. to the Rom.: "He that exhorteth, let him wait on exhortation: he that distributeth, let him do it with simplicity; he that ruleth, with diligence; he that sheweth mercy, with cheerfulness," to prove that, "instead of these seniors in every church, the pope hath brought in, and we yet maintain, the lordship of one man over

[3 "...dangerously spoken, and smelleth of popery; as if the scripture should lose her authority because men agree not of the understanding of it."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 38.]

[4 We yet, Adm.]

[5 Over many churches, yea, over sundry shires, Adm.]

[6 This sentence has been inserted before, See Vol. II. page 399.]

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Seniors. many churches, &c." I know not how this gear hangeth together, or to what purpose you should allege that place: it neither proveth that in every church there was elders, neither that in place of them the pope hath brought in the lordship of one man over many churches.

T. C. Page 139, Sect. 1.

The same answer may be made unto that which he saith of the place to the Romans, where, speaking of the offices of the church, after that he had set forth the office of the pastor, and of the doctor, Cap. xii. *he addeth those other two offices of the church, whereof one was occupied in the government only, the other in providing for the poor, and helping the sick. And, if, besides the manifest words of the apostle in both these places, I should add the sentences of the writers upon those places, as M. Calvin, M. Beza, M. Martyr, M. Bucer, &c., it should easily appear what just cause M. Doctor hath to say, that it is "to dally with the scriptures, and to make them a nose of wax," in alleging of these to prove the elders; that all men might understand what terrible outcries he maketh, as in this place, so almost in all other, when there is cause that he should lay his hand upon his mouth.*

Jo. WHITGIFT.

The like answer do I make to that place also that I made Calvin. to the former. M. Calvin saith that these words of the apostle, *Qui præest in diligentia:* "He that ruleth with diligence," may generally be extended *ad præfecturas omne genus*[1]*:* "to Martyr. all kind of rule or government." And M. Martyr, upon the same words, saith that he doubteth not *multas fuisse in ecclesia præfecturas*[2]*:* "that there were many governments in Beza. the church." M. Beza likewise, although he saith that the apostle in this word understandeth *presbyteros*, yet he addeth, *qui et ipsi interdum doctrinæ verbi*[3] *præerant*[4]*:* "which also sometime did preach the word." M. Bucer saith plainly, Bucer. *Est præterea qui præest, qui pascendi et regendi ecclesiam munus accepit*[5]*:* "Furthermore, he doth rule which hath received the office of feeding and governing the church." Whereby he must needs understand the pastor, and not any

[1 ...quod tamen de illis dicit, extendi in universum ad præfecturas omne genus potest.—Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. cap. xii. 8. Tom. VII. p. 87.]

[2 P. Martyr. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. Heid. 1613. cap. xii. p. 566.]

[3 Verbo, Def. A. and B.]

[4 Nov. Test. cum Th. Bezæ Annot. H. Steph. 1565. Rom. xii. v. 8. p. 210.]

[5 M. Bucer. Enarr. in Epist. ad Rom. Basil. 1562. cap. xii. p. 541.]

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unpreaching senior. But what kind of argument call you this: He that ruleth must do it with diligence; *ergo*, there must be seniors in every parish? You should rather conclude thus; therefore those to whom God hath committed any office of government must do the same diligently and carefully. Seniors.

So that, although these learned men do understand this place of seniors, yet do they think that it may also be understanded of other magistrates and governors; and therefore upon their interpretations you cannot conclude any certainty of your seniors. And M. Beza seemeth by the name[6] of "seniors" to understand the ministers of the word, that is, bishops and pastors; and there is no doubt but that the apostle in this place doth admonish all to be diligent in their office, that have any kind of government committed unto them. Wherefore you may not restrain this to any one particular kind of government, which the apostle hath generally spoken of all; for that were indeed to dally with the scriptures, and to abuse them as the papists do, yea, to make them a nose of wax[7]; as I have said before. The place Rom. xii. is general.

Chapter i. The Eighth Division.

T. C. Page 139, Sect. 2.

This I am compelled to write, not so much to prove that there were seniors in every church (which is a thing confessed), as to redeem those places from M. Doctor's false and corrupt interpretations; for[8] *as for the proof of elders in every congregation, besides his confession, I need have no more but his own reason. For he saith that the office of these elders in every church was in that time wherein there were no christian magistrates, and when there was persecution; but in the apostles' times there was both persecution and no christian magistrates; therefore in their time the office of these elders was in every congregation.*

Jo. Whitgift.

If this be a good argument: St Paul *ad Rom. xii.* saith, "He that ruleth must do it diligently;" *ergo*, every particular congregation must of necessity be governed by seniors; or this: The apostle, 1 Cor. xii., saith that "God hath placed in his church governors;" *ergo*, every parish must have a seigniory; or this: Paul and Barnabas in every church ordained pastors; therefore in every church there must be a

[6 Place, Def. B.] [7 See before, page 33, note 6.] [8 And, Repl. 2.]

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Seniors. company of seniors, to whom the whole government of the parish is to be committed—if (I say) these be good and sure arguments, then have I corruptly interpreted those places. But, if these arguments be not sound, if they have no sequel in them, if they be against the practice of the church ever since it had christian magistrates, and long before, especially for such elders as you mean, if this kind of government in many reformed churches be not thought convenient, if it spoil the christian magistrate of the authority given unto him by the word of God, and, finally, if it bring in confusion, then have I truly interpreted those places, and, according to my duty and calling, delivered them from your corruptions. But the truth of this matter shall more evidently appear in that which followeth.

That which I have said of the being of seniors in every church, I say still; neither is that the question; for I ask the question of your seniors, not of ministers (whom I call seniors); neither did I mean that in every particular parish there was such a seigniory, but in every chief city; nor that it was at all times in persecution, and where there was no christian magistrate, but sometimes; neither that this kind of government must be in such times, but that it may be. And therefore you had done well, if you had not been so sparing of your proofs, for all my grant[1].

¶ Whether the government by seniors ought to be perpetual.

Chapter ii. The First Division.

T. C. Page 139, Sect. 2.

I come therefore to the second point, wherein the question especially lieth, which is, whether this function be perpetual, and ought to remain always in the church. And it is to be observed by the way that, whereas there are divers sorts of adversaries to this discipline of the church, M. Doctor is amongst the worst. For there be that say that this order may be used or not used now, at the liberty of the churches; but M. Doctor saith that this order is not for these times, but only for those times when there

[1 Cartwright in his rejoinder enters into a long argument to shew that "this order of elders" was before the apostles' times, being "taken from the government of the people of God before and under the law," that it was "in the apostles' times," and to be found in "the practice of the church after the apostles' times."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. pp. 40, &c.]

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were no christian magistrates, and so doth flatly pinch at those churches, which, having christian magistrates, yet notwithstanding retain this order still. Seniors.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

I say so still, and I am able to defend my saying against all that you have shewed to the contrary. And yet do I not "pinch at any church that useth it" (if there be any such), so that they have the consent of the civil magistrate, who may if he will depart from his right, and abridge himself of the authority committed unto him by God. But he need not so do except he list; and whether it be well done or no I will not determine: this I am well assured of, that, in a monarchy and in a kingdom such as this realm of England is, it cannot be practised without untolerable contention and extreme confusion; except you could devise to make every several parish a kingdom within itself, and exempt it from all ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction of prince, prelate, and whomsoever; which undoubtedly may seem to be your seeking, as will appear hereafter[2].

Chapter ii. The Second Division.

T. C. Page 139, Sect. ult.; and Page 140, Sect. 1.

And, to the end that the vanity of this distinction, which is that there ought to be seniors or ancients in the times of persecution and not of peace, under tyrants and not under christian magistrates, may appear, the cause why these seniors or ancients were appointed in the church is to be considered; which must needs be granted to be, for that the pastor, not being able to oversee all himself, and to have his eyes in every corner of the church, and places where the churches abode, might be helped of the ancients. Wherein the wonderful love of God towards his church doth manifestly appear, that, for the greater assurance of the salvation of his, did not content himself to appoint one only overseer of every church, but many over every church.

And therefore, seeing that the pastor is now, in the time of peace, and under a christian magistrate, not able to oversee all himself, nor his eyes cannot be in every place of the parish present to behold the behaviour of the

[2 Cartwright rejoins that "he giveth more liberty herein unto the magistrates of small commonwealths, than unto monarchs. For to them he seemeth sometime to leave it at liberty, whether they will communicate their authority unto these elders, or retain it with themselves; but unto kings and princes he will in no wise permit it." He goes on to charge Whitgift with inconsistency.—Ibid. pp. 48, 9.]

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Seniors. *people, it followeth that, as well now as in the time of persecution, as well under a christian prince as under a tyrant, the office of an ancient or senior is required. Unless you will say that God hath less care of his church in the time of peace and under a godly magistrate, than he hath in the time of persecution and under a tyrant.*

JO. WHITGIFT.

I say there may be seniors in the time of persecution, when there is no christian magistrate, not that there ought of necessity to be. God hath provided the civil magistrate and other governors, to punish and to correct vice and other disorders in the church; who hath his officers and deputies in every place for that purpose; neither may the pastor or any other, to whom that charge is not committed by the civil magistrate, usurp that office unto themselves. Wherefore that cause by you alleged is no cause at all why there should be any such seniors where there are christian magistrates; neither is that kind of government any part of the pastor's charge.

The pastor, if he be a meet man, is able to do all that that is required of a pastor; else might it be said (which you before denied) that God appointed offices and functions, and gave not sufficient gifts to execute and do them. Neither can it be said that "God hath less care of his church," when he placeth civil and christian magistrates in the stead of seniors, than when he placeth seniors, and leaveth it destitute of christian magistrates. For one of the most singular benefits that God bestoweth on his church in this world is, that he giveth unto it christian kings and princes; from whose office and authority whosoever doth detract and withdraw anything injurieth the ordinance of God, and sheweth himself unthankful for so great a benefit.

Chapter ii. The Third Division.

T. C. Page 140, Sect. 1.

Indeed, if so be the ancients, in the time of persecution and under a tyrant, had meddled with any office of a magistrate, or had supplied the room of a godly magistrate, in handling of any of those things which belonged unto him, then there had been some cause why, a godly magistrate being in the church, the office of the senior, or at the least[1] *so much as he exercised of the office of a magistrate, should have ceased. But, when as the*

[1 At least, Repl. 1 and 2.]

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ancient neither did, nor by any manner[2] *might meddle with those things which belonged unto a magistrate, no more under a tyrant than under a godly magistrate, there is no reason why, the magistrate entering into the church, the elder should be therefore thrust out. For the elder's office was to admonish severally those that did amiss, to comfort those which he saw weak and shaking and to have need of comfort, to assist the pastor in ecclesiastical censures of reprehensions, sharper or milder, as the faults required, also to assist in the suspensions from the supper of the Lord, until some trial were had of the repentance of that party which had confessed himself to have offended, or else, if he remained stubborn, to assist him in the excommunication. These were those things which the elder*[3] *did, which forsomuch as they may do as well under a christian magistrate as under a tyrant, as well in the time of peace as in the time of persecution, it followeth that, as touching the office of elders, there is no distinction in the times of peace and persecution, of a christian prince and of a tyrant.*

Seniors.

Where find you this in all the scripture?

JO. WHITGIFT.

I would gladly know by what place of scripture you can justify this office that you here appoint unto seniors. In so weighty a matter, in my judgment, you should have done well to have used some authority of scripture or other ancient writer. The Admonition saith that "the office of seniors was to govern the church with the rest of the ministers, to consult, to admonish, to correct, and to order all things appertaining to the state of the congregation:" which if it be true, I pray you, what authority remaineth to the civil magistrate in ecclesiastical and church matters? Indeed, if you make such a distinction betwixt the church and the commonwealth, the civil magistrate and the ecclesiastical, as you do throughout your whole book, it is no marvel though you think the office of seniors to be perpetual. For you give no more authority to a christian magistrate in ecclesiastical government than you would do to the Turk, if you were under him. And therefore, according to your platform, the government of the church is all one under a christian magistrate and under the great Turk. But to leave the Admonition; what have you spoken of the office of seniors, which is not either proper to the pastor, or common to all Christians, or such as may be much better brought to pass by the authority of the civil magistrate, than by the ignorance, simplicity, and rudeness of the most of your seniors? But first let us hear more of your fancies before we come to utter the absurdity of your cause.

The office ascribed to seniors depriveth the magistrate of his authority in ecclesiastical matters.

No more authority granted to a christian magistrate than to the Turk.

[2 Means, Repl. 1 and 2.] [3 Elders, Repl. 2.]

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Seniors.

Chapter ii. The Fourth Division.

T. C. Page 140, in the midst.

But I will yet come nearer. That without the which the principal offices of charity cannot be exercised is necessary and always to be kept in the church; but the office of ancients and elders are such as without which the principal offices of charity cannot be exercised; therefore it followeth that this office is necessary. That the principal offices of charity cannot be exercised without this order of ancients, it may appear, for that he, which hath faulted and amended not after he be admonished once privately, and then before one witness or two, cannot further be proceeded against, according to the commandment of our Saviour Christ, unless there be Matt. xviii. 15.[1] *in the church ancients and elders; therefore this principal office of charity, which tendeth to the amendment of him which hath not profited by those two former admonitions, cannot be exercised without them. For it is commanded of our Saviour Christ that in such a case, when a brother doth not profit by these two warnings, it should be told the church. Now I would ask, who be meant by the church here? if he say by the church are meant all the people, then I will ask, how a man can conveniently complain to all the whole congregation, or how can the whole congregation conveniently meet to decide of this matter? I do not deny but the people have an interest in the excommunication, as shall be noted hereafter; but the matter is not so far come; for he must first refuse to obey the admonition of the church or ever they can proceed so far. Well, if it be not the people that be meant by the church, who is it? I hear M. Doctor say it is the pastor; but, if he will say so, and speak so strangely, he must warrant it with some other places of scripture, where the church is taken for one, which is as much to say as one man is many, one member is a body, one alone is a company. And, besides this strangeness of speech, it is clean contrary to the meaning of our Saviour Christ, and destroyeth the sovereignty of the medicine which our Saviour Christ prepared for such a festered sore, as would neither be healed with private admonition, neither with admonition before one or two witnesses. For, as the fault groweth, so our Saviour Christ would have the number of those before whom he should be checked and rebuked likewise grow. Therefore from a private admonition he riseth unto the admonition before two or three, and from them to the church; which if we should say it is but one, then to a dangerouser wound should be laid an easier plaister; and therefore our Saviour doth not rise from two to one (for that were not to rise, but to fall, nor to proceed, but to go backward), but to many. Seeing then that the church here is neither the whole congregation, nor the pastor alone, it followeth that by the church here he meaneth the pastor with the ancients or elders. Or else whom can he mean? And as for this manner of speech wherein by the church is understanded the chief governors and elders of the church, it is oftentimes used in the old testament, from the which our Saviour borrowed this manner of speaking; as*

[1] The verse is added from Repl. 2.]

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iv. chap. 29, 30.[2] *in Exodus it is said that Moses wrought his miracles before the people, when mention is made before only of the elders of the people, whom Moses had called together. And most manifestly in Josue, xx. chap. 4, 6.*[2] *where it is said that he that killed a man at unwares shall return unto the city until he stand before the congregation to be judged. Where by the congregation he meaneth the governors of the congregation; for it did not appertain to all to judge of this case. Likewise in the Chronicles, and divers other places. And therefore* 1 *Li. xiii. ch. 2, 4.*[2] *I conclude that, forsomuch as those be necessary and perpetual which are spoken of in those words "tell the church," and that under those words are comprehended the elders or ancients, that the elders and ancients be necessary and perpetual officers in the church.* Seniors.

Jo. Whitgift.

Here are many words without matter, and a great thing pretended to no purpose; for "the principal point[3] of charity" both hath been and may be well "exercised" without your seniors: the place Matt. xviii. doth in no respect prove the contrary. For it only teacheth an order how to proceed charitably in private offences, and not in public; as I have shewed before. Moreover, to "tell the church" is either publicly to reprove those that have been privately in that manner admonished, and will not repent, or else to complain unto such as have authority in the church[4]; according to that which I said before of this place, in my Answer to the Admonition. And herein you join with me, in that you take "the church" there "for the chief governors of the church," though we differ in the persons. For you will have it only meant of the pastor and seniors; and I think it signifieth more generally any which are lawfully appointed to govern the church. But, whether it be one or more that hath this authority committed unto him, it is more to tell him than it is to tell twenty

Dic ecclesiæ interpreted.

Church, for the governors of the church.

[2] The verses are added from Repl. 2.] [3] Offices, Def. A.]

[4] "Your interpretation of 'tell the church,' that is, 'publicly reprove those which, admonished privately, repent not,' is evil nurtured, breaking in without leave. Where mark, good reader, how easy it is for the D. to write answers, which being pressed giveth himself this liberty; that having no key to open the door breaketh it open after this sort. To interpret 'tell' by 'reprove' might have some colour, by that the general is sometime put for the special; but that 'tell the church' should be 'reprove the offender' hath a disease that all the tropes and figures which I have read of are not able to cure. And methinketh that you, which accuse others for 'making the scripture a nose of wax,' if you will not put off your shoes, at the least you should wipe them a little cleaner, when you enter into the Lord's sanctuary. That which followeth is not a whit better."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. pp. 51, 2.]

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Seniors.

besides; because he being in authority doth bear the office of a public magistrate, who hath power publicly to correct that which was privately committed; and therefore he that telleth one such may well be said to tell the church, because he telleth such a one as hath authority in the church, and is a public person. So that he riseth from private admonition to open complaint, from private witnesses to a public magistrate; and therefore this "is to rise," not "to fall," "to proceed," not "to go backward."

But admit that more than one is understanded by the name of the church (which I also confess), yet doth it not follow that it should be your seigniory, which you would have in every congregation to consist of the pastor and some other of his parish, but rather such as Chrysostom calleth "prelates" and "presidents[1]," which are bishops and such other chief governors. But, be it that this place admitted the same sense that you would have it to do, yet do I answer you as M. Musculus answered the papists objecting these words in effect to the same end that you do, that is, to spoil the christian magistrate of his authority in ecclesiastical matters: *Objiciunt illud Christi, Dic ecclesiæ; et, si ecclesiam non audierit*[2]*, sit tibi velut ethnicus et publicanus. Respondeo, ecclesiæ Dei tum magistratu pio ac fideli destituebantur. &c.*[3]*:* "They object (saith he) that place of Christ, *Dic ecclesiæ:* 'tell the church; and, if he hear not the church, let him be to thee as an heathen and publican.' I answer, the churches of God were then destitute of a godly and faithful magistrate; wherefore the judgments between brethren and brethren were exercised by seniors in an ecclesiastical assembly; as it was also usual in christian churches planted by the apostles. But there is a far divers condition of those churches which by the

Hom. lxi. in Matt.

Musc. Tit. de Magist. in Lo. Com.

[1 Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ τούτων παρακούσῃ, εἰπὲ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τουτέστι τοῖς προεδρεύουσιν.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. lx. Tom. VII. p. 607. Conf. p. 608.]

[2 Audiret, Def. B.]

[3 Objiciunt &c. destituebantur. Quare judicia inter fratres ac fratres in cœtu ecclesiastico sub senioribus exercebantur, quemadmodum in christianis quoque ecclesiis ab apostolis plantatis usuvenit. Verum longe alia est earum conditio, quas principes ac magistratus christianos sunt beneficio Domini sortitæ, penes quos est majoritas, potestas, legislatio et gubernatio, non in prophanis modo, sed et sacris. Omnium revera nocentissimus error est, quo plerique de magistratu christiano haud aliter sentiunt, quam de dominatu prophano, cujus potestas in prophanis tantum sit agnoscenda.—Wolfg. Muscul. Loc. Comm. Theolog. Basil. 1599. De Magistr. p. 631.]

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benefit of God have obtained princes and christian magistrates, who have the chiefty, power, the making of laws, and government, not only in profane matters but also in divine. But that is a most pestilent error, whereby divers men think no otherwise of the christian magistrate than of a profane government, whose authority is to be acknowledged only in profane matters." And surely you do not one jot in this point differ from the opinion of the papists. Truth it is, that the place of Matthew may be understanded of seniors; but it may as well be understanded of any other that by the order of the church have authority in the church. And, seeing that it admitteth divers interpretations (as it doth), there can no such platform of necessity be grounded upon it. Seniors.

Moreover, when Christ said, *Dic ecclesiæ*, there was no christian church established, but he speaketh according to the state of the Jews' church that then was under the heathenish magistrates; as he also doth when he saith: "If thy brother trespass against thee, &c., leave thine offering before the altar, &c." And to this doth M. Calvin agree in his Harmony, expounding the same place[4]. And surely, as of this place you may not conclude that in the church of Christ there ought to be such offerings and altars, so may you not on the other place conclude that there ought always to be seniors. Nay, much less this than the other; for this is doubtful, and the other is plain. Matt. v.

Chapter ii. The Fifth Division.

T. C. Page 141, Line 11, and Sect. 1, 2, 3, 4.

Furthermore, St Paul having entreated, throughout the whole first epistle to Timothy, of the orders which ought to be in the church of God, and of the government, as himself witnesseth in the third chapter of that epistle (when he saith he wrote that epistle to teach Timothy how he should behave himself in the house of God), and having set forth both bishop, and elder, and deacons, as ministers and officers of the church, in the shutting up of his epistle, he, for the observation of all the orders of that epistle, adjureth Timothy, and with the invocation of the name of God

[4 ... non dubium est quin ad veteris ecclesiæ ordinem alludat,...Porro quum apud Judæos penes seniores esset excommunicationis potestas, qui totius ecclesiæ personam gerebant, apposite Christus tunc demum publice ad ecclesiam traduci dicit qui peccarunt, si privatas admonitiones vel superbe contemnant, vel scurriliter eludant.—Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Comm. in Harm. Euang. Tom. VI. pp. 211, 2.]

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Seniors.

straitly chargeth him, to observe those things which he had prescribed in that epistle. "I charge thee," saith he, "before God which quickeneth all things, and before Jesus Christ which witnessed under Pontius Pilate a good profession, that thou keep this commandment without spot or blemish, until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ." The weight of which sentence for the observing of those things which are mentioned in this epistle, that it may be the better understanded, I will note the words severally. 1 Tim. vi. 13, 14.[1]

First, therefore, it is to be noted that he saith, "I denounce or I charge:" he doth not say "I exhort or give counsel," leaving it to the liberty of Timothy.

This cannot be true; as shall be declared.

Secondarily, it is to be noted that he calleth the whole epistle a commandment; and therefore it is no permission, so that it may be lawful for the churches to leave it or to keep it.

Thirdly, when he maketh mention of the living God, and of Christ "which witnessed a good profession under Pontius Pilate," he sheweth that the things contained in this epistle are such, as for the maintenance thereof we ought not to doubt to give our lives, and that they be not such as we ought to keep, so that we have them without strife and without sweat, or easily, but such as, for the keeping of them, if we have them, and for the obtaining of them if we have them not, I will not say our honours, or our commodities and wealth, but, as I have said, our lives ought not to be dear unto us. For therefore doth he make mention of the confession of Christ unto death[2], that he might shew us an example, and forthwith speaketh of God, which raiseth from the dead, that by this means he might comfort Timothy if he should be brought into any trouble for the defence of any of these things.

Fourthly, if we refer those words, "without spot or blemish," unto the commandment (as I for my part think they ought to be), then there is a weight in these words not to be passed over, which is, that the apostle will not only have the rules here contained not trodden under the feet, or broken in pieces, but he will not have them so much as in any one small point or speck neglected. But I see how M. Doctor will wipe away all this, and say that these things, or some of them, were to be observed thus necessarily and precisely until there were christian princes and peace in the church; but the print is deeper than that it will be so washed away; and[3] therefore it is to be observed, what he saith in the latter[4] end of the sentence, where he chargeth Timothy, and in him all, that he should keep all these things, not until the time of peace, or to the times of christian princes, but even "until the coming or appearing of our Saviour Christ;" which is as long as the world lasteth. And therefore I conclude that the seniors or elders of the church (being a part of that order and government of the church which St Paul appointeth in this epistle) are necessary, perpetual, and by no means to be changed.

[1 The verses are added from Repl. 2.]
[2 Unto the death, Repl. 1 and 2.]
[3 *And* is not in Repl. 2.] [4 Later, Repl. 1.]

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All this is but to blind the eyes of the reader, being indeed without all pith and ground. For, first, where hath the apostle in all that epistle spoken one word of the office of your seniors, which you distinguish from a minister of the word? Where doth he give any such commandment concerning his office? Where doth he prescribe any such form or kind of government? If he keep silence in this matter through the whole epistle, how dare you presume to say that to be commanded which is not mentioned, and to make so much ado about nothing? Surely, if this kind of government had been so necessary, and for ever to be observed, St Paul would not have omitted it in this epistle especially. You say that he hath "set forth" in that epistle "the office of an elder:" if by an elder you mean a bishop or a pastor, it is true. If you mean your own elder, such as must govern only, and neither preach nor minister the sacraments, it is very untrue; and you have no conscience in speaking untruth; for he speaketh not one word of that senior or of his office. If you reply or object that which is written, 1 Tim. v.: *Qui bene præsunt presbyteri, &c.;* I answer, as I did before, that by *presbyter* in that place he meaneth such as be in the ministry, and no other. If he do mean any other, yet doth he not describe the office of that senior, neither giveth any precept of his continuance or rule of any such kind of government; and therefore cannot be included in that precept which you so greatly amplify; for the words of the apostle be these, *ut serves hoc præceptum;* so that you have laboured much to prove a thing that is not, and therefore you have laboured in vain. Secondly, you cannot extend these words of the apostle to the whole epistle, as though it were given generally of the whole and of every thing therein contained; for then must you of necessity bring in widows and their office into the church again[5]; because the apostle doth not only describe their office in that epistle, but also giveth direct precepts of them, and so doth he not of your seniors. Likewise his precept of drinking wine, which he giveth there also, must of

The office of seniors not mentioned in the 1. Tim., much less commanded.

The whole epistle to Timothy 1. is not that commandment.

[5 "But he doth not consider that St Paul ordaineth them not simply, but upon condition...And even now, the perpetuity of that commandment touching widows remaineth in that sort it was given, that is upon condition."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 54.]

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Seniors. necessity be observed of all ministers which have the like infirmity. These, and such other gross absurdities, must of necessity follow, if you will have all things in that epistle necessarily for ever to be observed, and "the whole epistle to be that commandment" that the apostle here enjoineth to Timothy, *cap. vi.*

Whereunto that commandment is referred. Neither can I perceive that any learned interpreter doth refer this commandment to any other things contained in this epistle, than to those only that do appertain to the pastoral office of Timothy; and some there be that restrain it to those things only which are before spoken of in this vi. chapter, and especially to that precept against covetousness. Chrysostom, Chrysostom. expounding this place, saith thus: "What is it to keep the commandment pure? *Ut neque vitæ, neque dogmatum gratia aliquid maculæ contrahas:* That neither in respect of life or doctrine thou have any spot[1]." To conclude, M. Calvin, Calvin. interpreting it, saith on this sort: "By this word 'commandment' he signifieth those things which he had hitherto spoken of the office of Timothy; whereof this is the sum, that he should shew himself a faithful minister to Christ and to the church. For what need is there to extend this to the whole law? except peradventure some man had rather to take this simply for the function committed unto him; for, when we are appointed ministers of the church, God doth therewith prescribe unto us what he would have us to do. So that *servare mandatum:* 'to keep the commandment' is nothing else but faithfully to execute the office committed unto him: surely I do wholly refer it to the ministry of Timothy[2]." Whereby it is evident that under this commandment everything in this epistle is not contained, but that only which doth appertain to the office of Timothy. That which followeth *immaculatus et irreprehensibilis,* according to the most and best inter-

[1 Τί ἐστι, τηρῆσαί σε τὴν ἐντολὴν ἄσπιλον; μήτε δογμάτων ἕνεκεν, μήτε βίου, κηλῖδα τινὰ προστριψάμενον.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In 1. Epist. ad Timoth. cap. vi. Hom. xviii. Tom. XI. p. 654.]

[2 Nomine mandati significat quæ hactenus de officio Timothei disseruit: quorum hæc fuit summa, ut se fidelem Christo et ecclesiæ ministrum præberet. Quid enim opus est hoc extendere ad totam legem? nisi forte simpliciter accipere quis malit pro functione illi injuncta. Neque enim constituimur ecclesiæ ministri, quin simul nobis Deus præscribat quidnam agere nos velit. Ita servare mandatum, nihil aliud esset quam munus sibi commissum bona fide exequi. Omnino certe ad ministerium Timothei refero.—Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Comm. in Epist. 1. ad Timoth. cap. vi. 14. Tom. VII. p. 469.]

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preters, is referred to Timothy, and not to the commandment, contrary to your judgment; wherefore I also conclude that nothing in this epistle maketh one jot for your seigniory. Seniors.

Chapter ii. The Sixth Division.

T. C. Page 141, Sect. ult.

So that we have not only now the examples of all the primitive churches (which ought to move us if there were no commandment), but we have also a strait commandment; I say the only examples ought to move us; for what way can we safelier follow than the common highway, beaten and trodden by the steps of all the apostles, and of all the churches? Things also grounded[3]*, and being preserved by the same means by the which they were engendered, why should we think but that the churches now will prosper by that*[4] *government whereby it first came up? But I say we have not only the examples of the churches, but we have also commandment and strait charge to keep this office of elders and ancients in the church; and therefore it is not only rashness in leaving the way that the apostles, and churches by the apostles' advice, have gone, but disobedience also to depart from their commandment; and to maintain and defend that we may do so, I can almost give it no gentler name than rebellion.*

Jo. WHITGIFT.

Examples of churches there may be some, but not of your kind of seniors. Precept and commandment for this kind of government there is not one in the whole scripture, or any other approved authority. For I have before shewed how little the authority serveth your purpose, the which you would have us think to be so express a commandment. Wherefore it is no "rebellion" to disallow of your order in the time of christian magistrates, but it is "rebellion" to contend for it, to the abridging of the authority that God hath to christian princes committed.

Chapter ii. The Seventh Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 114, Sect. 2, &c.

I know that in the primitive church they had in every church certain seniors to whom the government of the congregation was committed; but that was before

[3 Growing, Repl. 1 and 2.]

[4 The reading in Def. A. and B. appears to be *the*; but the word is printed in a contracted form.]

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Seniors.

there was any christian prince or magistrate that openly professed the gospel, and before there was any church by public authority established, or under civil government[1]. I told you before that the diversity of time and state of the church requireth diversity of government in the same. It cannot be governed in time of prosperity as it is in time of persecution. It may not be governed under a christian prince, which doth nourish and maintain it, as it may be under a tyrant, when it is constrained to flee and seek corners. It cannot be governed in a whole realm as it may be in one little city or town. It cannot be governed when it is dispersed through many places as it may be when it is collected into some one narrow and certain place. To be short, it cannot be governed when it is full of hypocrites, papists, atheists, and other wicked persons, as when it hath very few or none such; as commonly it hath not in time of persecution, when the gold is as it were by fire tried from the dross. He, that, according to this diversity of the form, state, and time of the church, doth not allow a diversity of government, doth confound, and not edify. I pray you, what seniors could you have in most parishes in England fit for that office? But wise, not wilful men have to consider this: God hath given the chief government of his church to the christian magistrate, who hath to consider what is most convenient; and we must therewith be content, so that nothing be done against faith and the commandment of God.

Diversity of time and place requireth a divers government[2].

T. C. Page 142, Sect. 1.

Now I will come to M. Doctor's reasons which he hath in the hundred and fourteen, and a hundred and fifteen pages, where he granteth that there were elders in every church in times past, but saith that it ought not now so to be. For, saith he, "the times alter the government; and it cannot be governed in the time of prosperity as in the time of persecution, under a christian prince as under a tyrant." Thus he saith, but sheweth no reason, bringeth no proof, declareth not how nor why prosperity will not bear the elders as well as persecution, neither why they may not be under a godly prince as well as under a tyrant, unless this be a reason, that, because the godly prince doth nourish the church as a civil magistrate, therefore the ancients may not nourish it as ecclesiastical overseers.

[1 A sentence comes here in Answ. which appears below, page 198.]

[2 Divers times and places require diversity of government, Answ. 2.]

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Jo. WHITGIFT. Seniors.

My reason why it may not be governed under a christian prince as it may under a tyrant is this: God hath given the chief authority in the government of his church to the christian magistrate; which could not so be if your seigniory might as well retain their authority under a christian prince, and in the time of peace, as under a tyrant, and in the time of persecution. For tell me, I pray you, what authority ecclesiastical remaineth to the civil magistrate, where this seigniory is established. But, that the reader may understand this not to be my judgment alone, but the judgment also of famous learned men, and the practice of well-reformed churches, I thought good in this place, before I proceed any further, to report the opinions of Musculus and Gualter touching this matter. Musculus in his Common Places, *Titulo de Magistratibus*, affirmeth that, notwithstanding in the apostles' time the churches were ruled by seniors, yet they may not so be under christian rulers and magistrates, who have authority not in civil matters only but in ecclesiastical also. His words I have recited before[3]. M. Gualter, in his Commentaries upon 1 Cor. v., doth at large entreat of this matter; whose words because they have pith in them, and proceed from him which is both learned and godly and of great experience, I will rehearse them as I find them.

The church may not be governed under a christian prince as under a tyrant.

Musculus.

Supra, in the 4. division.

"There are also others which, although they have true christian princes, and want no laws whereby licentious manners are corrected, yet they say they need an ecclesiastical senate, which might punish every man, and have authority also over princes, that it might seclude them from the Lord's supper (if they have given any public offence), and not to admit them again unto the fellowship of the church, but upon their allowance after public satisfaction. And, if any man do contrary them in their opinion, by and by they cry out upon him as the enemy of all discipline, and as one unworthy to have any place in the church; as though there could no other form of discipline be appointed but that which they have invented. But they must pardon us, and let them not condemn us rashly, which do dissent from them not without good

Gualter in 1 Cor. 5.

[3 Wolfg. Muscul. Loc. Comm. Theolog. Basil. 1599. De Magistr. p. 631. See before, page 170, note 3.]

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Senior. reason[1]." You see therefore how your seigniory and kind of government is liked even of zealous and godly ministers of reformed churches. Neither do I remember that I ever read any author that doth of necessity require it; scripture (I know) you have none for it.

Chapter ii. The Eighth Division.

T. C. Page 142, Sect. 2.

Now, seeing M. Doctor can shew us no cause why they may not as well be now as in the time of the apostles, as well under a christian prince as under a tyrant, I will shew him that, although they be always necessary, yet there is better cause why they should rather be now, than in the apostles' times, greater necessity under a christian prince than under a tyrant. First of all, in the apostles' times it is known that the gifts of the Spirit of wisdom, discretion, knowledge, enduring of travail, were poured forth more plentifully than ever they were either before or shall be after. By reason whereof the pastors and ministers of the churches that were then were (I speak generally, and of the estate of the whole church) better furnished with the gifts needful for their ministry than are the ministers of these days. Whereupon I conclude that, if the aid and assistance of the pastor by the elders was thought necessary by the apostles in those times, when the ministers were so well and so richly replenished with such gifts, much more is that aid and assistance meet for the ministers of these days, wherein their gifts of discretion and knowledge and diligence are not so plentiful. For, if they whose eye-sight was so clear to perceive, whose hands so nimble to execute, had need for their aid of other eyes and other hands, then the ministers now, whose eyes are dimmer and hands heavier than theirs were, have much more need of this[2] aid than they had.

Jo. Whitgift.

This reason is answered two ways, and that briefly: the first is, because there is not at this time in every congregation so meet men for that office of seniors as there was then; for

[1 Sunt etiam alii, qui etsi principes habeant vere christianos, neque leges desint, quibus morum licentia coercetur, adhuc tamen senatu ecclesiastico opus esse aiunt, qui in quorumvis mores animadvertat, et cui in principes quoque jus sit, ut eos qui scandalum aliquod publicum dederunt, a cœnæ dominicæ communione arceat, et eosdem non nisi suo judicio probatos, et præstitis prius satisfactionibus publicis, ad ecclesiæ societatem et cœnæ usum rursus admittat. Quod si quis ipsorum sententiæ contradicat, mox disciplinæ omnis hostem esse vociferantur, et indignum cui in ecclesia locus detur: quasi vero non ulla alia disciplinæ forma institui possit, quam quæ ab ipsis conficta est. Sed parcant illi nobis, nec præcipiti judicio nos damnent, qui non absque ratione ab ipsis dissentimus.— R. Gualther. Hom. in prior. ad Corinth. Epist. Tigur. 1588. Hom. xxiv. fol. 67.]

[2 His, Def. B.]

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God hath not now "so plentifully poured the gifts of the Spirit of wisdom, discretion, knowledge, &c.," upon so many in every congregation, according to your own confession, as he did then; and therefore nothing so easy to find in every congregation meet men to govern as it was then[3]. Secondly, the civil and christian magistrate hath the whole authority now that seniors had then, and much more; for he may punish with corporal punishment, and so could not they; he may compel and constrain, and so could not they; so that the pastor may be much better aided and assisted in doing his duty and in suppressing vice by the authority of the christian magistrate, than he either was then or could be now by the seniors. Therefore this reason of yours is no reason at all, but maketh directly against you, if it be well considered.

Seniors.

The civil magistrate a better help to the minister than the seniors.

Chapter ii. The Ninth Division.

T. C. Page 142, Sect. 3, 4.

Again, if St Paul did charge the persecuted, and therefore poor churches, with the finding and providing for the seniors in every church; as it appeareth in the epistle to Timothy, where he saith that "elders which rule well are worthy double honour;" whereby he signifieth a plentiful reward, and such as may be fully sufficient for them and their households, as when he biddeth that the widow, which served the church in attending upon the sick and upon the strangers, should be honoured, that is, have that wherewith she might honestly and soberly live—if, I say, St Paul would charge the churches then with maintaining the elders, which, being poor, were not sometimes able to live without some relief from the church, because they were compelled oftentimes to leave their own affairs to wait of the affairs of the church; how much more ought there now to be seniors, when the churches be in peace, and therefore not so poor, and when there may be chosen such, for the most part throughout the realm, as are able to live without charging the church any whit; as the practice of these days doth manifestly declare!

1 Epistle v. 17.[4]

The question is not of the ability to find seniors, but of the necessity of having them.

And, if St Paul, that was so desirous to have the gospel ἀδάπανον, that is free and without charges as much as is possible, and so loth to lay any burden upon the churches, especially those which were poor, did notwithstanding enjoin the maintenance of the elders unto the

1 Cor. ix. 18.[4]

[3 "But how absurd is it that, because they cannot give so full and plentiful assistance now as the elders in times past, therefore they must give no assistance at all."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. pp. 55, 6.]

[4 The latter reference and the verse of the former are inserted from Repl. 2.]

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Seniors. *churches poor and persecuted, how much more shall we think that his mind was that the churches, which live in peace, and are rich, and may have this office without charge, ought to receive this order of ancients!*

JO. WHITGIFT.

This is a poor and feeble reason: The church found seniors in the time of persecution; *ergo*, there ought rather to be seniors under a christian prince than in the time of persecution. Or this: The church is now better able to find seniors; *ergo*, it ought now rather to be governed by seniors. You may make the same reasons also for widows and diaconesses, and as well induce the necessity of them. But we ask not what the church was able to do then, or what it is able to do now; but whether the same government ought to be now that was then; and whether a christian magistrate have no more authority in the government of the church now, than the heathenish and persecuting magistrate had then. Although, if you consider the ability of some parishes, and the unwillingness of other some, you shall find that they be hardly able or willing to find a fit pastor, much less would they be able or willing to find a number of seniors besides their pastor.

The place of St Paul, 1 Tim. v., is untruly alleged for your purpose; for the apostle meaneth of the minister in every congregation, and not of any number of seniors; as I have before declared. Neither have you one place of scripture to warrant your interpretation or application of that place.

God hath provided better for his church by giving christian magistrates than by seniors.

God hath much better provided for his church by placing in it civil and christian magistrates, whose authority is so ample and large, than by placing seniors; wherefore, where christian magistrates be, the government of seniors is superfluous, and the church may not be burdened with unnecessary and unprofitable charges; neither may the authority which God hath given to the christian magistrate be writhen out of his hand by a rude company of seniors in several parishes.

Chapter ii. The Tenth Division.

T. C. Page 142, the last line, &c.

Moreover, those that be learned know that the government of the church which was in the apostles' times, being partly in respect of the people that had to do in the elections and other things popular, partly in respect of the pastors and ancients aristocratical, that is, the rule of the best, I say

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that they know that these governments do easily decline into their contraries; and by reason thereof both the government of those which were most virtuous might easily be changed into the government of few of the richest, or of greatest power; and the popular estate might easily pass to a confused tumult. Now this incommodity were they more subject unto under a tyrant than under a godly prince. For they had no civil magistrate which might correct and reform those declinings when they happened. For the tyrants did not know of it, and, if they had known of it, they would have been glad to see the churches go to wrack. Therefore, now we have a godly civil magistrate which both will and ought to remedy such declinations[1] *and conversions of good government into evil, it followeth that this estate and government by ancients is rather to be used under a christian prince than under a tyrant.* Seniors.

JO. WHITGIFT.

"Those that be learned know that the government of the church" is neither "popular" nor "aristocratical" (as it is before declared where you have affirmed the like), but a monarchy. For in every particular church where there is a christian magistrate, he is chief and principal over the rest; and you yourself confess that the pastor is the chief of the seigniory; which ought not to be if the state were either "popular," or "aristocratical." Of the universal church only Christ is the head and chief; and therefore the state of it is monarchical. But of the state and kind of government of the church in every kingdom or province I have particularly and at large spoken in the treatise of archbishops[2]. The government of the church monarchical. Tract. VIII.

I shall not need to will the reader once again to mark how you bend your force against a monarchy. For your principle is, that "the government of the commonwealth must be framed according to the government of the church;" and therefore it may not be a kingdom, but rather a popular estate, or aristocratical, because the government of the church (as you say) is so. But be it as you would have it; what then? "Forsooth it may easilier decline from a popular estate to a confused tumult, and from an aristocratical state to the government of a few, when there is no christian magistrate, than when there is a christian magistrate; therefore it is more meet for the government of the church to be popular or aristocratical under a christian magistrate, than under a tyrant." First, I deny your argument as being void of all sense and reason. Secondly, I say that no christian magis- T. C. bendeth his force against a monarchy.

[1 Declinings, Repl. 2.] [2 See Vol. II. pages 77, &c.]

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Seniors. trate is bound to suffer in his dominion so many several and distinct kinds of government, and to have one kind of government in the church, and another in the commonwealth; seeing that God hath committed the chief care of them both to one and the self-same person. Thirdly, I deny your antecedent; that is, that "a popular or aristocratical kind of governing the church doth more easily decline into their contraries under a tyrant than under a christian magistrate;" for men being in persecution, and in daily expectation of death, are not so desirous to procure unto themselves authority and dominion, as they be in the time of peace and prosperity. Moreover, under a tyrant and in the time of persecution, those that be appointed governors of the church be but for a time only, and during the pleasure of such as appointed them, and therefore cannot usurp any unlawful jurisdiction over the rest against their wills. In such times of the church rather disobedience and stubbornness in the common sort, than tyranny or oppression in the governors, is to be feared. Surely you would fain have reason for your popular cause, if you could tell where to find it.

And let the reader note the might of this your reason: "The popular and aristocratical kind of government may more easily decline to their contraries under a tyrant than under a christian magistrate;" therefore the government of the church must be popular or aristocratical rather under a christian magistrate than under a tyrant. Howsoever the antecedent is true, there is no sequel in the argument. For under a tyrant necessity doth drive the church oftentimes to one of these two kinds of government; but when there is a christian magistrate God hath appointed it to be subject to him.

Chapter ii. The Eleventh Division.

T. C. Page 143, Sect. 1.

Besides this, in the time of persecution all assemblies of divers together were dangerous, and put them all in hazard of their life which did make those assemblies; and therefore, if the pastor alone might have ordered and determined of things pertaining to the church by himself, it had been less danger to him, and more safety for others of the church. And therefore, if the seniors were then thought meet to govern the church, when they could not come together to exercise their functions without danger, much more

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ought they to be under a christian prince, when they may meet together without danger. Seniors.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

These be the homeliest reasons that ever I heard, and the lightest to be used in so weighty a matter. For, first, the seniors might as safely meet together in the time of persecution to exercise discipline, as the whole church to hear the word of God and to pray. Secondly, it was not so dangerous for four or five to meet together. Thirdly, no danger ought to be feared when a man seeketh to do his duty. Fourthly, what kind of reason call you this: The seniors may with less danger meet together to execute their functions under a christian prince than under a tyrant; therefore there ought rather to be seniors under a christian prince than under a tyrant? I flatly deny the argument. For under a tyrant the church must have that kind of government that it may most conveniently enjoy, with what danger soever it be joined: under a christian magistrate it must be subject to his authority, and governed by him; seeing that God hath committed unto him the chief care and government thereof. Wherefore the office of seniors is nothing necessary where there is a christian magistrate, but it is usurpation rather of the office of the magistrate and a detracting from his authority; neither hath God in any place of the scriptures commanded obedience to those your seniors, or described their office; but he hath done both expressly, touching the civil magistrate.

Chapter ii. The Twelfth Division.

T. C. Page 143, Sect. 2.

M. Doctor proceedeth, and saith, "it cannot be governed in a whole realm, as it may be in a city or town." This government by seniors is not only in one city, but also hath been of late throughout the whole realm of France, where there were any churches; and M. Doctor confesseth that it was in all the primitive churches, and therefore not only in one realm, but almost throughout the whole world; and therefore the large spreading of the church cannot hinder it. So that the difference lieth still in the peace and persecution of the church, and not in the capacity and largeness of the place where the churches abide. So might one reason against the lawful estate of a monarchy; for he might say that, although the rule of one be needful and convenient in a household, yet it is not convenient in

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Seniors. *a town; and, although it be convenient in a town, yet it is not in a city; and, although in a city, yet not in a realm.*

JO. WHITGIFT.

If you will so divide these several cities and churches in one kingdom, that they be not under one governor, ruled by the same laws, members of one kingdom, but every one of them as it were a commonwealth within itself (as it is in several churches within one kingdom in the time of persecution), then it is true that you say; and in this case were the primitive churches, and so were the churches in France. But, when as all the towns and churches in one kingdom be subject as well in causes ecclesiastical as civil to one prince, ruled by the same laws, &c., then can you not establish this your seigniory without great confusion, and untolerable injury to the minister of God, I mean the christian magistrate.

Seniors spoil the prince of his jurisdiction.

The authority of the master of the household over his family derogateth nothing from the authority of the prince, but doth confirm and establish it rather. But the authority of your seniors in every congregation spoileth the prince of his jurisdiction, and maketh him subject where he ought to be ruler; and therefore your reason is not like.

Chapter ii. The Thirteenth Division.

T. C. Page 143, Sect. 3.[1]

"*To be short,*" *saith he, when he can say no more,* "*it cannot be governed when it is full of hypocrites, papists, atheists, and other wicked persons, as in the times of persecution, when there were few or none such.*" *I have shewed before how great want of knowledge it bewrayeth, to say that papists and atheists be of the church, and I love not, as M. Doctor doth, to use often repetition; but, if there be now more hypocrites and other wicked and unruly persons in the church than there were in the time of persecution (which I will not deny), then there is greater cause*[2] *now why there should be seniors in every church than there was then when there were fewer. For, the more naughty persons, and the greater disorders there be, the more aid and help hath the pastor need to have, both to find out their disorders, and also, when they have found them out, to judge of the quality of them, and after also to correct them with the censures of the church, which standeth in such reprehensions private and open, and excommunication, as I have before rehearsed.*

[1 Line 3, Def. B.] [2 Causes, Def. B.]

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Jo. WHITGIFT. Seniors.

What M. Doctor was able to say more was unknown to you. If he would allege as vain reasons as you do, and spend paper in uttering his own fancies without either scripture or other authorities, as your usual manner is, he would at the least have seemed to say much, as you do, who indeed say nothing at all.

I say again that there be in the church, that is, in the external society of the church, both papists, atheists, drunkards, &c.; and your denial of it I have shewed before to be vain[3]. I say, further, that those and such like offenders may best be reformed by the civil magistrate, and by corporal punishment: as for your seniors, they will not set a straw by them. For as M. Gualter saith: "They, which cannot be brought into order by the authority of a lawful magistrate and by laws, will much less suffer themselves to be punished by the commandment of seniors, or of an ecclesiastical senate, whom with all their solemnity they will laugh to scorn[4]." Tract. III. cap. 6, divis. 2, & 4. The magistrate may better reform offenders than the seniors. Gual. I Cor. v.

Chapter ii. The Fourteenth Division.

T. C. Page 143[5], Sect. 4, et ult.

Afterward he asketh, "what seniors may be had in most of the parishes in[6] England fit for that office?" he asketh the same question in the 133. *page, where he also addeth "pastors," asking where may be gotten such pastors as the authors of the Admonition require[7]? when as they require no other than those which the word of God requireth. Well then, if this be a good reason why there should be no elders in any church, because fit men are not to be gotten in all parishes, it followeth, by M. Doctor's reason, that, forasmuch as we have not fit and able pastors for every church, that therefore we ought to have no able pastor in any church.*

And, if he will grant that we ought to have able pastors in as many places as they may be gotten, how can he deny that we should have elders in those churches where fit men may be had?

Jo. WHITGIFT.

The question is necessary, and cannot be so shifted off; but Difference between the

[3 See Vol. I. pages 382, &c., 385, &c.]

[4 Nam qui legitimi magistratus auctoritate et legibus non possunt in ordinem redigi, ii multo minus seniorum sive ecclesiastici senatus imperio se coerceri patientur, quem cum toto suo apparatu ludibrio habebunt.—R. Gualther. Hom. in prior. ad Corinth. Epist. Tigur. 1583. Hom. xxiv. fol. 67.]

[5 134, Def. B.] [6 Parish in, Def. A.; parishes of, Repl. 1 and 2.]

[7 See below, page 208.]

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Seniors. necessity of pastors and of seniors.

you are still like unto yourself. The reason of having pastors and of having seniors is nothing like; for the office of a pastor is perpetual: so is not the office of your senior. Pastors be necessary in the church of Christ, as well for the administration of the sacrament[1] as for the preaching of the word, and other ecclesiastical functions: so be not seniors. The office of a pastor is not only described in the scriptures, but commanded also: shew where the office of your senior is so. The office of a pastor derogateth nothing from the authority of the christian magistrate; but the office of your seniors spoileth him of the one half, and in a manner of the whole; as shall hereafter more plainly appear. Wherefore this may well be true that, although such pastors as are to be wished cannot be provided for every place, yet there must be such as may be conveniently come by. But the same is not true in seniors, being neither necessary nor (where a christian magistrate is) profitable, but the contrary.

And these reasons will serve to deny that of seniors which we grant of pastors; seeing the office of a pastor is commanded as necessary and perpetual, and not the office of a senior.

Chapter ii. The Fifteenth Division.

T. C. Page 144, Line 2.

And I say, further, where we have an express commandment laid upon us to do a thing, there all disputations must cease, of hardness, of impossibility, of[2] *profit, or else of peace. For, first, God hath not commanded any orders in his church which are impossible; and, if they seem hard, it must be remembered that the best and excellentest things are hardest, and that there is nothing so hard which diligence and travail to bring it to pass will not overcome; which thing if it be proved true in worldly affairs, the truth thereof will much more appear in the matters pertaining unto God, considering that, if God with his blessing do surmount all the difficulties in worldly matters, which are otherwise hard to be compassed, he will in his own matters, and matters pertaining to his glory, fill up the valleys although they be never so low, bring down the hills although they be never so high, plane the ways be they never so rough; so that he will make, of a way not passable*[3] *in the eyes of flesh, a way tracked and easy to go in, and to walk towards that kingdom whereunto he calleth us.*

JO. WHITGIFT.

These be but words of course, to no purpose. For, first,

[1 Sacraments, Def. A.] [2 Or, Repl. 2.] [3 Possible, Def. B.]

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you should have proved that the office of your seniors is commanded; which I utterly deny. Then should you have declared that the same commandment is perpetual; for many things are commanded in the new testament which be not perpetual; as the washing of feet, John xiii.; to abstain *a sanguine et suffocato*, Acts xv.; to elect and choose widows to minister in the church, 1 Tim. v.; and such like. So that you have craftily passed over two principal points, and those which ought to be the grounds of your cause. First, therefore, I deny that this office of seniors is commanded anywhere in the new testament; then I say that, if it were commanded, yet is it but a temporal commandment. Those two points not being by you proved, the words you utter are but in vain.

Seniors.

The office of seniors nowhere commanded.

John xiii.

Acts xv.

1 Tim. v.

Chapter ii. The Sixteenth Division.

T. C. Page 144, Line 15.

Besides that, I answer, wheresoever there is a church, there are the riches of the Spirit of God, there is with knowledge discretion and wis-

1 Cor. x. 15.[4] *dom, and there are such as St Paul calleth wise, and can discern and judge. And we see that, when men are called to a lawful and profitable calling, and especially to a public calling, God doth pour on his gifts of that person which is so called*[5] *so plentifully, that he is as it were suddenly made a new man; which if he do in the wicked*

1 Sam. x. 6.[4] *as Saul was, there is no doubt but he will do it in those which are with the testimony of the church, and with experience of their former godly behaviour, chosen to such offices of weight. So that there is not, nor cannot be, any want to obey God's commandment, and to establish the order in the church which God hath appointed, but our own either negligence and slothfulness, or fearfulness, or ambition, or some other leaven which we nourish within ourselves.*

JO. WHITGIFT.

This lacketh proof; for sometimes the church of God is where there is neither good pastor, nor meet governor, as in the time of Elias[6]. And, though God sometimes "bestow his gifts upon the person that is called to a lawful and public function, as he did upon Saul," yet doth not he alway so. God doth not of necessity tie his graces to offices; for, as he

[4] The first reference and the verse of the second are supplied from Answ. 2.]

[5] Is called, Repl. 2.]

[6] "...which is untrue; for there were a hundred prophets, kept of one man alone (1 Kings xviii. 13.)"—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 63.]

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Seniors.

in the beginning of his church miraculously bestowed his gifts, so doth he now leave the same by outward means in part to be obtained, as by education, learning, instruction, reading, studying, &c.; which means being neglected, God doth of his justice permit evil magistrates and officers, which he also sometime[1] doth for the offences of the people; as may be seen in the most part of the kings of Juda and of Jerusalem, and almost in all christian princes and governors under the pope's tyranny. For I suppose you mean such gifts as be profitable for the church.

God bestoweth his gifts by means.

Surely, if this were true that you here so boldly without proof affirm, then should it not much skill what kind of men were chosen to be either pastors or magistrates; for, howsoever they were before furnished with gifts, yet, when they be once called, God will miraculously pour upon them gifts necessary, though they be the rudest and ignorantest men in a whole country. Is not this to boast of the Spirit, as the anabaptists do? But I think the reader understandeth that God now worketh by ordinary means, not by miracles. And, though it be certain that God doth endue magistrates, such as fear him, with singular gifts, yet doth he it by means, as is said; and it is not at all times so, nor in all persons, but when, where, and in whom it pleaseth him. Therefore to ground any general doctrine upon singular examples, or to stablish an external kind of government upon God's inward and secret working, to bind God unto that of necessity that he doth bestow of grace and mercy, to make that common to all which he of his infinite wisdom bestoweth upon some, is not the part of a skilful divine.

The absurdity of the Reply.

But to let all this pass; you do still *petere principium*, and take that as granted which you cannot prove, that is, that the office of seniors is an office established in the church by the commandment of God, and not to be altered; which I for my part can never grant unto you, except you have more pithy reasons to prove it than any that you have as yet uttered.

[1] Sometimes, Def. A.]

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Seniors.

Chapter ii. The Seventeenth Division.

T. C. Page 144, Line 26, and[2] Sect. 1, 2.

It is true that we ought to be obedient unto the civil magistrate which governeth the church of God in that office which is committed unto him, and according to that calling. But it must be remembered that civil magistrates must govern it according to the rules of God prescribed in his word, and that as they are nourises[3] so they be servants unto the church, and as they rule in the church so they must remember to subject themselves unto the church, to submit their sceptres, to throw down their crowns, before the church, yea, as the prophet speaketh, to lick the dust of the feet of the church. Wherein I mean not that the church doth either wring the sceptres out of princes' hands, or taketh their crowns[5] from their heads, or that it requireth princes to lick the dust of her feet (as the pope under this pretence hath done), but I mean, as the prophet meaneth, that, whatsoever magnificence, or excellency, or pomp, is either in them, or in their estates and commonwealths, which doth not agree with the simplicity and (in the judgment of the world) poor and contemptible estate of the church, that they will be content to lay down.

Esay xlix. 23.[4]

And here cometh to my mind that wherewith the world is now deceived, and wherewith M. Doctor goeth about both to deceive himself and others too, in that he thinketh that the church must be framed according to the commonwealth, and the church-government according to the civil government, which is as much to say, as if a man should fashion his house according to his hangings, when as in deed it is clean contrary, that, as the hangings are made fit for the house, so the commonwealth must be made to agree with the church, and the government thereof with her government. For, as the house is before the hangings, and therefore the hangings which come after must be framed to the house which was before, so the church being before there was any commonwealth, and the commonwealth coming after must be fashioned and made suitable unto the church. Otherwise God is made to give place to men, heaven to earth, and religion is made (as it were) a rule of Lesbia, to be applied unto any estate of commonwealth whatsoever.

A dangerous doctrine.

Seeing that good men, that is to say, the church, are as it were the foundation of the world, it is meet that the commonwealth which is builded upon that foundation should be framed according to the church, and therefore those voices ought not to be heard, This order will not agree with our commonwealth, That law of God is not for our state, This form of government will not match with the policy of this realm.

An obscure and deformed argument.

Jo. Whitgift.

These words would be well considered, for they contain the overthrow of the prince's authority both in ecclesiastical

The overthrow of the prince's authority contained in the Reply.

[2] Def. B. has not *and*.] [3] Nourises: nurses.]
[4] The verse is added from Repl. 2.] [5] Crown, Def. B.]

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Seniors. and civil matters. But I will only give a brief note of them in this place, meaning to set forth this matter more at large elsewhere. When he saith that "the civil magistrate must govern according to his calling, and according to the rules of God prescribed in his word, &c.;" although the words be true, yet, if you mark upon what occasion they be spoken, you shall perceive the venom that lieth hid under them; for he doth thereby insinuate that the civil magistrate may not intermeddle with the office of the senior, that is, with ecclesiastical jurisdiction, for he taketh seniors to be the officers appointed by God for that purpose; which is to bereave the civil magistrate of his authority, and to give that to seniors which the pope under the like pretence doth arrogate unto himself. And therefore well and truly saith M. Gualter, in the place before recited:

Gualter. "Those men," meaning such as call for seniors when they have a christian magistrate, "do distinguish between the ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction in respect of the punishment of sins, and the discipline of manners. But this distinction is taken out of the pope's shop, and in the holy scriptures it is nowhere to be found. For there is the same reason of the magistrate in the new testament that was in times past in the old; forsomuch as Christ hath said that he came not to break the law, but to fulfil it. But in times past the judges and kings had power to punish those that offended; neither did the priests or prophets thrust themselves into that business but so far forth as pertained to admonitions and reprehensions, which they applied out of the word of God according to the quality of the offences. Therefore the same must be observed in the new testament; neither is it needful that the ministers of the word should have a peculiar senate, or that they should challenge unto themselves by any means those things that belong to the civil magistrate." M. Gualter's meaning is, that the ministers of the word cannot challenge the authority of punishing vice (otherwise than by admonitions and reprehensions, that is, that they cannot challenge this kind of government of a seigniory) by the word of God; because all such authority is committed to the civil magistrate. So that, if bishops have it, they must have it from him; as it is in this church of England. And therefore well saith M. Gualter in the same place: "There may be appointed such as shall have the correction of manners, in such countries where the ordinary magistrates cannot do all

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themselves; but those must be appointed by the magistrate, and do all at his commandment, and not usurp any distinct jurisdiction from the ordinary magistrate[1]." Seniors.

The second point to be noted is, when he saith that christian princes "must subject themselves to the church, submit their sceptres, throw down their crowns before the church, &c.;" the which kind of speech the pope himself useth, and under the same pretence hath trodden kings under his feet. And, although T. C. seems to mislike this excessive using of authority by the pope, yet would he have the same jurisdiction to remain to his seniors still, whom he understandeth by the name of the church; as appeareth in that which he spake before of these words of Christ, *Dic ecclesiæ*[2], so that he would have the prince subject herself to the seniors of the church, and throw down her crown before them, that is, to be content to be ruled and governed, to be punished and corrected, to be excommunicated and absolved, by their discretion, and at their pleasure. This no doubt is his meaning; neither can it otherwise be; for, if this kind of government be once admitted, the prince must needs be of some peculiar church and congregation, and therefore subject to the seigniory of that church, except it please Master Pastor (who is the chief), and the rest of his neighbours the parishioners, to elect the prince into the seigniory, and make him one of them; and yet must the pastor be his superior, and have authority to call him to consultations, and to direct him in matters of discipline; and, whether he will or no, he must be ordered and ruled by the pastor and most part of the seniors. And yet now I remember

The prince made subject to seniors by the Replier.

Page 140, in the latter end.

[1 Distinguunt illi inter jurisdictionem ecclesiasticam et politicam, quoad morum disciplinam et scelerum pœnas. At distinctio ista ex pontificum officina deprompta est, in scripturis vero sacris nuspiam habetur. Etenim in novo testamento eandem magistratus rationem esse constat, quæ olim in veteri fuit, cum Christus dixerit, se non venisse ut legem dissolvat, sed ut impleat. At olim penes judices et reges fuit potestas animadvertendi in eos, qui peccaverant: neque se ei negotio sacerdotes et prophetæ admiscebant, nisi quoad admonitiones et correptiones, quas ex Dei verbo adhibebant pro delictorum ratione. Idem ergo in novo testamento observari debet, neque opus est, ut verbi administri senatum habeant peculiarem, aut ut quæ politici magistratus sunt, quacunque ratione sibi vendicent. Possunt quidem morum censores constitui, quibus in repub. majori omnino opus est, ubi ordinarii magistratus non possunt negotiis omnibus sufficere. At illi ipsi non nisi ex magistratus auctoritate creari, et ex ejusdem mandato omnia agere debent, non propriam et ab ordinario magistratu distinctam potestatem usurpare.— R. Gualther. Hom. in prior. ad Corinth. Epist. Tigur. 1588. Hom. xxiv. fol. 67.]

[2 See before, pages 168, 9.]

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Seniors. myself, the prince cannot be of the seigniory; for T. C. a little Pa. 146, sect. L after granteth that the seniors be no laymen, but ecclesiastical[1]; so that indeed the prince must be a servant, no master; a subject, no prince; under government, no governor, in matters pertaining to the church.

And, lest any man should think that this is but my collection (though it be most true, and I will justify it so to be), I have shewed before that which M. Gualter affirmeth upon the 1 Cor. v., as he also doth upon the xii. chapter of the Gualter. same epistle, saying, "There be some which, according to the example of the old and primitive church, would have seniors, and an ecclesiastical senate, that should have authority over magistrates, if they at any time do not their duty[2]." And indeed this is one of the chief causes why our men would so gladly have a seigniory, for they would gladly be in hand with magistrates to make them stoop and bow down unto them.

The third point is in this, that he would have "the government of the commonwealth and the commonwealth itself framed to the church and the government thereof, as the hangings are made fit for the house;" whereby, as it may The Replier seeketh the overthrow of monarchies. seem, he would have all monarchies overthrown, and reduced either to a popular or an aristocratical estate; for these two kinds of government he only alloweth of in the church; as it appeareth by that which he hath thereof oftener than once or twice spoken before.

How the laws of man will bear this, I know not; but I am Christ and the gospel no enemies to kingdoms. well assured the law of God will not suffer it. For Christ came not to overthrow kinds of government and civil policy; neither doth the gospel dissolve kingdoms; for St Peter saith, 1 Pet. ii. 1 Epistle ii.: *Proinde subditi estote cuivis ordinationi humanæ propter Dominum, sive regi, &c.*: "Submit yourselves unto all manner ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether 1 Tim. ii. it be unto the king, as to the superior." And so Paul, 1 Tim. ii., doth exhort him to pray for kings; which he would not have done if the state of a kingdom could not agree with the state of the church.

But I will not amplify this matter. Let such consider of

[1 See below, page 205.]

[2 Sunt quidem nonnulli, qui ad veteris et primitivæ ecclesiæ exemplum seniores sive senatum ecclesiasticum instituere volunt, qui in ipsos quoque magistratus imperium habeat, si quando illi officium non fecerint.—Id. ibid. Hom. lxvi. fol. 196.]

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it to whom it doth specially pertain. This is your reason to prove that the government of the commonwealth ought to be framed according to the government of the church; because "there was a church before there was a commonwealth;" but I deny the argument; and your similitude (of "house" and "hangings") doth not prove it. All the examples in the scripture of commonwealths, being also the churches of God, declare the contrary; neither can you shew any state altered in this manner, but only among the anabaptists[3]. Seniors.

Of like weight is your other reason, which is this: "Good men, that is, the church, are as it were the foundation of the world: the commonwealth is builded upon that foundation; therefore the government of the commonwealth must be framed according to the government of the church." This gear is too subtle for everybody to understand; but the argument is without all fashion, and it is neither true in matter nor form. For how prove you that good men are the foundation of the world? The first men were grievous transgressors, the most of them. The evil men, in multitude and worldly prosperity, have from time to time in the world overgrown them. Moreover, the church visible containeth both good and bad; and so doth the commonwealth; and therefore it cannot be said to be builded of good men more than of evil men. To conclude, if all this were true, yet doth not the argument follow. For the foundation giveth strength, but it giveth not the whole form or fashion to that which is builded upon it. For a man may make alterations in his house, though he do not once move or stir the

[3 "...he answereth as though I had meant that the 'form of the government must be changed, and made the same with the form of the church government;' which is an open wresting of my words, seeing all know 'that to be framed according to another thing is not all one as to be made the same with it;' unless he that commandeth his hangings to be framed to his house commandeth that his house and hangings should be made the same, or that the master which biddeth his servant frame himself to him biddeth him to give commandment for commandment, check for check, blow for blow...And, if I had had any such meaning, as he surmiseth, yet our commonwealth could have received no such change by this; considering that I had both declared my liking of it, and shewed how the form thereof resembleth the form of the church government [see Vol. I. page 390]; whereby also appeareth what a shameful slander it is which he surmiseth of me, that I 'would have princes throw down their crowns before the seniors of the church &c.' which I precisely prevented with plain words, because I knew with whom I had to do. Albeit, that 'princes should be excepted from ecclesiastical discipline' and 'namely from excommunication,' as he here and otherwhere [see below, page 210] signifieth, I utterly mislike."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. pp. 64, 5.]

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Seniors. foundation. And surely, howsoever you will dally off these collections upon your manifest words, similitudes, and reasons, with some devised interpretation and shift (for it will stand you in hand so to do), yet what occasion you have given thereby to the common people, and other that be contentious, to mislike of this present state and government, wise men can consider. And, to tell you plain, except you have some mystical sense in them (which I cannot conceive), I see not how they can stand with your allegiance. I speak of the words as you have uttered them: I will not enter into the depth of your meaning; and I will hope the best, until I understand further of your mind.

Chapter ii. The Eighteenth Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 133, Line 1.

Neither is there any authority in the whole bible that enforceth or prescribeth that kind of government as necessary or convenient for all times; no more than there is to prove that in the church there must be always such as have power to work miracles, or that have the gift of healing, and such like; which offices notwithstanding are mentioned as well as governors in the first to the Cor. xii.

T. C. Page 144, Sect. ult.

Now to come again to M. Doctor's reasons. He saith, in the 133. *page, that, if they urge governors because they are spoken of in the xii. to the Cor., then they may as well urge the power to work miracles, the gift of healing, &c.; for that they are likewise reckoned up in the same place. But doth not M. Doctor know that, although some things be extraordinary, and for a time, yet other some things are ordinary and to endure always? will he say, for that the gifts of miracles and of healing are extraordinary, therefore the teachers which are there reckoned together with the gift of working miracles and of healing are extraordinary? hath he forgotten that he (indeed untruly) made before the office of apostles and prophets and evangelists a perpetual office? and yet they are there joined with those gifts which were but for a time; and therefore it is a very absurd argument to say that, for that something reckoned with governors is for a time, and extraordinary, therefore the governors also be so*[1].

[1 Governors be so, Repl. 2.]

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Jo. WHITGIFT.

Seniors.

And how prove you that the office of seniors is more ordinary, or of longer continuance, than the office of "apostles, prophets, the power of working miracles, and of healing," which be in that place recited, as well as those governors be whom you call seniors? You ought to have proved the office of seniors to be perpetual; for that I deny, and shew my reason, that it cannot be proved out of that place, because other offices mentioned in that place to the Corinthians be temporal. But this being most material, you pass it over, because you are not able to prove it. I have told you before in what sense there may be both "apostles, prophets, and evangelists." And if I cannot necessarily conclude that the office of seniors is temporal, because it is rehearsed among those offices and gifts that be temporal, much less can you conclude that it is perpetual, the most of the offices and gifts with it expressed being temporal.

Chapter ii. The Nineteenth Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 133, Line[2] 9.

Well saith Musculus in his Common-places, *Tit. de Magist.: Si revocas temporum illorum mores, primum conditiones et statum quoque illorum revoca*[3]: "If thou wilt use the manners of that time, first call again the state and condition[4] of that time." That is, let us be without christian magistrates, as they were: let us be under tyrants and persecutors, as they were, &c.

[* "We must not simply look," saith Master Beza, *Lib. Confess. ca. v.*, "what the apostles did in the government of the church; seeing that the circumstances be most diverse; and therefore we cannot without preposterous zeal reduce all things in all places and at all times to one and the self-same form[5]*."][6]

T. C. Page 145, Line 11.

As for Musculus' authority, which is, that the times do change the

[2 Sect., Def. B.]

[3 Wolfg. Muscul. Loc. Comm. Theolog. Basil. 1599. De Magistr. p. 633. See Vol. I. page 394, note 2.]

[4 Condition and state, Answ. and Def. A.]

[5 Th. Bezæ Confess. Christ. Fid. Genev. 1587. cap. v. 35. p. 152. See Vol. I. page 254, note 2.]

[6 This paragraph is inserted from Answ. 2.]

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Seniors. *orders, besides that I have answered before, and besides that he doth not speak it of the elders, I have proved that it can have no place here; forsomuch as the elders are necessary and commanded in the scripture*[1].

Jo. Whitgift.

Musculus in that place speaketh of the government of the church, and of the authority of the civil magistrate in matters ecclesiastical, and proveth that the government of the church may not be now as it was in the apostles' time.

And a little before, speaking of the seigniory, he affirmeth as much; as it appeareth in his words before recited. You have not as yet proved either the office of seniors now "to be necessary," or the same "to be commanded in the scripture."

Chapter ii. The Twentieth Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 133, in the midst.

You say "it is more easy for the wicked by bribing to pervert and corrupt one man, than to pervert and overthrow the faith and piety of a zealous and godly company;" and therefore better the government of the church to be committed to many than to one. If this reason be good, then, the more there be that rule, the better is the government; and so *popularis status erit optimus reipublicæ status:* ["Government by the communalty exercised shall be the best kind of government in a commonweal"][2], against all both divinity and philosophy; for we see that God himself in his commonweal of Israel, did always allow the government and superiority of one over the rest, both in the time of judges, and after in the time of the kings. And in the new Testament we may also see that kind of government most allowed of, 1 Pet. ii. But I will not here reason with you in this matter, and call that into question which hath been by so many learned men determined, and by the examples of all good common weals confirmed.

Retorsion by absurdity.

T. C. Page 145, Sect. 1.

Unto the authors of the Admonition, saying that it is "easier to overthrow by bribing one man, than the faith and piety of a godly company," he answereth that so it should come to pass, "that the more that ruled the better estate it should be; and so the popular estate should be the best." But

[1 See Vol. I, pages 417, &c.] [2 This translation is inserted from Answ. 2.]

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where do the authors of the Admonition say that the more that rule the better it is? Is it all one to say that the government of a few of the best is better than the government of one, and to say, the more that rule the better? If it were to the purpose, it might be shewed, both by divinity and by philosophy, which M. Doctor speaketh of, that that estate which he meaneth is not the best; and I have in a word before spoken of it[a]*, where I declared that the mixed estate is best, both by the example of the kingdom of Christ, and also of this our realm.* Seniors.

JO. WHITGIFT.

But, if this be a good reason against the rule and government of one, that the Admonition useth, then the more that rule the better it is; and this is all that I charge them with. Whereunto you answer not one word, but dally off the matter, by asking, "where do the authors of the Admonition say that the more that rule the better it is?" I might dally with you in like manner, and say, where doth any man charge them with so saying? yet doth the same necessarily follow upon their reason. They say not, the government of a few of the best, but of "a company;" which signifieth many; and why should not this argument be good: If the government of of a few godly men be better than the government of one, because one is easier overthrown by bribing than more, then is also the government of many godly men better than the government of a few, because a few may sooner be corrupted than many; and consequently, by the same reason, the more that govern the better? This reason you have glanced by and not touched; and yet it enforceth a manifest absurdity against the authors of the Admonition. For it is too absurd to say that a popular estate is the best state; neither will any affirm it but those which would be popular.

There are no more lawful kinds of government than three.

You are never able to shew, either "by divinity or philosophy," that there are more lawful kinds of government than three; that is, democratical, aristocratical, and monarchical; and of these both the scripture and philosophy alloweth of the monarchy as simply the best.

The government of this realm a true monarchy.

The government of this kingdom is a right and true monarchy. Neither do you know what a monarchy is, when you call it a "mixed estate;" for that is called a monarchy where the chief care and government of the commonwealth is committed to one, as it is in this kingdom, in every respect.

[a Def. A. and B. omit *it*.]

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Seniors.

Chapter ii. The Twenty-first Division.

T. C. Page 145, Sect. 1.

It is sufficient now to admonish you that, although it be granted that the government of one be the best in the commonwealth, yet it cannot be in the church. For the prince may well be monarch immediately between God and the commonwealth; but no one can be monarch between God and his church but Christ, which is the only Head thereof. Therefore the monarchy over the whole church, and over every particular church, and over every singular member in the church, is in Christ alone.

JO. WHITGIFT.

Christ the only Head of his universal church.

If you mean the universal church, only Christ is the Head, neither hath he any vicegerent to supply that universal care over the whole church. But, if you speak of particular churches, as the church of England, the church of Denmark, &c., then, as the prince is chief governor and head of the commonwealth under God, so is he of the church likewise. For it is certain that the christian magistrate under Christ hath as great authority as the magistrate had under the law. But then the civil magistrates had chief authority, both in matters of the commonwealth and of the church also (as hereafter it shall more plainly appear); therefore the magistrate ought to have the same now in like manner. {T. C. doth but glance at the magistrate, because he dare not speak plainly;} but such licentious speeches (though void of all reason and ground) may peradventure sink deeper into the heart of the subjects, especially of the papist (who hath already conceived the same opinion of the civil magistrate), than will be rooted out in short time; so careful are these men in procuring to the prince due obedience, and so faithful are they in maintaining her authority, according to their oath and duty.

The prince head of a particular church.

T. C. glanceth at the magistrate.

Chapter ii. The Twenty-second Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 114, Sect. 2; and Page 132, Sect. 3.

When the name and office of seniors was extinguished[2].

Both the names and offices of seniors were[1] extinguished before Ambrose' time; as he himself doth testify, writing upon the fifth of the first to Timothy[3].

[1 Was, Answ.] [2 This marginal note is inserted from Answ. 2.]
[3 This sentence appears in Answ. in the paragraph printed before, pages 175, 6.]

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Indeed, as Ambrose saith, writing upon the fifth of the first to Timothy, "The synagogue, and, after, the church, had seniors, without whose counsel nothing was done in the church[4];" but that was before his time, and before there was any christian magistrates, or any church established. Seniors.

T. C. Page 145, Sect. 2.

Last of all, to prove that there ought to be no seniors in the church under a christian prince, he citeth Ambrose'[5] authority both in the 114. *and* 132. *pages, which saith that "the synagogue or church of the Jews, and, after that, the church of the Christians, had seniors, without whose counsel nothing was done in the church:" whereupon he concludeth that, forasmuch as they were not in Ambrose' time, therefore they were not under a christian prince.* Untrue; for it is not alleged for that purpose.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

This is most untrue. I allege not Ambrose in either of those places to prove that seniors ought not to be under a christian prince; as the reader may understand evidently by my words. Only, I confess that there was seniors, and I allege Ambrose partly for that purpose, partly to shew that both their names and offices were extinguished before his time: no man living can gather any other sense out of my words. Wherefore that conclusion upon Ambrose' words is yours; it is not mine; and I am sorry that malice hath thrown you so deep into the pit of untruth that you cannot be gotten out of it. No cloak or shadow can cover this deformity of yours.

Chapter ii. The Twenty-third Division.

T. C. Page 145, Sect. 2.

And here M. Doctor hath in one sentence proclaimed both his great ignorance in the whole story of the church, and withal either a marvellous abusion, and suffering himself to be misled by some unadvised prompter, or subtle fox, that thought to deceive him, or else a notable evil conscience, which wrestleth against the truth. His ignorance doth appear, partly in that he saith that, because there were no[6] seniors in Ambrose' church, and in[6] those churches about him, therefore there was none at all; but most manifestly in that he saith, forsomuch as there were no seniors in Ambrose' time, therefore there was none under a christian prince; as though there were not many years before Ambrose' time christian emperors, when as, between the

[4 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in Epist. ad Timoth. prim. cap. v. vv. 1, 2. Tom. II. Append. col. 298. See below, page 203, note 3.]

[5 Ambroses, Repl. 2.] [6 Def. B. transposes these words.]

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Seniors. An untruth; else name your stories.

time of St Ambrose being bishop and the time of Philip, the son of Gordias[1], *the first christian emperor, there is more than* 150.[2] *years, and between the time of Constantine the emperor and the time of Ambrose being bishop there be above* 80. *years. And, if M. Doctor had ever read the ecclesiastical stories, he might have found easily the eldership most flourishing in Constantine's time, and other times, when as the peace of the Christians was greatest.*

JO. WHITGIFT.

Except it were to set forth your own knowledge, and to leave a public testimony of your great humility and modesty, you would not so immodestly accuse M. Doctor of "ignorance," though you had convinced him of it, as you neither have done nor are able to do, in that that he professeth. Likewise, except yourself used prompters, and patched your book with other men's collections, you would never so often charge me with the same.

I did not say, as I told you before, that, because there was no seniors in Ambrose' time, therefore there was none under a christian prince; but this I say, that the seniors which Ambrose speaketh of were extinguished before Ambrose' time, and were not in the time of christian princes.

To what purpose do you account the time betwixt Philip and Ambrose, or Constantine and Ambrose? you should rather prove that this kind of government by seniors was in Philip's dominion, if he were christened (which may be doubted), or under Constantinus.

You say, if I "had ever read the ecclesiastical stories," I "might have found easily the eldership most flourishing in Constantinus' time, and other times, when as the peace of the Christians was greatest." You have read the ecclesiastical stories; how chance that you shew it not? It is your part to prove; you hold the affirmative. Bring forth one ecclesiastical history that affirmeth this kind of government to have been under Constantinus. You might at the least have quoted the author (with the book and chapter) that so saith, though you had disdained to set down his words. I deny not but it might be so in some time and in some place under a christian prince (and yet I know not how you will be able to prove it); but that is not the question. For our contention is, whether this kind of government ought of necessity to be under a

[1 Philip, successor of Gordias, Repl. 2.]
[2 Than a 150, Repl. 1 and 2.]

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christian prince, or not; and whether it be convenient so to be, though it be not necessary; and not whether it hath been (which notwithstanding cannot be proved), or may be. Seniors.

Chapter ii. The Twenty-fourth Division.

T. C. Page 145, Sect. 3.

And that the presbytery or eldership endured in the church after Ambrose' time, and in the time of peace, and as it is very like in Ambrose' time, although not where he was, it may be shewed plainly by Hierome (which followed Ambrose immediately), who in his third chapter upon Isay saith that they had also the presbytery or eldership in the church.

4. Tom. 2. Lib. in Isaiam. It is in the fifth Tom., not in the 4.

Jo. Whitgift.

Jerome speaketh not one word of your "presbytery:" his words be these: *Et nos habemus in ecclesia senatum nostrum, cœtum presbyterorum*[3]: "And we have in the church our senate, a company of elders." Which he meaneth of priests, and of colleges of cathedral churches, that were then in every city, and not of a seigniory in every congregation, whereby every several parish was governed. That this was Jerome's meaning, it appeareth in the same place upon these words, *hariolum et senem;* where he interpreteth the word *presbyter*, saith they be such as St Paul describeth in his epistle to Tim.[4]; and those be ministers of the word and sacraments. So may we say that we have *senatum et cœtum presbyterorum* in this church of England, whether you will mean it of synods and convocations, or of cathedral and collegiate churches, which consist *ex cœtu presbyterorum:* "of a company of ministers." And therefore Duarenus, a learned writer, speaking of this seigniory, saith thus: "And it is to be noted, that there was a certain college of those elders (he meaneth priests, as it is evident in that which goeth before) in every city, over whom the bishop had rule, such as is at this day the college of canons, which seem to have succeeded into their place. And

Hier. 2 Lib. in Isaiam.

What presbytery Jerome meaneth.

Duarenus.

[3 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. II. in Isai. Proph. cap. iii. Tom. III. col. 34.]

[4 Nam et Mosi præcipitur, ut eligat presbyteros, quos scit esse presbyteros. Et apostolus Paulus qualis presbyter eligi debeat plenissime scribit ad Timotheum.—Id. ibid. col. 33.]

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Seniors. this company of priests doth Jerome call the senate of the church[1]."

Difference betwixt Jerome's presbytery and that the Replier would establish. This senate consisteth of priests; yours of men in no degree of the ministry. This senate was only in every city, and the bishop was the chief; yours must be in every parish, and directed by the pastor. We read not of any such jurisdiction that this senate had over any but over the clergy; yours must have authority both over clergy and laity; wherefore this place of Jerome doth not help you one whit. But be it that this seigniory was the same that you mean of, and that it was in Jerome's church, yet, forasmuch as it was not in Ambrose his church also, it manifestly appeareth to be a thing indifferent, and not of necessity to be urged.

Chapter ii. The Twenty-fifth Division.

T. C. Page 145, Sect. ult.

The same might be shewed by divers other testimonies, which I omit, because that it may appear, by the former treatise touching the election of the minister, that this order of eldership continued in the church divers hundred years after Ambrose' time, even as long almost as there was any sound part of the church from the head to the heel.

Jo. Whitgift.

But, seeing that you have hitherto brought forth so few testimonies, *scil.* one only, and that to small purpose, it had been well if you had not passed the rest over so lightly. For it is soon said that "divers other testimonies might have been shewed;" but it had been much for your credit if you had recited but one more, that we might at the least have had two witnesses; but indeed you are not able. In your treatise of the election of ministers no such thing appeareth, except you will have whole parishes of the seigniory, and the same to be without a pastor, who should be the guide. For parishes do not usually choose their pastor until they be destitute.

[1 ...et notandum est in singulis civitatibus horum presbyterorum collegium quoddam fuisse, cui præerat episcopus. Cujusmodi est hodie canonicorum collegium, qui in eorum locum successisse videntur, et hunc cœtum presbyterorum vocat senatum ecclesiæ Hieronymus.—F. Duaren. De Sacr. Eccles. Minist. ac Benefic. Libri VIII. Lond. 1585. Lib. I. cap. vii. fol. 9. 2. Conf. Hieron. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. XVI. Quæst. i. can. 7. cols. 1093, 4.]

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Neither is there any mention made by you, or proof in that treatise, that there was a seigniory in every parish, to whom the election was committed; and therefore you do but speak this *pro forma tantum.* Seniors.

Chapter ii. The Twenty-sixth Division.

T. C. Page 145, Sect. ult.

Now I have shewed the ignorance, it remaineth to shew how that either M. Doctor was marvellously himself abused, or else desireth to abuse other. For, if, whereas he took half Ambrose' sentence, he had taken the other half with him, and had not suddenly stopped his breath, that he should speak no more, instead of a false witness against the eldership, he should have brought forth as clear and as flat a witness for the proof of them as a man could desire out of an ancient writer. The whole sentence is this: speaking of this office of elders[2] *(although not upon so good occasion) thus he saith:* "*Whereupon the synagogue, and, after, the church, had elders, without whose counsel nothing was done in the church; which elders I know not by what negligence they are worn out, unless it be through the slothfulness of the doctors, or rather through their pride, whilst they only would seem to be somewhat*[3]."

Ambrose upon 1 Ti. cap. 5.

Jo. Whitgift.

But, if you be not able to allege one place to prove that your seigniory was in the time of christian princes, except only that place of Hierome, M. Doctor's ignorance is not so great; especially seeing that Ambrose, Hierome's ancient, denieth the same to have been in his time. But, if having one only testimony, and that making nothing for your purpose, but against you rather (because it establisheth collegiate churches, which you would gladly throw down), then M. Doctor's knowledge in this matter is more than you can, with all your lofty speeches and immodest words, obscure.

I have alleged so much of Ambrose faithfully and truly as proveth that which I allege him for; neither have I left out one word that maketh against that my purpose; for, if you remember yourself, you cannot but see and understand that I only allege Ambrose to prove that there was sometime a

[2 Of the elders, Repl. 1 and 2.]

[3 ...unde et synagoga, et postea ecclesia seniores habuit, quorum sine consilio nihil agebatur in ecclesia. Quod qua negligentia obsoleverit, nescio; nisi forte doctorum desidia, aut magis superbia, dum soli volunt aliquid videri.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in Epist. ad Timoth. prim. cap. v. vv. 1, 2. Tom. II. Append. col. 298.]

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Seniors. seigniory, but yet dissolved and abrogated before his time. If that which followeth in Ambrose disprove this, then indeed you may say, that either I am "abused, or desire to abuse other." But, if it nothing derogate from my intent and purpose, then why do you falsely charge me, or why pick you a quarrel against me for omitting that which neither doth me harm nor good? Disprove anything by any words of Ambrose that I have alleged Ambrose for, if you can: if you cannot, then temper your immoderate speeches, and frame them according to the truth.

If Ambrose so misliked the abrogating of this seigniory, why did he not labour to restore it again? surely, if it had been a matter so necessary, he, being so godly and zealous a bishop, would never have suffered his church to be spoiled of it; but it is evident by his words that it had not been in practice long time before.

Chapter ii. The Twenty-seventh Division.

T. C. Page 146, Sect. 1.

Now that I have shewed the place, I will say no more; I will leave it to M. Doctor to think of it in his chamber by himself, and so will conclude this question; that—forsomuch as this order is such, as without which the principal offices[1] *of charity cannot be exercised, and that which is*[2] *commanded by the scriptures, approved and received by all the churches in the apostles' times, and many hundred years after in the most flourishing churches, both in time of peace and in time of persecution, and that there are greater causes why it should be in the time of peace than in time of persecution, why rather under a christian prince than under a tyrant, why rather now than in the apostles' times—that in consideration of these things the eldership is necessary, and such an order as the church ought not to be*[3] *without.*

Jo. WHITGIFT.

It forceth not greatly whether you say any more of it or no; for, as it nothing hindereth my purpose, so winneth it no credit unto yours. And, forasmuch as the church may much better be governed, and the principal offices of charity much better exercised, by the civil magistrate than by these seniors; and seeing that this kind of government is neither commanded

[1 Office, Def. B.] [2 And that it is that which is, Repl. 2.]
[3 Not be, Def. A. and B.]

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in the scriptures nor practised in the church, as a kind of government not to be altered; seeing also that it bringeth in confusion, derogateth from that authority that God hath given to the civil magistrate, howsoever it hath heretofore been used, yet is there no cause why it should now, or at any time under christian princes, be of necessity retained. Seniors.

Chapter ii. The Twenty-eighth Division.

T. C. Page 146, Sect. 1.

And so also is answered the third question, that, forsomuch as they were church-officers, and over the people in matters pertaining to God, and such as watched over the souls of men; that therefore, although they were not pastors to preach the word, yet were they no laymen (as they term them), but ecclesiastical persons.

Heb. xiii. 17.[4]

The place Heb. xiii. is quoted only for the phrase; for it proveth nothing in question.

JO. WHITGIFT.

M. Beza, in an epistle that is prefixed before the confession of the churches in Helvetia, speaking of the seigniory, saith that there must be a great consideration had that princes, and noblemen, and such as have authority and preeminence in the church, be chosen to be of the seigniory[5]; and will you make noblemen and princes ecclesiastical persons, and such as must watch over the souls of men? Indeed, those that be called *presbyteri* in the scriptures be ecclesiastical persons, for they be ministers of the word and sacraments. And M. Calvin, *Institut. cap. viii. sect. 52*, saith that all the seniors were ministers of the word. His words be these: *Habebant ergo singulæ civitates presbyterorum collegium, qui pastores erant et doctores; nam et apud populum munus docendi, exhortandi, et corrigendi, quod Paulus episcopis injungit,* OMNES *obibant*[6]: "For every city had a college of seniors, which were pastors and teachers; for they did all exercise among the people the office of teaching, exhorting, and correcting, which Paul doth enjoin to bishops." But how can you make your seniors ecclesiastical; seeing your seigniory must consist of noblemen, gentlemen, merchantmen, husbandmen, handicraftsmen, as tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, &c., even such as the most part of the parish will choose? Beza. Calvin.

[4] The verse is added from Repl. 2.]

[5] This epistle has not been found. See Vol. I. page 287.]

[6] Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Inst. Lib. IV. cap. iv. 2. Tom. IX. p. 286; where *erant ac doctores*.]

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Seniors.

Chapter ii. The Twenty-ninth Division.

Admonition.

Then the sentence was tempered according [h] *to the notoriousness of the fact. Now, on the one side, either hatred against some persons carrieth men headlong into rash and cruel judgment; or else favour, affection, or money mitigateth the rigour of the same; and all this cometh to pass because the regiment left of Christ* [1] *to his church is committed into one man's hands, whom alone it shall be more easy for the wicked by bribing to pervert, than to overthrow the faith and piety of a zealous and godly company; for such manner of men indeed* [k] *should the seniors be.*

[h] 1 Ti. i. 20.

[1] *Matt. xviii. 7.* 1 *Co. xii. 28. Rom. xii. 8.* 1 *Ti. v. 17. Acts xv. 2, 4, 6, 22, 23.*

[k] *Exod. xviii. 21. Deut. i. 13.*

Answer to the Admonition, Page 130, Sect. ult.; and Pages 131, 132, and Page 133, Lin. ult.; and Page 134, Sect. 1.

[If in judgment either hatred, or favour, money, or affection bear the stroke, it is meet such judges were either reformed or removed. And, if you know any such, you shall do very well in detecting of them; else we must think that you have a slanderous tongue, and that you speak only of malice: I suppose that you are not able to charge all chancellors, archdeacons, &c. And, if these faults be not common to all, but peculiar to some, then is it no sufficient reason you use to condemn their offices and kind of government, no more than you may condemn a kingdom, and the authority of a prince over a whole realm, because divers kings be tyrants, wicked, and govern ill, or any other office or authority in the commonwealth, which is or may be by some abused.][2]

You say, "all this cometh to pass because the regiment left of Christ to his church is committed unto one man's hands;" and, for the proof of this, you note in the margent the xviii. of Matt., the xii. of the first to the Corin., the xii. to the Rom., the v. of the first to Timoth., the xv. of the Acts; which places being examined, let the discreet reader judge how aptly they serve for your purpose.

In the xviii. of Matt., Christ saith on this sort: "If thy brother trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between him and thee alone: &c." In the which

[1] 17, Adm.] [2] This paragraph is inserted from Answ.]

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place it is, by the consent of all interpreters, manifest that Christ prescribeth a rule of correcting private and secret sins, and not of such as be open and known to others. For he would not have private and secret sins blazed abroad and publicly reprehended, before the party offending be in this order first privately admonished. This maketh nothing for your purpose: it taketh away authority of judging and condemning from private men, and not from public magistrates. Seniors.

In the xii. of the first to the Corinth., verse 28, these be the words of the apostle: "And God hath ordained some in the church; as first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, then them that do miracles, after that the gift of healing, helpers, governors, diversity of tongues." How can you gather of these words, that all this cometh to pass (that is, hatred, favour, corruption by money, and affection in judgment) because the regiment left of Christ to his church is committed to one man's hands? In these words the apostle declareth that Christ hath left in his church governors; and thereof you may well conclude that in the church there must be some which should have authority over the rest. The apostle doth not here say that in every particular congregation Christ hath left many governors, no more than he saith that he hath left many pastors for one flock; but, in his church he hath ordained governors. An unperfect reason.

The government of the whole universal church is not by Christ committed to one bishop or one prince, nor the government of the whole world to one emperor; for no one man can discharge such a cure; and therefore he hath appointed in his church divers bishops, divers princes, many governors. But one prince may suffice to govern one kingdom, and one archbishop one province, as chief and principal over the rest, one bishop one diocese, one pastor one parish; neither doth the apostle speak anything to the contrary.

In the xii. to the Romans it is thus written: "he that ruleth with diligence." What maketh this for your purpose, or how can you wring it to your assertion?

In the v. of the 1. to Timothy: "The elders that rule well are worthy of double honour, &c." Paul shew-

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Seniors.

eth in these words that such are worthy their stipend and reward which rule well in the church, and do their duties diligently; but what is that to your assertion?

Lack of discretion in alleging of scriptures.

The places alleged out of the fifteenth of the Acts be of the like sort. Wheresoever mention is made in the scriptures of governors or elders, that you allege to improve the government of one man; wherein you shew a great want of judgment. And yet there is no one person in this realm (the prince only excepted), which hath such absolute jurisdiction as you would make your disciples believe. But your meaning is, that Christ left the whole government of his church to the pastor, and to some four or five of the parish besides; which you are not able to prove; and your places of scripture alleged signify no such matter.

Popular government the worst.

[You that would have all brought to such a popularity, I pray you, tell me in how many parishes in England could you find such pastors and such seniors as you say should be.][1] In those places that be governed by many, do you not see what contention there is, what enimity, what factions, what parts-taking, what confusion, what little good order observed, what carelessness and dissoluteness in all manner of behaviour? I could make this manifest by examples, if I were disposed.

In the xviii. of Exodus (which place you quote to prove that seniors ought to be zealous and godly), Jethro giveth Moses counsel not to weary himself in hearing all matters that be brought unto him, but rather to commit the hearing and determining of smaller matters to others; and therefore verse 21. he saith: "Provide thou among all the people men of courage, fearing God, men dealing truly, hating covetousness, and appoint such over them to be rulers over thousands, rulers over hundreds, rulers over fifties, and rulers over tens, &c." This maketh nothing for seniors: Moses here was chief: these were but his under-officers placed by himself. This place serveth well for the government of one prince over one whole realm, and giveth him good counsel what under-officers he ought to choose. To the same effect

[1] This is inserted from Answ.; in which some other paragraphs which have appeared elsewhere immediately precede this sentence.]

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and purpose is that spoken and written which you cite out of the first of Deutero. verse 13. Seniors.

T. C. Page 146, Sect. 1.

The rest comprehended in these sections is answered before, being matter which pertained unto the archbishop.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

Very little of it pertaineth to the archbishop. The authors of the Admonition bring in all these places of scripture to prove the government of your seniors; but how aptly, it appeareth in that you cannot salve their follies in so unapt allegations. There be other things that require answer; but you have shifted of all in saying that "they pertain to the archbishop, and be answered before;" when as neither of both is true; for they pertain to your seniors, and be nowhere as yet answered. But I leave it to the reader here to consider why you have not set down my book in your Reply.

¶ The inconvenience of the seigniory in the time of christian princes, especially in the state of this church.

Chapter iii.

Now that you have spoken all that you can for your seniors, give me leave a little to declare the absurdities and inconveniences that must of necessity follow that kind of government.

First, every several parish must be as it were a several church, governed by several orders and ceremonies, yea, and peradventure profess several points of doctrine; for there must be equality among ministers, and one of them must not have to do with another's parish. The whole government of the parish must remain in the minister and certain seniors, who shall have authority to correct vice, abolish ceremonies, appoint orders, abrogate customs, make ecclesiastical laws, as they shall think good for that congregation. So that, whatsoever the pastor and his seniors devise and agree upon, be it good or evil, common or singular, it must be obeyed under the pain of excommunication. 1. Difference and disagreement in orders and religion.

Secondly, that seigniory being chosen by the pastor and the parish, if the prince or any other nobleman be of that congregation and chosen to that office by the most part, he 2. Confusion of states.

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Inconveniences of the seigniory.

must not refuse it, but attend upon it, be at M. Pastor's calling, who is the chief of the seigniory, and in that respect above earl, duke, king, or whosoever: moreover, he must be contented to be linked and joined in commission with the basest sort of the people, if it please the parish to appoint to him such colleagues, as it is like they will: yea, and if they be in matters of discipline and government by such simple seniors overruled (as it is most like they shall), they must therewith be contented.

3. Burden and charge of parishes.

Thirdly, it burdeneth the parish more than they are able to bear; for, whereas now they repine at the finding of their pastors, then they must be enforced besides the pastor to nourish deacons, and six or seven seniors, with widows also.

4. Tyranny.

Fourthly, it bringeth in a new popedom, and tyranny into the church; for it giveth to the pastor and his fellow-seniors authority to exercise discipline, by excommunication, or otherwise, against prince, nobles, and whosoever being of that congregation. So that, unless the prince and nobles be (as it were) at their beck, and ready at all times to accomplish their desire, they will send out their thunderbolts of excommunication against them; even as the pope was wont to do, after he had gotten that jurisdiction into his hand that this seigniory claimeth.

5. It smelleth of anabaptism. Gualter.

Fifthly, it smelleth of anabaptism; as M. Gualter noteth, 1 Cor. xi. in these words: "The Donatists of our time ought to consider these things more diligently, which do over rashly condemn whole cities and countries wherein the word of God is preached, sacraments rightly administered, public prayer celebrated, the poor sufficiently provided for; and, finally, where vice is by good and holy laws forbidden and punished. All these things they esteem as nothing, except there be a certain new magistracy appointed, which should have authority over princes also, not only to reprove, but also to excommunicate them[1]."

6. Spoiling the prince of her authority in cases ecclesiastical.

It taketh from the prince all authority in ecclesiastical matters, and it giveth unto him only *potestatem facti*, not

[1 Debebant ista diligentius considerare, nostri temporis Donatistæ, qui temere nimis totas urbes et gentes damnant, in quibus Dei verbum prædicatur, sacramenta rite administrantur, preces publicæ habentur, et pauperibus non illiberaliter subvenitur, legibus denique bonis et sanctis scelera prohibentur atque puniuntur. Hæc omnia illi pro nihilo ducunt, nisi novus quidam magistratus constituatur, cui in ipsos quoque principes jus sit, eos non modo corripiendi, verumetiam excommunicandi.—R. Gualther. Hom. in prior. ad Corinth. Epist. Tigur. 1588. Hom. lvi. fol. 160.]

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juris; as the papists do; for the prince must maintain, and see executed, such laws, orders, and ceremonies, as the pastor with his seniors make and decree; but in making and appointing orders and ceremonies he may in no case meddle; as will hereafter more plainly appear. Inconveniences of the seigniory.

It transformeth the state and government of the commonwealth into a mere popularity; for they say in their Second Admonition, page 55, that "some must be governed by all, and not all by some;" whereunto if that be joined which T. C. so often repeateth, that is, "the government of the commonwealth must be framed to the government of the church, as the hangings to the house[3]," it may be easily conjectured what they shoot at. 7. Subversion of the state and government[2] of the commonwealth. Second Admonition. Page 144.

The deciding of matters in controversy by this seigniory will be a great occasion of partial and affectionate dealing, of contention and discord; while some shall incline one way, and some another. For it cannot be unknown that there are many light-headed and unconstant ministers, and that the common sort of people are not much better affected; so that alterations in doctrine, partial dealing in discipline, undiscreet exhortations and admonitions, would trouble the whole church, and set all the land together by the ears. 8. Contention and partiality.

How contemptible in the end this kind of government would be, and how little esteemed, wise men can consider. And M. Gualter well setteth out this inconvenience in these words: "For they, which cannot be brought into good order by the authority of a lawful magistrate, and by laws, much less will suffer themselves to be punished by the commandment of seniors, and of an ecclesiastical senate, whom with all their solemnity they will laugh to scorn. On the other side, they, which among the magistrates were remiss in executing the discipline of manners, and were too favourable, will now be glad that this burden is transferred from them to others, and will wholly neglect it. And what will the seniors do, when these men will not meddle? surely they will be a laughing-stock to a great many: 9. It will in the end be contemned, and so good order neglected. Gualter. in 1 Cor. v.

> Whiles hares will prescribe to lions a law,
> And weaklings would keep fierce tyrants in awe;

as the poet recordeth. Many also of the magistrates will not only wink at this, but will laugh in their sleeves at the weak

[2 States government, Def. B.] [3 See before, page 189.]

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Inconveniences of the seigniory.

and ridiculous domination of the new senate. It will therefore so come to pass that, whereas before there was at the least some discipline, and sometimes some were terrified by mulcts and examples of punishments, now (that also being taken away) impunity will begin to reign, with a great and public contempt of the sacred ministry. Neither do I speak these things unadvisedly; for examples do teach us that these things are done, which are so notoriously known to all men, that I need not to speak any more of these things. But, if, in this immoderate licentiousness, those seniors should proceed to excommunicate all those which set themselves against them, it is to be feared lest at the length there be a greater number of excommunicated persons than of those which do communicate with the church. Wherefore let the seniors tell me what they think meet then to be done. I suppose they will answer, it shall then be needful to have the authority of the magistrates that he might correct those wicked men, which by their malapertness and rashness do overthrow the church. I agree also to this counsel. But, if this thing ought then to be done, when as it can scarce be without public danger, why is not the authority left wholly unto the magistrate, and the whole government of public discipline committed to him before the matter come to this extremity[1]?" Hitherto Gualter.

[1 Nam qui &c. habebunt. Qui vero ex magistratibus antea in tuenda morum disciplina remissiores erant, aut indulgentiores, nunc gaudebunt onus hoc in alios translatum esse, et illam omnino negligent. Quid autem his cessantibus facient seniores? Certe plerisque ludibrio erunt,

Dum veluti lepores (ut poeta canit) dare jura leonibus audent,
Conanturque truces sine vi frænare tyrannos:

multi quoque ex magistratibus ad illud non modo connivebunt, verumetiam in sinu suo ridebunt infirmam et ridiculam novi illius senatus dominationem. Fiet ergo, ut ubi prius aliqua saltem erat disciplina, et interdum mulctis atque pœnarum exemplis aliqui terrebantur: jam illa quoque e medio sublata, impunitas regnare incipiat cum immani et publico ministerii sacri contemptu. Neque hoc temere dicimus: nam hoc ita fieri exempla docent, quæ ita nota sunt omnibus, ut plura de hac re dicere non sit opus. At si in effreni ista licentia seniores illi excommunicare pergant omnes, qui se ipsis opponunt, periculum est, ne aliquando major sit excommunicatorum quam cum ecclesia communicantium numerus. Dicant ergo mihi seniores, quid tunc faciendum esse censeant? Respondebunt, opinor: Tunc magistratus imperio opus fore, qui improbos illos coerceat, ne sua protervia et temeritate ecclesiam evertant. Assentior et ego huic consilio. At si tunc illud fieri debet, quando vix sine publico discrimine fieri potest, cur non sua magistratui auctoritas integra relinquitur, et iisdem tota publicæ disciplinæ gubernatio mandatur, priusquam res ad extremum usque deveniat?—Id. ibid. Hom. xxiv. fol. 67. See before, page 185, note 4.]

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It would bring in too great extremity of punishment; for, whereas neither God, nor man, nor any law, doth punish one man twice for one and the self-same fact, and it is against the liberty of well-ordered countries to be subject to the punishment of two divers magistrates, by establishing this seigniory, this burden must be laid upon the people's necks. For, let the magistrate punish according to the laws as severely as he can, yet the seigniory will remit nothing of their censures, but proceed according to their manner; as it may be seen in the 2. Admonition, fol. 47.[2] And surely as M. Gualter saith, speaking of this inconvenience of the seigniory in the former place: "It seemeth to us altogether very dangerous to appoint two magistrates over one people; neither see we any example whereby this may be proved; and surely I willingly and freely confess that I cannot perceive how profitable it would be[3]."

Inconveniences of the seigniory.

10. Double punishment for one fault.

Gualter. in 1 Cor. v.

I omit to put you in mind how dangerous (namely in these days) alterations of government and change of states is in established commonwealths; likewise how unreasonable a thing it is to enforce the civil magistrate to suffer in his dominion so many several kinds of governments, orders, ceremonies, &c., in the church, as there be parishes; also how unseemly it is to deliver his sword out of his own hands, and to commit it to the discretion of the common sort and multitude in every several parish, to displace noblemen, gentlemen, wise, learned, and discreet men, and commit the whole government of the church to M. Pastor and his ignorant neighbours. The absurdity and inconveniences that of necessity must ensue of this kind of government, where there is a christian magistrate, be infinite; and wise men may easily conceive the rest, by that which I have here already spoken. Yet would I not have any man to think that I condemn any churches where this government is lawfully and without danger received; only I have regard to whole kingdoms, especially this realm, where it cannot but be dangerous.

11. Alteration in this time dangerous, &c.

[2 Yet this they must do, that he which hath lived with offence to that congregation, although he hath suffered the punishment of the law for his offence against it, yet he shall by them be admonished, to satisfy the congregation, &c.—A Sec. Admon. to the Parliament, p. 47.]

[3 Quid multis? periculosum omnino nobis videtur, duos magistratus constituere in eodem populo: neque exemplum ullum videmus, quo istud probari possit. Et quam hoc utile sit, me videre non posse, libenter et ingenue fateor.—R. Gualther. Hom. in prior. ad Corinth. Epist. Tigur. 1588. Hom. xxiv. fol. 67.]

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No certain government perpetual.

¶ That there is no one certain kind of government in the church which must of necessity be perpetually observed.

Chapter iv.

I know it will be objected that the ordinance of God must take place, whatsoever inconveniences follow; and that this kind of government is the ordinance of God, and therefore may not for any respect be omitted. But I have denied, and sufficiently declared before, that this kind of government is nowhere in scripture commanded, and that it neither is, nor can be perpetual. And, although I have sufficiently proved this in one or two places before (and the contrary is yet unproved) as I had occasion to speak of it, yet I trust it shall not be grievous to the reader if in a word or two I here knit up the matter.

1. No commandment hereof in scripture.

First, I affirm that there is not one sentence in the whole scripture whereupon the perpetuity or the necessity of this kind of government may be grounded. For the place, 1 Tim. v., doth neither command any such kind of government, nor prescribe any form or manner of it: besides, the place is doubtful and diversly expounded; and therefore no such perpetual rule can be gathered of it. Moreover, the apostle only in that place sheweth that such as rule well are worthy of double honour, &c.; so that I marvel how any man can of those words conclude either such a seigniory as now is imagined, or any perpetuity of it. But of this place I have spoken before[1].

Chap. 1, the 1 Division.

2. The government in the apostles' time cannot now be exercised.

Secondly, it is well known that the manner and form of government used in the apostles' time, and expressed in the scriptures, neither is now, nor can or ought to be observed, either touching the persons or the functions; for we have neither apostles, prophets, workers of miracles, gifts of healing, diversity of tongues, widows, or such like; all which pertained to the government of the church in the apostles' time, and were parts of it; as appeareth, 1 Cor. xii., Eph. iv., 1 Tim. v. And, seeing that the church is not bound to this form, so plainly expressed in these places of scripture, I see not how you can bind it to the self-same form of government used in the apostles' time.

[1 See before, pages 150, &c.]

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Thirdly, this word *gubernationes*, mentioned 1 Cor. xii., whereupon you would ground your seigniory, may (as some learned men think) signify any kind of government, even the civil magistrate. Certain it is that only by mere conjectures it is drawn to signify this new-devised seigniory, and therefore cannot infer any necessary conclusion. Furthermore, it is by the Spirit of God placed among those functions that be temporal, and by the judgment of all learned men ceased; for thus the apostle saith: *Deinde potestates, deinde dona sanationum, opitulationes, gubernationes, genera linguarum:* now it were a very strange matter that all the rest should be temporal, and only *gubernationes* perpetual. Sure I am that the argument which so concludeth may easily be denied, and by no probability proved.

No certain government perpetual.

3. The word *gubernationes* implieth not the seigniory, but by conjecture.

1 Cor. xii.

Fourthly, we see manifestly that in sundry points the government of the church used in the apostles' time is and hath been of necessity altered, and that it neither may nor can be revoked; whereby it is plain that any one certain form or kind of external government perpetually to be observed is nowhere in the scripture prescribed to the church; but the charge thereof is left to the christian magistrate, so that nothing be done contrary to the word of God.

4. The apostolical government hath of necessity been altered.

This is the opinion of the best writers; neither do I know any learned man of a contrary judgment. M. Musculus, speaking of those seniors, saith that they were used in those churches only that were destitute of christian magistrates; "which have the chiefty and power, &c., not only in profane, but in divine matters[2]." And, after answering an objection of 1 Cor. vi., he saith that "we must needs distinguish between the state of the church in those days, and that which is now[3]." I have before declared M. Gualter's judgment of this matter in his commentaries upon the 1 Cor. v. And upon the xi. chap., speaking generally of the government of the church, he saith thus: "Wherefore, as

5. The general opinion of the best writers.

Musculus, Loc. Com. Tit. de Magist.

Gualter. Hom. lvi. in 1 Cor. v.[4]

[2] Ecclesiæ Dei tum magistratu pio ac fideli destituebantur. Quare judicia inter fratres ac fratres in cœtu ecclesiastico sub senioribus exercebantur, quemadmodum in christianis quoque ecclesiis ab apostolis plantatis usuvenit. Verum longe alia est earum conditio, quæ principes ac magistratus christianos sunt beneficio Domini sortitæ, penes quos est majoritas, potestas, legislatio et gubernatio, non in prophanis modo, sed et sacris.—Wolfg. Muscul. Loc. Comm. Theolog. Basil. 1599. De Magistr. p. 631.]

[3] Distinguendum est inter statum ecclesiarum qui tum erat, et inter eum qui nunc est, &c.—Id. ibid.]

[4] Def. A. omits v.]

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No certain government perpetual.

concerning the doctrine of faith and salvation, we acknowledge no traditions of the apostles but those which are contained in the creed, &c. But, as concerning the external form of the church, we deny not that they have taught everywhere many things of the order of ecclesiastical assemblies, of the administration of sacraments, and of the whole government of the church. Whereof because there cannot be one form in every place observed, they did in such sort appoint them as they saw to be requisite for the condition of any city or country. And it is certain that the churches in all ages have used their liberty in these things. And therefore they are too injurious which at this day, either under the name of the traditions of the apostles, or for any other pretence, go about to bind all churches to one and the self-same form[1]." And upon the xii. chapter, where he again speaketh of the seigniory, he

Idem.

saith: "There be divers which will needs institute elders, or an ecclesiastical senate, according to the example of the old and primitive church, which also should have authority over the magistrates themselves, if at any time they did not their duty. But it behoveth them first to shew that those their seniors have this power, whereof Paul doth presently speak; which thing seeing it doth by no means appear, and yet notwithstanding they deliver unto Satan whom they will, they do like as if some would go about to cleanse the leprous, raise the dead, and work other miracles, because these things were usually done in the primitive church[2]." And that which he

[1 Ergo quoad fidei et salutis doctrinam traditiones apostolorum nullas agnoscimus, quam quæ symbolo continentur, quod totius doctrinæ illorum compendium aut epitomen dicere possumus. Quoad vero externam ecclesiæ formam non inficiamur, illos passim multa tradidisse de ordine cœtuum ecclesiasticorum, de sacramentorum administratione et tota ecclesiæ œconomia. In quibus cum non possit eadem ubique gentium forma observari, sic illa instituerunt, prout urbis aut gentis alicujus conditionem requirere videbant. Et constat omnibus seculis, ecclesias in his libertate sua usas fuisse, et proinde iniquos nimium esse, qui hodie vel sub traditionum apostolicarum nomine, vel quocunque alio prætextu omnes ad eandem formam astringere conantur.—R. Gualther. Hom. in prior. ad Corinth. Epist. Tigur. 1588. In cap. xi. Hom. lvi. fol. 160.]

[2 Sunt quidem nonnulli, qui ad veteris et primitivæ ecclesiæ exemplum seniores sive senatum ecclesiasticum instituere volunt, qui in ipsos quoque magistratus imperium habeat, si quando illi officium non fecerint. Sed prius illos demonstrare oportebat, suis illis senioribus hanc potestatem esse, de qua in præsenti Paulus loquitur. Quod cum nullo argumento constet, et nihilominus Satanæ tradant quos volunt, perinde faciunt, ac si qui leprosos mundare, mortuos excitare et alia opera miraculosa facere conentur, eo quod illa olim in primitiva ecclesia vulgo facta sunt.—Id. ibid. in cap. xii. Hom. lxvi. fol. 196.]

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speaketh touching this matter also upon the xiv. chapt. of the same epistle is not unworthy the noting; whereof I have before made mention: "That their ambition is (there) reproved which go about to bring all churches to the form of their discipline and government, and cry out that there is no discipline there, where all things are not agreeable to their traditions and orders. But these men receive a just reward of their arrogancy, when as they that come from them to other countries do go beyond all men in sauciness, neither bring they anything with them from home but a vain and intolerable contempt of all good men, neither can they abide to be corrected by any admonition of others[3]." No certain government perpetual. Idem.

M. Calvin, speaking of the government of the church, *Instit. cap. viii. sect.* 120, saith thus: *Scimus...politiam pro varietate temporum recipere, imo exigere, varias mutationes*[4]: "We know that the policy (of the church) doth receive, nay, rather doth require, divers alterations." M. Beza likewise, *Lib. Confess. cap. v. sect.* 17, is of the same mind touching the government of the church: "There was another cause of the ecclesiastical assemblies, that they might ordain canons of ecclesiastical discipline, and (that I may comprehend many things in few words) that they might appoint ecclesiastical policy, for the divers circumstances of times, place[5], and persons. For it is necessary all things should be done orderly in the house of God; of the which order there is one general reason to be taken out of the word of God, but not one and the same form agreeable to all circumstances[6]." And, section 32, speaking of this seigniory, he sheweth that it was necessary in the church whilst there was no christian magistrate. For so he writeth: "But there were elders chosen by suffrages, or at least by the approbation of the whole company; Calvin. Beza. Idem.

[3 Nec minus illorum quoque ambitio hic arguitur, qui omnes ecclesias ad suæ œconomiæ sive disciplinæ formam reducere conantur, et disciplinam illic nullam haberi clamant, ubi non omnia ipsorum traditionibus sive statutis respondent. Sed iidem dignas suæ arrogantiæ pœnas exolvunt, quando qui ab illis veniunt ad exteros, petulantia quosvis alios superant, nec aliquid domo secum adferunt, quam immanem et intolerabilem optimorum quorumque contemptum, neque ullis aliorum admonitionibus sese coerceri sinunt.—Id. ibid. in cap. xiv. Hom. lxxvi. fol. 223.]

[4 Calvin. Op. 1667-71. Inst. Lib. iv. cap. vii. 15. Tom. IX. p. 303.]

[5 Places, Def. A.]

[6 Th. Bezæ Confess. Christ. Fid. Genev. 1587. cap. v. 17. p. 128. See Vol. I. page 253, note 5.]

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No certain government perpetual.

as it is very evident out of Ambrose, which complaineth that certain men had transferred this authority to themselves; and out of Cyprian likewise, by whom we may also understand that the bishop did rule over the college of elders, not that he should there reign, but that by their consent he might rule the policy of the church; especially forsomuch as at that time the churches of Africa were not helped of the magistrate, but were rather cruelly vexed of them[1]." And, sect. 35, speaking generally of the government of the church, he saith:

Idem.

"Neither must we simply look what was done of the apostles in the government of the church, seeing there are most diverse circumstances; and therefore without preposterous zeal all things cannot in all places and times be called to one and the same form; but rather the end and invariable purpose of them must be looked unto, and that manner and form of doing things is to be chosen which doth directly tend thereunto[2]." This is the judgment of these learned men; neither do I know any that thinketh the contrary, except such as make post-haste to that branch of anabaptism.

6. The jurisdiction of the christian magistrate implieth a change of the first kind of government.

Sixthly, either we must admit another form now of governing the church than was in the apostles' time, or else we must seclude the christian magistrate from all authority in ecclesiastical matters, and attribute no more to him therein than was attributed to Nero in the apostles' time; for in those days there was no christian prince to govern the church. But christian princes have, and must have, the chief care and government of the church next under God; *ergo*, the same form of government cannot be now, nor ought to be, that was in the apostles' time.

The ground of the Reply.

Thus it is evident that the ground whereof T. C. hath builded his whole book is false ground, contrary to the

[1 Deligebantur vero presbyteri suffragiis, aut saltem approbatione universi cœtus, ut satis aperte constat ex Ambrosio, conquerente quod certi homines hoc jus ad se transferrent: et ex Cypriano quoque, ex quo illud etiam intelligere licet, episcopum præfuisse presbyterorum collegio, non ut ibi regnaret, sed ut ex eorum sententia ecclesiasticam politiam regeret, quum præsertim per id tempus ecclesiæ Aphricanæ non adjuvarentur a magistratu, sed potius crudelissime vexarentur.—Id. ibid. 32. p. 147. Conf. Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in Epist. ad Timoth. prim. cap. v. vv. 1, 2. Tom. II. Append. col. 298; Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cler. Epist. xiv., Ad Mart. et Confess. Epist. xv., Ad Cler. Epist. xvi., Ad Cler. et Pleb. Epist. xxxviii., Ad Hisp. Cler. et Pleb. Epist. lxvii. pp. 33, &c., 37, 74, 75, 172.]

[2 Id. ibid. 35. p. 152. See Vol. I. page 458, note 2.]

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scriptures, the practice of the church, the opinions of learned men, and the lawful and just authority of christian princes; and therefore the building is ruinous and cannot stand[3]. No certain government perpetual.

[3 Cartwright in his rejoinder sums up his arguments as follows: "Seeing therefore the Lord himself hath once set this government by elders in the church, and that no man may displace which he hath placed; seeing it is a supply of that in the church, which the most sufficient and most diligent ministry of the word is not able to perform by itself alone; seeing the churches under the law and in the apostles' times could not want this help; and seeing the antiquity which followed for divers hundred years partly held the same, partly lamented the want of it, and partly left marks and footings whereby, being lost, it might be recovered again; seeing, further, the liberality of God towards the church is commended, in that, for the greater safety of it, he would have many watchmen of one church; lastly, seeing the apostle in the person of Timothy chargeth most straitly all the ministers of the word with the keeping of this order until the appearing of our Sa. Christ; let us conclude that the eldership ordained for the government of the church only is the perpetual and unchangeable decree of God, and therefore not only in 'commonwealths' where 'many,' but also in monarchies where one governeth, not only in time of 'persecution,' but also in time of peace to be retained." He further goes on to argue, "forsomuch as the apostle ordained these elders church by church: &c.," "that this eldership ought to be in all churches, not in those only which 'are planted in great cities.'"—The Rest of Sec. Repl. pp. 72, 3.]

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Excommunication.

Of certain Matters concerning Discipline in the Church.

Tract. XVIII.

Of excommunication, and in whom the execution thereof doth consist.

Chapter i. The First Division.

Admonition.

Let us come now to the third part, which concerneth ecclesiastical discipline. The officers that have to deal in this charge are chiefly three, ministers, preachers, or pastors, of whom before; seniors or elders; and deacons. Concerning seniors, not only their office, but their name also, is out of this English church utterly removed. Their office was to govern [q] *the church with the rest of the ministers, to consult, to admonish, to correct, and to order all things appertaining to the state of the congregation*[3].

[q] *Acts xiv.* [1] 4. [2] *1 Cor. xii.* 28.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 112, Sect. 3.

Excommunication the only discipline of the new testament[2].

What scripture have you to prove that such seniors as you mean, and deacons, had anything to do in ecclesiastical discipline? I think the only discipline that we have in the whole new testament (except you will make admonition and exhortation a part of it) is excommunication; and the execution of that is only committed to the ministers of the word. Matt. xvi., John xx. Examples hereof we have 1 Cor. v., 1 Tim. i., and *ad Titum* iii.

Only ministers may excommunicate.

T. C. Page 146, Sect. 2.

Now I return back again to excommunication, which M. Doctor thinketh to be the only discipline in the church; but he should understand that, beside that part of private discipline (which is ordinarily and daily to be exercised by every one of the pastors and elders, as admonition and reprehension), there are three principal parts which are exercised of them jointly and together; whereof the first is the election or choice and the abdication or putting out of ecclesiastical officers. The second is in excommunication of the stubborn, or absolution of the repentant. The third is the decision of all such matters as do rise in the church, either touching corrupt manners or perverse doctrine.

JO. WHITGIFT.

I speak of the public discipline of the church, not of private admonition and reprehension, which may be called by

[1] Acts xv. 4, Adm.] [2] This marginal note is inserted from Answ. 2.]
[3] This paragraph has appeared before. See above, page 156.]

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the name of discipline; but neither are they properly nor usually so called, except you will also say that public preaching and reading of the scriptures is discipline: these be things annexed to discipline, but unproperly termed by the name of discipline. Your partition of discipline into those three parts, in my poor judgment, is very unskilful; for discipline consisteth in punishing and correcting of vice: election of ministers is no correcting of vice[4]; neither yet is the deciding of controversies in matters doubtful properly called discipline; for discipline is exercised in punishing and correcting the persons, not deciding the causes. Wherefore I think you have forgotten yourself, and instead of the part have divided the whole; that is, you have made a division of government, whereas you took upon you to divide discipline, which is but a part of ecclesiastical policy or government.

Excommunication.

Wherein discipline consisteth.

Read the general confession of the christian churches in Helvetia, and tell me what it differeth from any thing that I have said[5]. Call to your remembrance that which yourself have spoken, page 14; where you call "other censures of the church but forerunners to excommunication[6]." But this is a contention only about words, and therefore enough is said of it.

Pag. 14, lin. 9.

Chapter i. The Second Division.

T. C. Page 146, Sect. 3.

As touching the election, and consequently the throwing out, it hath been shewed before that, together with the church, the eldership hath the principal sway. For the decision of controversies when they rise, it may appear, in the xv. of the Acts, that the presbytery or eldership of the church hath to determine of that also. Now it remaineth here that, whereas M. Doctor saith that the excommunication and consequently the absolution or restoring to the church again doth pertain only to the minister, that I shew that the presbytery or eldership, and the whole

[4 The preceding eight words are not in Def. A.: they are, however, directed in the list of errata to be supplied; but, instead of *correcting*, *correction* is the word used there.]

[5 Cumque omnino oporteat esse in ecclesia disciplinam, et apud veteres quondam usitata fuerit excommunicatio, fuerintque judicia ecclesiastica in populo Dei, in quibus per viros prudentes et pios exercebatur hæc disciplina, ministrorum quoque fuerit ad ædificationem, disciplinam moderari hanc, pro conditione temporum, status publici, ac necessitate.—Conf. et Expos. Fid. Christ. cap. xviii. in Corp. et Syntagm. Confess. Fid. Genev. 1654, p. 41.]

[6 See Vol. I. page 181.]

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Excommunication. *church also, hath interest in the excommunication, and consequently in the absolution or restoring unto the church. But here by the way it is to be noted that, in saying that it belongeth to the minister, he confesseth the disorder in our church, wherein this power is taken away from the minister and given to the bishop and his officers.*

A note not worthy the noting.

JO. WHITGIFT.

Tract. III. Of "election" of ministers, and so of their rejection, and "throwing out," sufficient hath been spoken before[1], and your manner of electing by better reasons confuted than it was by you proved. "For the decisions of controversies when they arise," it may appear, in the xv. of the Acts, that the best way is to call synods and councils of learned men, as it was there practised, and not to commit such matters to the pastor of every several parish, and certain of his neighbours whom you call the seigniory; for, if it had been so, what needed Paul and Barnabas have taken so long a journey, from Antioch to Jerusalem, for the deciding of their controversies, seeing that they and the seigniory (if there had been any such) might have ended the same at home in Antioch? This place undoubtedly overthroweth your seigniory; except now you will take it (as it is in ecclesiastical writers oftentimes taken) for a synod or convocation of bishops and priests; so that not your seigniory which is in every parish, but general or provincial councils and synods, must have the deciding of controversies: else, as I said before, why should Paul and Barnabas come from Antioch to Jerusalem to have their controversies determined?

Your note by the way is not worth a rush; for, when I say that the execution of discipline is only committed to the ministers of the word, you cannot thereupon conclude that every minister hath authority to exercise it in the church. It is one thing to say, only ministers have authority to excommunicate, and to say that all ministers have authority so to do; only ministers may be bishops, and yet all ministers be not bishops; only lawyers may be judges, and yet all lawyers be not judges; only citizens may be aldermen, sheriffs, and mayors, and yet all be not so; wherefore, by the way, here you overshot yourself. And yet I think all ministers have power to excommunicate, if the church think it good to commit that authority unto them.

[1 See Vol. I. pages 339, &c.]

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Chapter i. The Third Division.

Excommunication.

T. C. Page 146, Sect. 4.

Now that this charge of excommunication belongeth not unto one, or to the minister, but chiefly to the eldership and pastor, it appeareth by that which the authors of the Admonition allege out of St Matthew; which place I have proved before to be necessarily understanded of the elders of the church.

xviii. chap. 17.[2]

Jo. Whitgift.

I have told you before how that place of Matthew is to be understanded, and what it is to tell the church; namely, either to reprove the party openly before the congregation, or else to complain to such as have authority in the church, and to whom the executing of discipline is committed, which is, by the order of the church of England, the bishop. And therefore the bishop alone, both by the laws of God and of this church of England (which hath given unto him by consent in parliament that authority), may exercise this discipline.

Chapter i. The Fourth Division.

Admonition.

[*This regiment consisteth especially in ecclesiastical discipline, which is an order left by God unto his church, whereby men learn to frame their wills and doings according to the law of God, by* [a]*instructing and admonishing one another, yea, and by correcting and punishing all wilful persons and contemners of the same. Of this discipline there is two kinds, one private, wherewith we will not deal, because it is impertinent to our purpose, another public, which, although it hath been long banished, yet, if it might now at the length be restored, would be very necessary and profitable for the building up of God's house. The final end of this discipline is the reforming of the disordered, and to bring them to repentance, and to bridle such as would offend. The chiefest part and last punishment of this discipline is excommunication, by the consent of the church determined, if the offender be obstinate, which how miserably it hath been by the pope's proctors*[4]*, and is by our new*[5] *canonists abused, who seeth not? In the primitive church it was in* [b]*many men's hands: now one alone excommunicateth. In those days it was the last censure of the church, and never went forth but for* [c]*notorious crimes: now it is pronounced for every light trifle. Then excommunication was greatly regarded and*

James v. 16. Matt. xviii. 15, 16, 17.[3]

[a] *1 Cor. v. 4.*

[b] *1 Cor. v. 11. 2 Thess. iii. 14.*

[2] The verse is added from Repl. 2.]

[3] Adm. omits 16, 17.]

[4] Practises, Answ. 2.]

[5] This word is not in Ans.]

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Excommunication.

feared; now, because it is a money matter, no whit at all esteemed. Then for [d]*great sins severe punishment, and for small offences little censures*[1]*; now great sins either not at all punished, as* [e]*blasphemy,* [f]*usury, &c., or else slightly passed over with pricking in a blanket, or pinning in a sheet, as* [g]*adultery, whoredom, drunkenness*[2]*, &c.*

[d] 1 Tim. i. 20. 1 Cor. v.
[e] Lev. xxiv. 14, 16. Numb. xv. 34, &c.
[f] Deut. xxiii. 19, 20.
[g] Lev. xx. 5.[3] Deut. xxii. 22.

Answer.

An abuse confessed in excommunication.

Where you speak truly and uprightly, there I join with you. Indeed excommunication, which is the last and greatest punishment in the church, because it is commonly used and in every trifling matter, it is also commonly neglected and contemned: I pray God it may be restored again to the first purity. But that excommunication was then in many men's hands the place by you alleged out of the 1 Cor. v. proveth not; as I have before declared. And, although there be some defect in the church, touching this part of discipline, yet is not the church void of all discipline; for, besides divers profitable and godly laws made for the correcting of divers vices, there is a commission for causes ecclesiastical, which both hath done and (being accordingly used) will do singular much good in this commonweal; but it pleaseth you not one whit.

Admonition.

Again, such as are no sins (as if a man conform not himself to popish orders and ceremonies, if he come not at the whistle of him who hath by God's word no authority to call, we mean chancellors, officials, doctors[4]*, and all that rabble) are grievously punished, not only by excommunication, suspension, deprivation, and other (as they term it) spiritual coercion, but also by banishing, imprisoning, reviling, taunting, and what not?*

Answer.

Judges in their own cause.

Here you are judge in your own cause, and therefore you make of a mite an elephant. It is meet that such as contemn the good orders and laws of that place where they dwell, such as make schisms, factions, and contentions in the church, such as cannot or will not be subject and obedient to their superiors, should be by discipline either reformed or removed. You must not

[1] For small offences censures according, Adm.]
[2] Adm. omits *drunkenness* here and places it above after *usury*.]
[3] 10, Adm.]
[4] Adm. omits *doctors*.]

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look to live as you list and be without check. Chancellors, officials, doctors, have no authority in respect of their offices to banish or to imprison; and therefore here you nip (as you think) some greater persons. You make much of a little: too much lenity maketh you so wanton, and so ready to cast off the yoke of due obedience. How you are punished the world seeth; although you and your fautors can bruit abroad that you are persecuted and cruelly dealt with, when as in very deed you have much more favour shewed unto you than you deserve. As for reviling and taunting, it is usual to none so much as it is to the papists and yourselves][5]. Excommunication.

Admonition.

[1] *Matt. xviii. 17.* *Then it was said, "Tell [1]the church:" now it is spoken, Complain to my lord's grace, primate and metropolitan of all England, or to his inferior, my lord bishop of the diocese; if not to him, shew the chancellor, or official, or commissary, or doctor*[6].

Answer to the Admonition, Page 135, Sect. 1.

As it was said then, so ought you and may you say now. In private offences, if private admonitions will not serve, then must you declare them to the church, either by reprehending of them publicly before the whole congregation (if you be called thereunto), for that is one kind of telling the church, or else by complaining to such as have authority in the church; for in that place of Matthew (as all learned interpreters, both old and new, do determine) "the church" signifieth such as have authority in the church. Therefore, when you complain to my lord's grace, lord bishop of the diocese, or their chancellors, commissaries, &c., you tell the church, that is, such as be appointed to be public magistrates in the church according to the very true sense and interpretation of that place. Church signifieth those that have authority in the church.

T. C. Page 146, ult.

It is most absurdly said of M. Doctor, in the 135. *page, that by "the church" is understanded either my lord's grace, or the bishop of the diocese, or the chancellor, or commissary; and that, when a man complaineth unto one of these, he may be well said to complain unto the church. Which*

[5] The paragraphs between brackets are inserted from Adm. and Answ.]
[6] The last two words are not in Adm.]

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Excommunication.

is the more untolerable; for that, being so strange a saying, and such as may astonish all that hear it, he neither confirmeth it by no reason, by no like phrase of scripture, by no authority[1] *of any godly or approved writers*[2]*, old, or new, which notwithstanding he seeketh for so diligently, and turneth the commentaries in his study so painfully, when he can have but one against twenty, and but a syllable where he cannot have a sentence.*

Jo. WHITGIFT.

I have shewed sufficient authority for my saying, even the consent of all learned interpreters; who by "the church" in that place understand such as have chief authority in the church, which in this church of England (as I have said) are bishops. Chrysostom saith as much as I do; so that it need not to seem "so strange that it should astonish all that hear it:" his words be these: *Dic ecclesiæ, præsulibus scilicet et præsidentibus*[3]*:* "Tell the church, that is, the prelates and presidents." But you think to overload me with unseemly words; howbeit that will not carry away the cause: I am so used to them by you and yours, both in speech and writing, that I esteem them now (I thank God) as I do the dust of my feet. If I "seek the writers so diligently, and turn the commentaries in my study so painfully," why do you so oft accuse me of ignorance, and want of reading, and taking my pleasure? *Ex ore tuo te judico, &c. et, Mendacem memorem esse oportet.*

Chrysost. Hom. lxi. in Matt.

Chapter i. The Fifth Division.

T. C. Page 146, Sect. ult. &c.

It may be the clearlier understanded, that the presbytery or eldership had the chief stroke in this excommunication, if it be observed that this was the policy and discipline of the Jews, and of the synagogue, from whence our Saviour Christ took this and translated it unto his[4] *church, that, when any man had done any thing that they held for a fault, that then the same was punished and censured by the elders of the church, according to the quality of the fault; as it may appear in St Matthew. For, although it be of some (and those very learned)* Chap. v. 22.[5] *expounded of the civil judgment, yet, forsomuch as the Jews had nothing to do with civil judgments (the same being altogether in the hands of the Romans), and that the word* Sanedrim, *corrupted of the Greek word συνέδριον, which St Matthew useth, is known by those that have skill in*

[1] By any reason or like phrase of scripture or by the authority, Repl. 2.]

[2] Writer, Repl. 1, 2, and Def. A.]

[3] ...εἰπὲ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τουτέστι τοῖς προεδρεύουσιν.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. lx. Tom. VII. p. 607.]

[4] This, Repl. 2.] [5] The verses are inserted from Repl. 2.]

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the rabbins, and especially the Jews' Talmud, to signify the ecclesiastical governors, there can be no doubt but he meaneth the ecclesiastical censures. And, if the fault were judged very great, then the sentence of excommunication was awarded by the same elders; as appeareth in St John. And this was the cause why our Saviour Christ spake so shortly [of this matter in the xviii. of St Matthew][6], without noting the circumstances more at large, for that he spake of a thing which was well known and used amongst the Jews whom he spake unto.

Excommunication.

Chap. ix. 22.

JO. WHITGIFT.

It is very unlike that our Saviour Christ would borrow any such manner or form of government from the Jews; seeing the same was neither before prescribed unto them by God, nor yet at that time rightly used, but most shamefully abused; and yet (if it were so) it quite overthroweth your purpose[7]. For the Jews' seigniory was only at Jerusalem: yours must be in every parish; besides that, there is a great difference in the persons.

Howbeit, I do not understand how you can draw the place in the v. of Matthew to your purpose; for, if you mean these words, *Quicunque dixerit fratri suo Racha, obnoxius erit concilio:* "He that calleth his brother Racha shall be in danger of a council," as I am sure you do, Christ doth not there prescribe any form of government, or order of punishing, but he declareth the degrees of uncharitable dealing towards our brethren, and the increase of punishments according to the same.

Matt. v.

M. Bullinger, in his commentaries upon that place, saith that the word συνέδριον doth signify *consessum judicum,...et hujusmodi consessum qualis apud Græcos erat Amphictyonum qui de gravissimis solebant consultare causis*[8]. And he addeth that Christ hereby signifieth that, as the fault increaseth, so doth the punishment also.

συνέδριον. Bullinger.

M. Calvin likewise, in his Harmony upon the gospel, saith that Christ in this place, "alluding to earthly judgments, doth

Calvin.

[6] The words in brackets are introduced from Repl. 2.]

[7] "To prove that the Lord did not borrow this form of government of the Jews he assigneth one reason, 'because he never appointed it unto them;' which, beside the untruth that hath and shall further appear, is contrary to that himself hath affirmed, where he saith that 'all, even the least things, under the law were commanded'" [See Vol. I., pages 263, 4].—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 78.]

[8] H. Bulling. Comm. in Evang. sec. Matt. Tigur. 1542. In cap. v. Lib. III. fol. 56. 2. He goes on: In secundo autem gradu, quia increvit peccatum, increvit et pœna.]

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Excommunication.

testify that God will be judge even of secret anger, to punish it. And, because he proceedeth further which uttereth his anger in bitter speech, he saith that he is guilty, *coram toto cœlesti consessu:* 'before the celestial assembly,' that he may sustain the greater punishment[1]."

Nova Glossa.

Nova Glossa saith that *συνέδριον* doth signify "an assembly of judges, and that in such assemblies, as at Athens in the court of Mars, weightier causes were wont to be handled, and punishments for offenders consulted upon. Therefore," saith that commentary, "Christ, by the name of a council, alluding to the manners and customs of men, teacheth that those are more grievously to be punished which more utter and express their anger[2]."

Beza.

Beza saith that *συνέδριον* signifieth "that kind of government wherein there was 23. judges, to whom did appertain the hearing of weighty causes[3]." And the marginal note of the Geneva bible upon this place is this: "Like judgment almost the Romans observed; for *Triumviri* had the examination of small matters, the council of 23. of greater causes, and, finally, great matters of importance were decided by the senate of[4] 71. judges, which here is compared to the judgment of God, or to be punished with hell-fire[5];" which fully agreeth with M. Beza his interpretation, who saith also that "it is according to the Hebrew commentaries[6]."

Now how you can pull this to your seigniory, or to ecclesiastical governors only, and especially to excommunication, I cannot learn or read in any writer; and these whom I have here named teach a far other sense and meaning of the words of Christ than you do.

[1 ...ad terrena judicia alludens testatur Deum occultæ etiam iræ futurum judicem, ut eam puniat. Quia autem ultra progreditur qui indignationem amarulento sermone prodit, eum fore reum dicit coram toto cœlesti consessu, ut graviorem pœnam sustineat.—Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Comm. in Harm. Euang. Tom. VI. p. 70.]

[2 The editor has not been able to ascertain what commentary Whitgift intended by the terms *Nova Glossa.*]

[3 Consessus vero sive *συνέδριον* ex XXIII. judicibus constabat, qui de causis majoribus atque adeo de capitalibus nonnullis statuebant.—Nov. Test. cum Th. Bezæ Annot. H. Steph. 1565. In Matt. v. 22. p. 19.]

[4 Def. B. omits *of.*]

[5 The Bible transl. according to the Ebrew and Greeke. Lond. 1578. Not. in Matt. v. 22, fol. 2. 2.]

[6 ...sicut ex Thalmudistis multi annotarunt.—Nov. Test. cum Th. Bezæ Annot. In Matt. v. 22. p. 19.]

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Chapter i. The Sixth Division.

Excommunication.

T. C. Page 147, Line 15.

And that this was the meaning of our Saviour Christ in those words, it may appear by the practice which is set forth in the epistles to the Corinthians. For it is certain that St Paul did both understand and observe the rule of our Saviour Christ. But he communicateth this power of excommunication with the church; and therefore it must needs be the meaning of our Saviour Christ, that the excommunication should be by many, and not by one; and by the church, and not by the minister of the church alone. For he biddeth the church of Corinth twice in the first epistle, once by a metaphor, another time in plain words, that they should excommunicate the incestuous person. By metaphor, saying, "purge out your old leaven;" in plain and flat words, when he saith, "take away that wicked man from amongst you." And, in the second epistle, understanding of the repentance of that man, he entreateth them that they would receive him again[8], shewing that he was content to release the bond and chain of his excommunication, so that they would do the same; and therefore, considering the absolution or reconciliation of the excommunicate doth pertain unto the church, it followeth that the excommunication doth in like manner appertain unto it.

1 Cor. v. 7, 13.[7]

This is not meant of the incestuous person.

2 Cor. ii. 10.

Jo. Whitgift.

M. Calvin, speaking of the words of Christ, Matt. xviii., wherein I am sure you will have the same order of government to be expressed that is in this place of Matt. v., doth make great difference betwixt the order there prescribed by Christ and that practised by the apostle 1 Cor. v.; because in that place Christ committeth the matter to[9] a few, and in this place the apostle seemeth to commit it to the whole multitude. M. Calvin's words be these: "A question may be asked, what he meaneth by the name of the church? for Paul commandeth the incestuous Corinthian to be excommunicated, not of any chosen number, but of the whole company of the godly; wherefore it is probable that here the judgment is committed to the whole people. But, because then as yet there was no church which professed Christ, neither any such order appointed, and the Lord speaketh according to the usual and received custom, there is no doubt but that he alludeth unto the order of the old church; as also, in other

Calvin in xviii. Matt.

[7] The verses are inserted from Repl. 2.]
[8] Him in again, Repl. 1, 2, and Def. A.]
[9] This word is not in Def. B.]

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Excommunication.

places, he frameth his talk according to the known and usual manner[1]." So that that excommunication used in the church of the Corinthians can in no respect be the practice of the rule of Christ in either of the places, neither yet according unto it[2]. Wherefore you write without judgment you wot not what.

St Paul did publicly excommunicate in the presence of the whole church, and used them as witnesses of his just dealing; but his words be plain, that the right and power of excommunication remained in himself.

1 Cor. v.

When St Paul saith unto the Corinthians, *Expurgate vetus fermentum, &c.:* "Purge out the old leaven," he speaketh not of the incestuous Corinthian, but exhorteth them to newness of life: you shall hear how M. Calvin expoundeth that

Calvin 1 Cor. v.

place: "Because he had borrowed a similitude of leaven, he retaineth it still, although he doth digress from the matter which he hath in hand unto a general doctrine; for he speaketh no more of the incestuous person, but generally exhorteth them unto purity of life: &c.[3]"

Lord, how careless you are in perverting the true sense and meaning of the scripture, that you may violently draw them to your purpose!

When he saith, "Put away that wicked man from among you," he doth not will them to excommunicate him, but to shun and avoid his company, and not to suffer him to come among them, because he was excommunicate. And, as he in this place moveth them to a detestation of him, so in that

[1 Quæritur quid per nomen ecclesiæ intelligat. Nam Paulus Corinthium incestum non ab aliquo delecto numero, sed a toto piorum cœtu excommunicari jubet: ideoque probabile videri posset, judicium hic toti populo deferri. Sed quia tunc nulla adhuc ecclesia erat quæ Christo nomen dedisset, nec talis ratio constituta, ipse autem Dominus tanquam de more usitato receptoque loquitur: non dubium est quin ad veteris ecclesiæ ordinem alludat, sicuti et aliis locis ad consuetudinem notam accommodat sermonem.—Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Comm. in Harm. Euang. Tom. VI. p. 211.]

[2 "This is a wonderful boldness that you dare say, yea, and glory in it, that 'St Paul kept another order of excommunication than our Saviour Christ commanded;' considering that he authorizeth his doings in the church of Corinth with this, that 'he gave that which he received,' who also in this very particular case of the incestuous man allegeth the authority of our Saviour Christ."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 79.]

[3 Quia similitudinem mutuatus erat a fermento, eam adhuc retinet, tametsi ab hypothesi transitum facit ad generalem doctrinam: non enim amplius de incesto loquitur, sed generaliter eos hortatur ad vitæ puritatem: &c.—Calvin. Op. Comm. in Epist. I. ad Corinth. cap. v. 7. Tom. VII. p. 141.]

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place of the 2. Cor. ii., after his repentance and receiving again into the church, he exhorteth them to embrace him and to love him. This may and ought to be done, the authority of excommunication resting in one; for the people without such exhortations will hardly conceive a good opinion of him whom they have known to be so grievous an offender. Excommunication.

Wherefore the apostle here moveth them to forgive him, and to love him; he doth not give them any authority to deliver him from the bond of excommunication, for that he did himself; as it may evidently appear by the circumstance of the place.

[Admonition.

Again, whereas the excommunicate were never received till they had [m] *publicly confessed their offence, now, for paying the fees of the court, they shall by Master official or chancellor easily be absolved in some private place. Then the congregation, by the wickedness of the offender grieved, was by public*[4] *penance satisfied. Now absolution shall be pronounced, though that be not accomplished. Then the party offending should in his own person hear the sentence of absolution pronounced. Now bishops, archdeacons, chancellors, officials, commissaries, and such like, absolve one man for another. And this is that order of ecclesiastical discipline which all godly wish to be restored, to the end that every one by the same may be kept within the limits of his* [n] *vocation, and a great number be brought to live in godly conversation.*

[m] 2 Cor. ii. 7.

[n] 1 Cor. vii. 20.

Answer.

If chancellors, commissaries, &c., do as you here charge them, they do that which by God's law they cannot justify. But I acknowledge my lack of experience in such matters, and therefore I can say little in them. Let them answer for themselves: they be of age sufficient.

Admonition.

Not that we mean to take away the authority of the civil [o] *magistrate and chief governor, to whom we wish all blessedness, and for the increase of whose godliness we daily* [p] *pray; but that, Christ being restored into his kingdom to rule in the same by the sceptre of his word, and severe discipline, the prince may be better obeyed, the realm more flourish in godliness, and the Lord himself more sincerely and purely according to his revealed will served than heretofore he hath been, or yet at this present is.*

[o] Rom. xiii.

[p] 1 Tim. ii. 2.

[4] By his public, Adm.]

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Excommunication.

Answer.

Christ ruleth by the magistrate.

I will not speak what I think: your former assertions agree not with this protestation: Christ ruleth in his church by the godly magistrate, whom he hath placed over his church, and to whom he hath committed his church touching external policy and government; and whosoever therewith is not content, or setteth himself against it, playeth the part of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, and be occasions why neither the prince is obeyed as she ought to be, nor God so truly served. &c.

Admonition.

Amend therefore these horrible abuses and reform God's church; and the [q]*Lord is on your right hand, you shall not be removed for ever. For he will deliver and defend you from all your enemies, either at home or abroad, as he did faithful* [r]*Jacob and good* [s]*Jehosaphat. Let these things alone; and God is a righteous judge: he will one day call you to your reckoning.*

[q] *Psal. xvi. 8.*
[r] *Gen. xxxv. 5.*
[s] *2 Chron. xvii. 10.*

Answer.

The greatest abuse that I know in this church is that you, and such as you are, be suffered to do as you do, and with your schisms to trouble the peace of the church,

Reformation in some things requisite.

and to contemn those that be in authority: other abuses that be in the same I doubt not but that they shall by due order be reformed.][1]

Chapter i. The Seventh[2] Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 113, Line 10.

I read in the fifth chapter of the first to the Corinthians, that the incestuous Corinthian was excommunicated publicly in the presence of the whole congregation. But I read neither of senior nor deacon called as officers to the same. St Paul himself saith: *Ego quidem, ut absens corpore, presens spiritu, jam decrevi tanquam presens, ut is &c.:* "I truly, as absent in the body, but present in spirit, have determined as present, that he &c.;" which manifestly argueth that *jus excommuni-*

[1] These paragraphs are inserted from Adm. and Answ.]
[2] 8, Def. B.]

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candi was in Paul and not in the rest. But all is scripture that you speak, how far soever it is from the true meaning and sense of the scripture.

Excommunication.

Paul alone had *jus excommunicandi.* 1 Cor. v.[3]

T. C. Page 147, Sect. 1.

Now, whereas M. Doctor upon those words of St Paul, that he, "being absent in body, and present in spirit, had determined, &c.," concludeth that the right of excommunication was in St Paul, and not in the rest, it is as much as if he should say, St Paul as much as lay in him excommunicated; therefore St Paul excommunicated; or, St Paul excommunicated; therefore the church did not. For what if St Paul did excommunicate him so much as lay in him, should he therefore have been excommunicated, if the church of Corinth and the minister there would have admitted him to the supper, and not abstain from familiar companying with him? You will say, he should have been bound in heaven and before God, although the church of Corinth had not put him forth. It is true that the apostle's denunciation of God's vengeance upon the impenitent sinner is ratified in heaven; and so should he also have been if St Paul had said nothing; and yet St Paul did not excommunicate the incestuous person, but so much as lay in him, and as far as his right stretched: not being therefore yet excommunicated by St Paul, it followeth that the church had a stroke in the excommunication.

Maledicta glossa quæ corrumpit textum.

Jo. Whitgift.

St Paul did excommunicate him; and, if the church of Corinth had kept him in amongst them notwithstanding, yet had he been excommunicated before God[4]; and they should have shewed themselves to have been a stubborn and rebellious people. Indeed, if you take excommunication for excluding from the external society of the church only, then the people, if they be stubborn and wilful, may stop and hinder the execution of that discipline; but in so doing they forget their duty. But, if by excommunication you understand binding in heaven (as you ought to do), then had the incestuous person been truly excommunicated, though both the minister and the people had said the contrary. Wherefore it is true that the right of excommunicating remained in Paul, though the people did give their consent unto it, by secluding him from their company, and from the sacraments.

Excommunication is more than excluding from the external society.

[3] This reference is not in Answ.]

[4] "...a mere abusing of the reader."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 80.]

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Excommunication.

Chapter i. The Eighth Division.

T. C. Page 147, towards the end.

Again, to prove that the church hath nothing to do with excommunication, it is not enough to say that St Paul had the right of excommunication. But you should have shewed that he only had it; and then you are manifestly convicted by St Paul's own words, which joineth the church with him in that excommunication, saying that he had decreed that the doer of that fact, by his spirit, and them gathered together in the name of Jesus Christ, and by his power, should be given to Satan. And, if the right of excommunication were only in St Paul, how is it that you said before that it is in the minister of the church? had the minister of the church of Corinth nothing to do? and, if it were in St Paul alone, why doth he chide with the church, that they had not already excommunicated him before he wrote unto them to signify his will to excommunicate? or, if it were in the minister of the church only, why doth St Paul chide and sharply rebuke the church, for that the incestuous man was not cast forth? why doth he charge the Corinthians with that which was the only fault of the minister?

Jo. Whitgift.

Nay, you should rather prove that the people ought to be companions with him in the right of that discipline; for the words that I alleged be sufficient to prove that which I affirm. The people he would have gathered together that, the sentence being pronounced in their hearing, they might avoid his company, and be terrified from the like offence; wherefore the apostle used them as witnesses[1], not as ministers of that discipline, which only belongeth to the ministers of the word of God.

The people witnesses, not ministers of excommunication.

I told you before that only ministers of the word have the right of excommunication, and not that the minister of every several church hath the execution of it, except the same be committed unto him by such as have authority in the church. And that doth this example of the apostle plainly declare, who himself did excommunicate the Corinthian, and did not commit it to the minister of the church.

St Paul "did chide with the Corinthians," because they did not complain of the incestuous person, nor sought for his punishment, but suffered him to remain among them, as though they had made little account of his grievous crime.

[1 Cartwright calls this "a shameful defence."—Ibid. p. 81.]

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Excommunication.

Chapter i. The Ninth Division.

T. C. Page 148, Sect. 1.

Another objection M. Doctor hath out of the xvi. of St Matthew, and the xx. of John, in which places because he giveth power to the twelve to bind and to loose, M. Doctor will conclude that they only have power to bind and to loose. Solomon saith that the just man is first the accuser of himself; and therefore it behoved M. Doctor, or ever he should have accused the authors of the Admonition of dallying and unreverent handling of the scriptures, to have first of all spoken to himself, and to have[3] stricken himself upon the thigh. For, if this be not to abuse the scriptures, I know not what is to abuse them; for, to let pass that some and of the ancient writers do expound the place of St Matthew of every member of Christ, and of as many as have faith to confess Christ to be the Son of God, and so by that means to have power of excommunication, I say, to let that go, M. Doctor might easily know if he would that in that place our Saviour Christ speaketh of the binding and loosing which is by the preaching of the word of God, standing in threats and promises; and therefore that binding pertaineth only unto the ministers, to whom the preaching doth only belong. But in the xviii. of St Matthew, where he speaketh of the binding and loosing by excommunication and receiving to the church again, there he attributeth this power unto the church.

Prov. xviii. 17.[2]

Jo. Whitgift.

Chrysostom saith that Christ in these words gave unto Peter power to forgive sins[4], meaning thereby power to excommunicate, and to absolve: neither do I understand why this place, and that also in the xx. of John, should not as well be understanded of excommunication as that in the xviii. of Matthew: the words be all one; and our Saviour Christ speaketh to the same persons in all these places, even to his apostles.

Chrysost. The xvi. of Matt. meant of excommunication.

M. Beza seemeth to make no difference betwixt these places; as it appeareth in his notes upon the xvi. of Matthew, where he expoundeth one of them by another[5]. And in his

Beza.

[2 This marginal reference is introduced from Repl. 1, 2, and Def. A.: the verse is in Repl. 2 alone.]

[3 And have, Repl. 1 and 2.]

[4 Ἃ γὰρ Θεοῦ μόνον ἐστὶν ἴδια, τό τε ἁμαρτήματα λῦσαι,...ταῦτα αὐτῷ ἐπαγγέλλεται δώσειν.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. liv. Tom. VII. p. 548.]

[5 Claves, τὰς κλεῖς. Hac metaphorica loquutione significatur œconomi potestas...qua funguntur omnes ministri in ecclesia Dei, ut apparet infra, 18. c. 18.—Nov. Test. cum Th. Bezæ Annot. H. Steph. 1565. In Matt. xvi. 19. p. 76.]

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Excommunication.

testament over against the place in the xviii. of Matthew is quoted the xx. of John, vers. 29[1]; which argueth that he taketh the sense and meaning of both the places to be one: the same may be observed also in other testaments.

Brentius.

Brentius, in his Comment. upon John, *cap. xx.*, doth expound the place of John touching this matter by that that is written Matthew xviii.[2]

Musculus.

Musculus, upon the xvi. of Matt. doth confound these three places, and giveth one meaning to them all[3].

Bucer.

Master Bucer doth understand these words of Christ in the xvi. of Matthew of the whole government of the church, wherein he includeth in plain words excommunication. And name one ancient father that doth interpret it otherwise. I know it includeth also that kind "of binding and loosing which is by preaching of the word, &c.;" but that is no hinderance at all to my purpose; for, as Bucer saith, Christ in these words doth comprehend *munus et potestatem administrandi ecclesiam Dei*[4]: "the office and power of governing the church of God."

He giveth that power in the xviii. of Matt. to his disciples, to whom he speaketh the same words in that place that he doth in the xvi. of Matthew, and in the xx. of John; but this you slide over, as though it were even so; when as indeed it doth agree both in words and matter with the other two places; as I have shewed.

[1 Ibid. xviii. 18; where the verse is 23.]

[2 Num solis apostolis mandatum est ministerium remittendi et retinendi peccata? Hi soli quidem tunc cum aliis quibusdam præsto adfuerunt, cum Christus hæc verba diceret, hoc autem ministerium non est alligatum ad personas eorum, sed pertinet ad universam ecclesiam. Si ecclesiam, inquit Christus alias (Matt. 18) non audierit, sit tibi velut ethnicus et publicanus: &c.—J. Brent. Op. Tubing. 1576-90. In cap. xx. Evang. Joan. Hom. lxviii. Tom. VI. p. 760.]

[3 Ista plane ad Petrum dicta sunt, *Dabo tibi, &c.* sed non ad solum, adeoque ad causam primatus non faciunt. Quod non ad solum, manifestum est infra cap. 18. ubi discipulis Christi omnibus, imo omnibus Christianis ista potestas datur. Et Joan. 20. omnibus apostolis eam committit.—Wolfg. Muscul. Comm. in Matt. Evang. Basil. 1611. cap. xvi. Tom. II. p. 387.]

[4 Sic ligare, idem indubie est, quod ab ecclesia arcere, et peccata retinere; solvere vero in ecclesiam recipere, et peccata remittere....Non igitur episcopi, sed Christus claves regni cœlorum, id est, potestatem, in ecclesiam recipiendi, et ab ea arcendi, committat oportet. Ea vero aliud non est, quam Spiritus sanctus quo vice Dei, et per verbum Dei omnibus credentibus salus, non credentibus pernities, certo annunciatur.—M. Bucer. Enarr. Perp. in Sacr. quat. Evang. Argent. 1530. In Matt. cap. xvi. fol. 138. 2.]

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Chapter i. The Tenth Division.

Excommunication.

T. C. Page 148, Line 16.

He hath another objection out of St Paul to Timothy, where, for that it is said that St Paul did excommunicate Hymeneus and Alexander, he concludeth after his old manner that therefore he only excommunicated. But, forsomuch as I have proved that both the rule of Christ, and the practice of St Paul according to that rule, be otherwise, it cannot be that St Paul did excommunicate himself alone those persons. For then he should disagree both with our Saviour Christ and with himself. But, as I have shewed before in other ecclesiastical actions and exercises of discipline, that one man is said to do that which was done of many, for because one was moderator of that action or exercise; so St Paul here saith that he did excommunicate, not that he did it by himself alone, but because he was president and chief in that action. And, although it should be granted (which cannot) that St Paul did excommunicate himself alone (being an apostle, or for one time), yet it neither followeth that the bishop or minister may do that which the apostle did, or that he may do continually that which was done but once and extraordinarily.

As for the place of Titus the third, it maketh nothing to excommunication; unless you would conclude that, for that St Paul biddeth Titus to trouble himself no more with confuting an obstinate heretic, therefore he biddeth him excommunicate an heretic by himself.

Or else you are deceived.

Jo. Whitgift.

I must needs conclude, as the very words of the text lead me; and, forasmuch as the apostle doth neither contrary to any rule of Christ, nor to his own practice, but according to the commission given unto him and to the other apostles by Christ, Matt. xvi., xviii., John xx.; and, seeing the words both in the 1 Cor. v. and in this place also be so direct and manifest, I think it great folly for any man to withstand them. As for that imagined shift so often used by you to avoid manifest authorities, to wit, that "one man is said to do that which was done by many, because one was moderator of that action;" I have shewed before the vanity of it. If such starting-holes might be admitted against the manifest authority of the scripture, there is nothing so plain and evident for the deciding of any controversy that might not easily be avoided, or rather deluded.

Paul alone had *jus excommunicandi.*

If St Paul alone for one time did excommunicate, then is there no rule to the contrary prescribed by Christ; for certain it is that St Paul would break no prescript rule of Christ. If this be no good reason, The apostle did it; *ergo*, we may do

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Excommunication.

it; much less is this, The apostle did it; *ergo*, we must do it; which is the strongest kind of reason that you have hitherto in most matters used. But I stick not only upon this example of Paul, I add unto it the words of Christ, his own former practice in the church of the Corinthians, and the commandment given to his scholar Titus.

Tit. iii.

The apostle saith in that place to Titus, "After one or two admonitions avoid an heretic;" whereby he noteth in what order he would have a bishop to proceed with an heretic before he do excommunicate him. And that he meaneth here excommunication Master Calvin plainly affirmeth, saying:

Calv. in Tit. iii.

"His words are of like force, as if he should say, they are to be repressed sharply, as a man would say by the correction of the censor. But they, which gather of this place that the authors of wicked opinions should no otherwise be put to silence than by excommunication, and ought no further to be punished, do not reason sufficiently and aptly. For there is one duty of the bishop, and another of the magistrate. Paul writing unto Titus doth not intreat of the office of a magistrate, but sheweth what is convenient for a bishop. Although a moderate mean is always best, that they which are not past care be not so much kept in order by force, as by ecclesiastical discipline[1]." But you think your own word to be a sufficient warrant against all men. You may well study the words of the scripture, but methink you do not greatly pass for the right understanding of them.

Chapter i. The Eleventh Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 113, Line 4.

Basilius Magnus[2], in his second book *De Officiis*, *cap. xxvii.*, testifieth the same.

[1 Perinde enim valent ejus verba acsi diceret, graviter quasi censoria correctione reprimendos esse. Qui autem colligunt ex hoc loco, sola excommunicatione compescendos esse pravorum dogmatum auctores, nec esse ultra in eos sæviendum: non satis apposite ratiocinantur. Aliæ enim episcopi, aliæ magistratus sunt partes. Tito scribens Paulus, non disserit de officio magistratus, sed quid episcopo conveniat. Quanquam moderstio semper optima: ne tam vi et armata manu coerceantur, quam corrigantur disciplina ecclesiæ, si quidem sint sanabiles.—Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Comm. in Epist. ad Tit. cap. iii. 10. Tom. VII. p. 508.]

[2 Ambrosius, Answ. 2.]

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T. C. Page 148, Line 32.

Excommunication.

As touching Basil's place in the second book of Offices, when the book cometh forth and is printed, then it shall be answered; as for me, I know of none such that is extant now.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

I confess the name to be mistaken: it is an oversight, and yet no greater than yours is in alleging Josias for Ezechias. And both this, and that which followeth of Theodoret for Theodotus, were corrected, as well in the books of the first edition as in the second, before I had your warning. The placing of one name for another is not so great an oversight but that it may sometime happen to those which are very circumspect, and even unto yourself, as Josias for Ezechias, in the beginning, and Gregory for George afterward[3]; so that herein you are not inferior to me, and the one may well be set against the other. But let these trifles go: it is Ambrose in his book *De Officiis, cap. xxvii.*; whose words be these: "Let the bishop use the clerks, and especially the ministers which are indeed his sons, as his own members: let him assign every one to that office whereunto he shall see him to be meet. The part also of the body which putrefieth is with grief cut off, and it is long looked unto if it can be cured with medicines; but, if it cannot, then is it cut away by a good physician. So it is the property of a good bishop that he be desirous to heal the weak, to take away sores that creep on, to burn some, and not to cut them away, last, to cut away with grief that which cannot be [4]cured[5]."

In his epistle, sect. 8.

Page 97, sect. 3.

Ambrose.

Chapter i. The Twelfth Division.

T. C. Page 148, in the end of the 1. Section.

To the rest I will answer with this protestation, that, if all men should do contrary to the order of God, yet their authority or example ought not

[3] See before, Vol. I. page 32, Vol. II. page 384.]

[4] Episcopus ut membris suis utatur clericis, et maxime ministris qui sunt vere filii: quem cuique viderit aptum muneri, ei deputet. Cum dolore amputatur etiam quæ putruit pars corporis, et diu tractatur, si potest sanari medicamentis: si non potest, tunc a medico bono abscinditur. Sic episcopi affectus boni est, ut optet sanare infirmos, serpentia auferre ulcera, adurere aliqua, non abscidere: postremo quod sanari non potest, cum dolore abscidere.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Offic. Ministr. Lib. II. cap. xxvii. 134, 5. Tom. II. col. 102.]

[5] Cartwright says that this sentence of Ambrose maketh neither "hot nor cold."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 85.]

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Excommunication.

to have the weight of a feather; which I have said before, and do understand it in all places, where I do not express it. And with this I come to Master Doctor's authorities.

JO. WHITGIFT.

This I acknowledge to be true. But why do you make this protestation before there be cause? When any authority is alleged contrary to the order of God, reject it, and spare not; but yet you must shew us that order of God to the which it is contrary.

Chapter i. The Thirteenth Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 113, Line 5.

Theodotus alone excommunicated.[2]

Theodoret[1], bishop of Laodicea, did by himself alone excommunicate both Apollinaries for keeping company with that wicked sophister Epiphanius; as Sozomenus writeth, *Lib. vi. cap. xxv.*[3]

T. C. Page 148, Sect. 2.

As[4] *for Theodoretus, bishop of Laodicea, which Sozomen maketh mention of in his sixth book, I find none such; but there is mentioned of one Theodotus, who is said to have separated or excommunicated Apollinaris; but it doth not appear there that he alone of his own authority did excommunicate him. And there be greater reasons in that chapter to prove that he did it not of his own authority; for, immediately after his heresy was known, Damasus bishop of Rome, and Peter bishop of Alexandria, caused a synod to be gathered at Rome, where his heresy was condemned. Now, forsomuch as the custom of synods and councils is, when they condemn the heresies, to excommunicate the heretics, it is to be thought that that council did excommunicate him, and that Theodotus bishop of Laodicea did execute that decree and excommunication. And indeed Sozomen doth so expound himself, when, immediately after he had said that he did excommunicate him, he addeth ἀκοινώνητον αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνει, which is that "he declared him excommunicate;" which indeed properly belongeth to the minister, when the excommunication is decreed by those to whom it appertaineth; which thing may yet better appear by the manner of speech which is used in another place where, speaking of Victor excommunicating Theodotus, he uttereth it by this, ἀπεκήρυξε, which is to promulgate or pronounce the sentence which was decreed by others.*

You understand not the story; for at this time Apollinaris was not fallen into his heresy. Untruth; for these words are not spoken of Theodotus, but of Georgius his successor, who excommunicated Apollinaris the second time.

[1 Theodoretus, Answ. 1; Theodotus, Answ. 2.]
[2 Theodotus alone did excommunicate, Answ. 2.]
[3 See below, note 5.] [4 And as, Repl. 1 and 2.]

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Jo. WHITGIFT.

Excommunication.

Both the Apollinaries excommunicated by Theodotus.

Sozomen in that chapter doth plainly declare that both the Apollinaries were excommunicated by Theodotus, not for any heresy, but because they kept company with Epiphanius, that wicked sophister. Neither was Apollinaris as yet fallen to his heresy, as it is manifest in the story; for, being upon repentance absolved by Theodotus, he was afterward again excommunicated by one George, the successor of Theodotus in his bishopric, because he kept company with Athanasius, whom George, being an Arian, could not abide. In this time of his excommunication, because he could not by any intreaty persuade George to receive him into the church again, of purpose he published an heresy, for the which he was afterward condemned in a synod at Rome. And therefore saith the story: "If George had received Apollinaris, being repentant, like as Theodotus had done before, I suppose that this heresy had not been raised of him[5]". So that you are far wide, and give great suspicion, that either you have not read the story, or else of purpose mean to delude the reader[6].

Sozom. Lib. VI. cap. 25.

The words that the story useth to signify Theodotus excommunicating them be these: τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀφώρισεν: "did separate them from the church." The words which you have recited be not spoken of Theodotus, but of George, his successor; who also did excommunicate Apollinaris; not both

[5 ...Ἀπολιναρίῳ δὲ ἁμφω τὴν ἁμαρτίαν δημοσίᾳ ἐλέγξας, τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀφώρισεν· ἦστην γὰρ κληρικοί, ὁ μὲν πατὴρ, πρεσβύτερος. ὁ δὲ παῖς, ἀναγνώστης ἔτι τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν· χρόνου δέ τινος διαγενομένου, ἐν δάκρυσι καὶ νηστείαις ἐπαξίως τῆς ἁμαρτίας μεταμεληθέντας, προσίεται πάλιν Θεόδοτος· ὡς δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἔλαχε Γεώργιος, καὶ ἡ πρὸς Ἀθανάσιον συνουσία γέγονεν Ἀπολιναρίῳ ὡς εἴρηται, ἀκοινώνητον αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνει, καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀλλότριον· ὁ δὲ, λέγεται μὲν πολλάκις αὐτοῦ δεηθῆναι τὴν κοινωνίαν ἀπολαβεῖν· ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε, λύπῃ κρατηθεὶς, ἐτάραξε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ δογμάτων καινότητα τὴν εἰρημένην αἵρεσιν εἰσήγαγεν...εἰ γὰρ ὁμοίως Θεοδότῳ καὶ Γεώργιος μεταμεληθέντα Ἀπολινάριον ἐδέξατο, οὐκ ἂν οἶμαι ἡ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλουμένη αἵρεσις ἦν.—Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. VI. cap. XXV. p. 546. The calling of the council at Rome by Damasus and Peter, for the condemnation of this heresy, is mentioned in the former part of the same chapter, p. 545. It is Eusebius who speaks of the excommunication of Theodotus by Victor. See Euseb. ibid. Lib. V. cap. XXVIII. p. 159.]

[6 "...I confess I was deceived in the order of the story; which came thereupon, that Sozomen telleth that first which was done after, and contrariwise; but my answer, 'that the bishop's sole excommunicating was but the publishing of the sentence given by him and the church,' standeth."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 85.]

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the father and the son, as Theodotus did, but only the son (as I have said) before he fell into his heresy, and therefore before he was condemned at Rome. So that he did not (as you say) execute the decree of that council, but did himself excommunicate.

Neither do the words help you one whit by any means; for what other thing can you gather thereof but that he pronounced the sentence of excommunication against him? even as it is the manner in our church, though he be excommunicated by the same person only which pronounceth the sentence. And, if that the right of excommunication had not been in George only, why is there mention that he would by no means be intreated to absolve him? For I am sure that you will grant (and indeed you have before so affirmed[1]) that absolution is of the same quality in this respect with excommunication; and it is there witnessed that Apollinaris did oftentimes desire him to receive him again into the fellowship of the church. So that it is manifest that in those days the bishop alone did excommunicate.

Page 147, lin. 29.

Chapter i. The Fourteenth Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 113, Line 9.

Ambrose excommunicated[2].

So did Ambrose excommunicate Theodosius the emperor, and is therefore in all stories greatly commended.

T. C. Page 148, in the end.

As for Ambrose, although he be greatly commended for excommunicating the emperor, yet he was never commended for that he did excommunicate him himself alone; and, if he did excommunicate him himself alone, yet his fault was the less; forsomuch as he, being desirous of an eldership, could not, as it seemeth by his complaint which I have spoken of before, obtain one. And, although the stories do not make mention that there were others whose authority came into this excommunication, yet it followeth not that there were no other. And how often will you stumble at that which you do so sharply reprove in others, which is in making of arguments of authority negatively? And, if you will not grant this manner of reasoning in the scripture, in matters pertaining to the government of the church, which are all comprehended in the scripture, how would you reason of a common story, which neither can nor doth profess to speak all those things which fall into that matter which it writeth of? But what if so be it be proved that Ambrose did not this of his own authority, but by

[1 See before, page 229.] [2 Likewise Ambrosius, Answ. 2.]

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the authority also of others, will you then confess that he is commended of all those which write stories for so doing, and confess that the use and practice of the primitive church was far from this that is now? For proof whereof I will give you a place which Ambrose, the best witness of this matter, hath in one of his epistles, where he sheweth that, as soon as the murder which Theodosius had caused to be done at the city of Thessalonica was heard, by and bye the bishops of France came, and there was holden a synod, where also Ambrose saith that his communicating with Theodosius could not absolve him[3]*; for that, as it may*[4] *appear, the bishops in that synod had in excommunicating him ordained that he should not be absolved until such time as he had done repentance; which he did afterward with confession of his fault before the congregation, and asking forgiveness of it*[5]*. So it appeareth that, that which he did, he did it by the sentence of the synod, and not of his own authority alone.*

Excommunication.

Epist. 36.

Ambrose falsified.

Amb. Lib. de Obitu Theo.

JO. WHITGIFT.

It is not to be read in any story, or other writer, that Ambrose ever sought to have an eldership in his church; for, if he had so done, it is not like but that he might have obtained it, being of that credit and authority with the emperor; only, in speaking of the eldership which consisteth of priests only, he saith that he cannot tell upon what occasion it grew out of use, &c.[6] But this is from the purpose.

Ambrose "is commended for excommunicating Theodosius, and for excommunicating him alone;" as it may appear in Theodoret, *Lib. v. cap. xviii.*, and Sozomen, *Lib. vii. cap. xxiv.*[7] For, if he had used the assistance of other, the commendation of his courage and boldness had not been so notorious and famous; neither is it like that the people durst join with their bishop in such an enterprise against their emperor; and, if it had been done by any council of bishops, or synod, to what end and purpose should Ambrose carry away all the fame and commendation, not one word once mentioned in any story of any other assistant unto him in that action? But what need I use these words, seeing the history reported both by Theodoret and Sozomen do very plainly testify the same.

Ambrose excommunicateth alone.

My argument is not "negative from authority," but affirmative; for all stories that I have read do attribute this

[3 See below, page 245, note 2.] [4 Might, Repl. 2.]
[5 See below, page 245, notes 3, 4.] [6 See before, p. 203, note 3.]
[7 Theod. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. v. cap. xviii. pp. 220, &c.; Soz. ibid. Lib. VII. cap. XXV. pp. 603, 4.]

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whole action of excommunicating Theodosius to Ambrose alone. Read the places of Theodoret and Sozomen, before mentioned, and you shall see that a man may safely conclude affirmatively that Ambrose alone did both excommunicate and absolve him. Some of the late writers that have occasion to speak of this matter do testify the same; as namely Master Gualter upon the 1 Cor. v., and therefore reproveth Ambrose his fact[1]. But, because you here charge me with so often reasoning from authority negatively, name one unto me that I have so used, or tell me why hitherto you have only espied this. Remember that you are a divine, of whom it is required to speak truly.

The synod did not excommunicate Theodosius.

But say you: "What if it be proved that Ambrose did not this of his own authority?" and I say, what if it be manifestly laid before your eyes that you have not rightly collected of those places of Ambrose, and that they make not for your purpose which you have here alleged for your proof? First your quotation in the margent is false; for Ambrose hath not one word of that matter in his 38. epistle; but that might be the fault of the printer. That which he saith is in his 28. epistle; the which also you have falsified; for there is not one word spoken of any excommunication used by that synod against Theodosius; only Ambrose saith that, when the synod heard of it, every man lamented it, and took it in evil part; and that he himself could not admit him into his communion, nor absolve him from that offence without due repentance. And that is his meaning when he saith: *Non erat facti tui absolutio in Ambrosii communione.* Which also the words following and the scope of the whole epistle doth declare. For in that epistle Ambrose doth exhort Theodosius to repentance for that fact; and after these words that I have recited followeth immediately this sentence:

Amb. Epist. xxviii.

"The grievousness also of the fault should be laid unto my charge the more, if no man should say that the reconciliation of our God were necessary. Art thou ashamed to do that,

[1 Etenim si Ambrosium cum Theodosio conferas, hujus quidem pietas satis laudari nequit, illius vero vehementia (quod tanti viri pace dixerim) non potest excusari, qui absque ecclesiæ et collegarum consensu, privata auctoritate tantum facinus aggressus est, quo ecclesia simul et tota religio christiana in extremum discrimen adduci poterat, si in principem paulo ferociorem incidisset.—R. Gualther. Hom. in prior. Epist. ad Corinth. Tigur. 1588. Hom. xxiv. fol. 67. 2.]

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O emperor, that the kingly prophet David did[2]?" Whereby it is plain that Ambrose in his letters signifieth unto the emperor that he must first repent him and be reconciled unto God, before he may admit him to communicate with him. Neither doth Ambrose say that "these bishops were by and bye gathered together as soon as this murder was heard of;" neither was there any such cause of that synod; but, they being gathered together upon other occasions, and before the murder was committed (as it will appear if you mark the words of Ambrose well), news was brought unto them of the murder, which they greatly lamented; as I said before. There is not one word in that epistle whereof it can be gathered that either that synod did excommunicate him, or "ordain that he should not be absolved until such time as he had done repentance." How much better were it for you to repeat the words of the author; but then should you spill your grace in counterfeiting. Excommunication.

The second place of Ambrose, *Lib. De Obitu Theodos.*, alleged to prove that Theodosius afterward confessed his fault before the congregation, and asked forgiveness of it[3], is more than needs; for that is not denied of any man; and Theodoret, *Lib. v. cap. xviii.*, doth set that his submission and confession out in these words: "So in the end St Ambrose absolved him; and the most faithful emperor, being bold to enter into the church, prayed, not standing or kneeling, but lying prostrate upon the ground he uttered these words of David: 'My soul cleaveth unto the dust: quicken me according to thy word.' And, pulling his hair with his hands, and beating his face, and watering the ground with the drops of his tears, he asked forgiveness[4]." But this proveth not that the people Theod. Li. v. 18.

[2 Quando primum auditum est, propter adventum Gallorum episcoporum synodus convenerat; nemo non ingemuit, nullus mediocriter accepit: non erat facti tui absolutio in Ambrosii communione. In me etiam amplius commissi exaggeraretur invidia, si nemo diceret Dei nostri reconciliationem fore necessariam. An pudet te, imperator, hoc facere quod rex propheta, auctor Christi secundum carnem prosapiæ, fecit David?—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686–90. Epist. Class. I. Ad Theodos. Epist. li. (*al.* xxviii.) 6, 7. Tom. II. col. 998.]

[3 Stravit omne quo utebatur insigne regium, deflevit in ecclesia publice peccatum suum, quod ei aliorum fraude obrepserat: gemitu et lacrymis oravit veniam.—Id. De Obit. Theod. Orat. 34. Tom. II. col. 1207.]

[4 Τοῦτον δὲ γενομένου, διέλυσε τὸν δεσμὸν ὁ θεῖος Ἀμβρόσιος, οὕτως ὁ πιστότατος βασιλεὺς εἶσω γενέσθαι θαῤῥήσας τοῦ θείου νεὼ, οὐχ ἑστὼς τὸν Δεσπότην ἱκέτευεν, οὐδὲ τὰ γόνατα κλίνας· ἀλλὰ πρηνὴς ἐπὶ τοῦ δαπέδου κείμενος, τὴν Δαυϊτικὴν ἀφῆκε φωνήν· ἐκολλήθη τῷ ἐδάφει ἡ ψυχή μου, ζῆσόν

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had any authority in excommunicating of him. In this church of England, though the bishop alone do excommunicate, yet he that is excommunicated for any notorious crime is not received into the church again before he have made a public confession in the open congregation, and asked pardon and forgiveness of his offence. Wherefore there is nothing yet alleged of any such force to prove that Ambrose alone did not excommunicate Theodosius.

Excommunicate persons not received before public confession and repentance.

Chapter i. The Fifteenth Division.

Admonition.

The sixteenth.

In that the lord bishops, their suffragans, archdeacons, chancellors, officials, proctors, doctors, sumners, and such ravening rabblers, take upon them, which is most horrible, the rule of God's church, spoiling the pastor [t] *of his lawful jurisdiction over his own flock, given by the word, thrusting away most sacrilegiously that order which Christ hath left to his church, and which the primitive church hath used [they shew they hold the doctrine with us, but in unrighteousness, with an outward shew of godliness, but having denied the power thereof, entering not in by* [u] *Christ, but by a popish and unlawful vocation. We speak not* [w] *how they make ministers by themselves alone, and of their*[1] *sole authority, and that in secret places; of their election and probation, that it is of him to whom by no right it belongeth. And that, when they have made them, either they may tarry in their college, and lead the lives of loitering losels as long as they live, or else gad abroad with the bishop's bulls, like to Circumcelions, to preach in other men's charges where they list, or else get benefices by friendship, or money, or flattery, where they can catch them; or, to conclude, if all these fail, that they may go up and down like beggars, and fall to many follies; or else (as many have done) set up bills at Paul's, or at the Royal Exchange, and in such public places, to see if they can hear of some good masters, to entertain them into service. Surely by the canon law, by which the bishops reign and rule, they ought to keep those ministers which they make as long as they have no livings and places*[2]. *We know*

[t] *Matt. xviii. 17, 18. Acts xi. 30. Acts xv. 2, 4, 6, &c. Rom. xii. 7, 8. Phil. i. 1. 1 Cor. xii. 28. 1 Thess. v. 12, 13. 1 Tim. iv. 14. 1 Tim. v. 17.*

[u] *John x. 1.*

[w] *Acts vi. 3, 4. Acts xiv. 23. Acts xx. 28, 30, &c. Rom. xii. 6, 7, 8. 1 Cor. ix. 16, 17.*

με κατὰ τὸν λόγον σου· καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἀποτίλλων τὰς τρίχας, καὶ τὸ μέτωπον τύπτων, καὶ ταῖς τῶν δακρύων σταγόσι τοὔδαφος καταβρέχων, συγγνώμης ἠντιβόλει τυχεῖν.—Theod. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. v. cap. xviii. p. 222.]

[1 Other, Adm. edit. 1.]

[2 Ex Concil. Urban. II. hab. Placent. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. lxx. can. 2. col. 343. See Vol. I. page 480, note 1. Conf. ibid. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. III. Tit. v. cap. 4. col. 1026.]

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three or four bishops in this realm would have kept such houses as never none did in this land, if this rule had been observed. They clap[3] *them out so fast by hundreds, and they made*[4] *them pay well for their orders; and surely, to speak truth*[5]*, they were worthy; for the bishops (what odds soever there were of their gifts) yet in their letters gave them all a like commendation. They put on their surplices, or else subscribed like honest men. Fie upon these stinking abominations.*][6] Excommunication.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 220, Sect. 1.

[In all these words there is not one thing touched which is contained in the communion-book; and therefore I might pass this part over with silence, noting only your unorderly and undiscreet dealing, who, going about to deface the book of common prayer, wander you know not whither, and spend your labour in writing against such things as be not in that book once mentioned. But yet something I must say to certain things by you in this part written, without all modesty, discretion, or reason.][7]

And first you shew yourself greatly offended, that "the pastor is spoiled of his lawful jurisdiction over his flock;" and therefore you burst[8] out into these words of heat, "ravening rabblers," "horrible," "sacrilegiously," and such like. It had been well if you had told us what that "lawful jurisdiction of the pastor over his flock given by the word" had been; for the places of scripture which you quote for that purpose do not plainly enough set out that matter. In the xviii. of Matthew, vers. 17, after certain admonitions in private offences, Christ saith: *Dic ecclesiæ:* "tell the church;" in which place (as I told you before) "the church" doth signify such as have authority in the church, or else public reprehension in the open congregation by such as be called thereunto. It giveth not any peculiar jurisdiction to the pastor, for anything that I can learn. And in the same chapter, 18. verse, where Christ saith: "Whatsoever ye bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, &c." according to your judgment uttered before, it is meant of Of the jurisdiction of a pastor[9].

[3] Clapt, Adm. and Answ. 1.] [4] Make, Adm.]
[5] Speak the truth, Adm.]
[6] This portion is inserted from Adm. and Answ.]
[7] This paragraph is inserted from Answ.]
[8] Brust, Def. A. and B.] [9] This is inserted from Answ. 2.]

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the whole church, and not of the pastor only. You have before denied that one man can excommunicate; and therefore this place maketh nothing for your assertion.

Scriptures wrested.

[In the xi. of the Acts, vers. 30, mention is made how the disciples which were at Antiochia did, according to their ability, send succour to their brethren which dwelt in Judea, and that they sent it to the elders by the hands of Barnabas and Saul. But what is this to the jurisdiction of the pastor? This declareth that the disciples of Antiochia trusted the elders which were in Judea with the distribution of their alms.

The xv. of the Acts (in the places by you noted) sheweth how Paul and Barnabas were sent to the apostles and elders which were at Jerusalem, about the deciding of a certain question moved by certain of the sect of the Pharisees, touching circumcision. This declareth the use of councils, and openeth the next and readiest way to determine controversies, but it speaketh nothing of the jurisdiction of the pastor.

The xii. to the Roma. vers. 7, 8. hath been sundry times by you alleged to no purpose at all, even as it is now in like manner.

The apostle there willeth every man that hath an office to attend upon his office, &c. But he speaketh not of any peculiar jurisdiction of the pastor over his flock.

In the first to the Phil. vers. 1, Paul and Timothy salute the bishops and deacons which be at Philippi. How gather you thereof any jurisdiction pertaining to the pastor?

The 1 Cor. xii. vers. 28. The apostle saith that God "hath placed in his church first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, &c." What is this to your purpose? or what jurisdiction of pastors do you gather hereof? you may here learn that there is in the church divers degrees of persons.

1 Thessa. v. Paul exhorteth them to know and love such as labour among them: he describeth no peculiar kind of jurisdiction.

1 Timoth. iv. vers. 14. St Paul willeth Timothy not to despise the gift given unto him by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the company of the eldership;

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and, in the 1 Tim. v. vers. 17, he saith: "The elders that rule well are worthy of double honour; &c." Which place cometh the nearest to your purpose; for here is mention made of ruling and of ministers; but yet it is not declared what kind of rule this was, except you will expound it by the words following: "specially they which labour in word and doctrine." And this kind of rule remaineth to the pastor still. Thus you see with how little discretion and less learning you heap up scriptures in your margent, only to deceive the simple and ignorant, who are by you too much deluded, believing whatsoever you speak or write, without any further examination. If they would mark these words of yours well, they might soon understand that you seek as great jurisdiction over them as any of those persons whom you have here named. You say, "they hold the doctrine with you, but in unrighteousness, with an outward shew of godliness, but having denied the power thereof, entering not in by Christ, but by a popish and unlawful vocation." This is but your vein of railing, and your usual manner of extolling yourselves, and condemning other. But (as I said before) your words be no slander; neither will I in words contend with you, but therein give you the upper hand, only I must still let you understand of your foolish applying of scriptures. For wherefore have you here quoted the tenth of John, vers. 1? Belike, because Christ saith there that "he, which doth not enter in by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up another way, is a thief and a robber;" therefore all such as be placed in this church of England (yourselves excepted) enter in by a popish and unlawful vocation. You had gone orderly to work if you had first proved that we have not come into the sheepfold by Christ. If you thus omit the proof of your minor, you may conclude what you will, and quote scriptures at your pleasure. But wise and learned men will lament your folly, and laugh at your unskilfulness.

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Scriptures heaped without discretion.

Of making of ministers I have spoken before, and answered the places, Acts vi. xiv. and xx. sufficiently. As for the other two places, Ro. xii. vers. 6, 7, 8, and 1 Cor. ix. vers. 16, 17, I muse why you note them, they

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nothing at all pertaining to the making of ministers: they something touch their office, and yet not that directly. But you must be borne with, lest you should have seemed to your disciples to have said nothing.

"Some of those ministers," you say, "may tarry in their college, and lead the lives of loitering losels as long as they live." If you knew any such loitering losels in any college, I trust you would make them known to other also. If you know none such, then are you a slanderer of colleges, and such as be in them. It were to be wished in my opinion, that there were many preachers in colleges of greater continuance than I know any. Then should not young, factious, unruly, and undiscreet persons so greatly trouble with their contentions and sects both the universities[1], and the whole realm also.

Preachers in colleges.

I know no bishops that give out "bulls;" but, if such preachers as remain in colleges or elsewhere (being thereunto licensed by the bishop, or other that have authority) do take pains to preach where they see occasion, they are greatly to be commended; and I pray God increase the number of such "Circumcelions." But, since this your opinion hath been broached, it hath not only driven many from the ministry, but also caused divers to loiter and cease from preaching; and certainly, if it be not in time provided for, that one branch of your doctrine will spoil this church of England, both of preachers and preachings.

The rest that you write in this part I hope is more slanderously of you spoken than truly, notwithstanding I think there hath been some oversight in some men, which I trust is and will be amended: if not, then I wish that canon of the law to be put in practice, that such as admit them should also provide for them.

When you say that the bishops of this realm "reign and rule by the canon law," you forget yourself, you know it is otherwise. Their chief authority they have by God's law; the rest by the laws of the realm and of the prince; but these words are but words of course with you.][2]

[1 Both universities, Answ. 1.] [2 These paragraphs are inserted from Answ.]

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T. C. Page 149, Line 21.

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In the 220. and 221. pages, he speaketh of this thing afresh, but hath no new matter, but maketh a bare rehearsal of the places of the Admonition, asking, after his accustomed manner of confuting, what maketh this? or what proveth that? only, whereas he said before, and proved (as he thought) that the minister had only to do with excommunication, being pressed there by the Admonition either to defend or renounce his chancellors, &c., he had rather deny both the truth and himself, than he would have any of that horrible confusion and profanation of the holy discipline of God brought in by popery, threatening the overthrow of the whole church, and serving for nothing but for the nourishing of the ambition and idleness of a few, to be[3] *driven out of the church. Of the which I will upon occasion speak a word, if first I shew that the use of the ancient church hath been not to permit the excommunication to one, but that the sentence thereof should come from the governors and elders of the church, unto whom that did especially appertain. Although I cannot pass by that which Master Doctor saith, that, forsomuch as the authors of the Admonition had alleged the words "tell the church" to prove the interest of the church in excommunication, that therefore they could not use the same to prove the interest of the pastor; as who should say that the pastor is not one of the church. But of the absurdity of this I have spoken sufficiently before, and how all men do see the vanity of this reason that, because the people have an interest by this place, therefore the pastor hath none.*

JO. WHITGIFT.

I do indeed speak of this matter there again after a sort; for I am driven unto it by the order of the Admonition. But in all those words there by me uttered touching excommunication, I do not once ask, "what maketh this? or what maketh that?" (as you charge me), although I might justly use these kind of questions as sufficient answers to such unskilful quotations as they paint their margent with; and sometimes indeed I make such demands, but it is to shew the fondness of their allegations.

I defend no chancellors, &c., that usurp any office whereunto they be not lawfully called, but I would not have the scriptures abused to confute them, lest thereby (seeing the weakness of our reasons) they be animated rather to proceed than persuaded to leave off. I do not think that chancellors ought to excommunicate (with this kind of excommunication that we talk of), except they be ministers; and so much have I uttered in my Answer. But I will not disquiet the church for it, by seeking reformation extraordinarily, neither will I

[3] Repl. 2 omits *to be*.]

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Excommunication.

be wilful, if I can hear any sound reasons to remove me from this persuasion; wherefore you do in this cause, and in this place, unjustly charge me.

The place in the eighteenth of St Matthew is understanded of those to whom the discipline of the church is by the authority of the church committed, that is in this church of England the bishop. And therefore that place cannot prove that there is any injury done to the pastor, or that he is spoiled of his lawful jurisdiction; and this is the effect of my answer; whereat you only cavil, as your nature is.

I say indeed that this place was before alleged in the Admonition to prove that the whole church should excommunicate, and not one man only; and therefore I see not how the same place may aptly be alleged, "to prove any jurisdiction of the pastor over his flock," seeing it giveth to the flock equal jurisdiction with the pastor, and not to the pastor any superiority over them, if the interpretation used in the Admonition be true.

Let the reader consider the words of my Answer to the Admonition, and try whether there be any such absurdities in them or no. Surely it is a fault both in you and the Admonitors, to make the scripture so pliable to your fancies, and the same place to serve as many turns as you list.

Chapter i. The Sixteenth Division.

T. C. Page 149, past the midst.

But I come to shew the use of the primitive church in this matter;

This place of Tertullian is very corruptly alleged; as will appear.

whereof we have a manifest testimony in Tertullian. "If," saith he, "there be any which have[1] *committed such a fault, that he is to be put away from the partaking of the prayer of the church, and from all holy matters or affairs, there do bear rule or be presidents certain of the most approved ancients or elders which have obtained this honour, not by money, but by good report."*

Tertull. in Apol. 39. c.

Jo. Whitgift.

Here you have separated those things which Tertullian hath joined, and you join together in one sentence that which Tertullian hath separated; for thus he writeth: "And it is a great argument and example of the latter judgment, if any man hath so offended that he is banished from the communi-

Tertull. in Apolog. cap. 39.

[1 Hath, Repl. 2.]

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cation of prayer, of company, and of all holy affairs." Here Tertullian maketh a full point; and beginning a new sentence he saith: "Approved seniors have authority to rule, which have obtained this honour, not by money, but by a good report. &c." And these words be so distinguished from the other, that B. Rhenanus placeth his commentary betwixt them[2]. And yet you join them with a piece of the former sentence, which you have also mangled, and so make as though Tertullian should say that these seniors did excommunicate; whereas there can no such matter be gathered of his words. For there were other points of discipline for them to execute, and other matters of government to look unto. And he that shall well weigh the words of Tertullian shall perceive that he meaneth by these approved elders none other but ministers which do govern the congregation when they come together to prayer, and other holy actions; the whole order whereof he doth in that place describe. Excommunication.

But be it that they had to do also in excommunication (which I will not deny); for I did never so give the authority of excommunicating to the bishop alone, that I think he may not have other assistance joined unto him for the execution of it (if the order of the church so require); yet this proveth not but that the bishop may excommunicate alone, if that authority be given unto him by the order of the church. This place rather maketh against you; for, first, it is like that these seniors were ministers of the word and sacraments; then it is certain that the multitude had not to do in the execution of this discipline, which you labour to prove. There can no great certainty be gathered of this place, whether one or more did excommunicate; except you will also conclude that churchwardens and sidemen (because they be officers to see good rule kept in the church) have interest in excommunications, together with the bishop. Wherefore I do require a more manifest proof of you; for this place may with more probability be otherwise expounded, and therefore enforceth nothing. The bishop may have assistance joined with him.

[2 ... summumque futuri judicii præjudicium est, si quis ita deliquerit, ut a communicatione orationis et conventus et omnis sancti commercii relegetur. Præsident probati quique seniores honorem istum non pretio, sed testimonio adepti.—Tertull. Op. Franek. 1597. Apolog. adv. Gent. 39. p. 67. The paraphrase or commentary, of which a portion is interposed between the two sentences, was written by F. Zephyrus.]

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Excommunication.

Chapter i. The Seventeenth Division.

T. C. Page 149, towards the end.

And that the ancients had the ordering of these things, and the people's consent was required, and that if the case were a very difficult case it was referred unto the synods or councils, and that the ministers did not take upon them of their own authority to excommunicate, and that those which did receive the excommunicate without the knowledge and consent of the church were reprehended, it may appear almost in every page of Cyprian's epistles, and namely in these, which I have noted in the margent[1]. *Lib. iii. Ep. 8. 10. 14. 19. i. Lib. 3. Ep.*

JO. WHITGIFT.

Thus you drive me to seek that which in those epistles by you quoted I cannot find; how much better dealing had it been to have set down the words of Cyprian, that they might have been viewed and considered.

In the 8. epistle of the third book, Cyprian doth find himself grieved with one Therapius, because he gave "peace," to one Victor a priest, before he had shewed himself fully repentant, and had satisfied for his offence; before also the time was come appointed unto him to make satisfaction; likewise without the request and knowledge of the people. Whereby it appeareth that Therapius did absolve Victor before the time appointed, and secretly without the knowledge of the people; but this proveth not your purpose. Therapius is justly reproved for breaking the order appointed by the church, and for absolving Victor before his time, and in a corner, without the knowledge of the people; but this proveth not that the bishop may not excommunicate, but the contrary rather; for Cyprian in the end thought this absolution to be sufficient; as it appeareth in these words: "But, weighing the matter by long advice, it seemed sufficient to chide our fellow Therapius, for that he did this thing unadvisedly, and to have instructed him that hereafter he commit not the like. But yet we thought not good to withdraw the peace which was once given (howsoever) of a priest of God; and for this cause we have permitted unto Victor to use the communion delivered unto him[2]." Whereby it is manifest that the absolution of

Lib. III. Epist. 8.

[1 See below, notes 2, 3, 5, and page 256, notes 1, 2.]

[2 Legimus literas tuas, frater carissime, quibus significasti de Victore quondam presbytero, quod ei, antequam pœnitentiam plenam egisset, et Domino Deo, in quem deliquerat, satisfecisset, temere Therapius collega noster immaturo

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Therapius was thought good, and that he had authority to absolve alone, but that it was done not according to the order then in the church appointed. Excommunication.

In the tenth epistle there is nothing spoken of excommunication or absolution; only Cyprian saith that he made no answer to the letters of Donatus and Novatus and Gordius, because at his first entrance into his bishopric he had determined to do nothing without their counsel, meaning the priests and deacons to whom he writ, and without the consent of the people[3]. What can you conclude hereof touching excommunication? Cyprian here sheweth himself to have jurisdiction over other churches, and authority over other ministers, and that he will do nothing in doubtful matters[4] in their churches, without the consent of the ministers and people. But this is nothing touching excommunication, neither doth it prove but that he might do things without their consents; for why should he else say, *statui:* "I have determined;" signifying thereby that it was in his power to do otherwise if he would? Epist. 10.

In the 14. epistle he reproveth certain priests for receiving into the church, without the consent of their bishop, such as had fallen in the time of persecution, and that before they had any just trial of their repentance; adding that none ought so to be received but *per manus impositionem episcopi et cleri:* "by the imposition of the hands of the bishop and clergy[5]." I cannot see anything in this epistle Epist. 14.

tempore, et præpropera festinatione pacem dederit. Quæ res nos satis movit, secessum esse a decreti nostri auctoritate, ut ante legitimum et plenum tempus satisfactionis, et sine petitu et conscientia plebis, nulla infirmitate urgente, ac necessitate cogente, pax ei concederetur. Sed librato apud nos diu consilio, satis fuit objurgare Therapium collegam nostrum, quod temere hoc fecerit; et instruxisse, ne quid tale de cetero faciat. Pacem tamen quomodocunque a sacerdote Dei semel datam non putavimus auferendam, ac per hoc Victori communicationem sibi concessam usurpare permisimus.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Fid. Epist. lxiv. p. 158.]

[3 Ad id vero quod scripserunt mihi compresbyteri nostri Donatus et Fortunatus, Novatus et Gordius, solus rescribere nihil potui; quando a primordio episcopatus mei statuerim, nihil sine consilio vestro, et sine consensu plebis, mea privatim sententia gerere; &c.—Id. ad Cler. Epist. xiv. p. 33.]

[4 "As for that he expoundeth 'no matter,' that is, 'no doubtful matter,' it is a shameful corruption."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 88.]

[5 Nam cum in minoribus peccatis agant peccatores pœnitentiam justo tempore, et secundum disciplinæ ordinem ad exomologesin veniant, et per manus impositionem episcopi et cleri, jus communicationis accipiant: nunc crudo tempore, persecutione adhuc perseverante, nondum restituta ecclesiæ ipsius pace, ad communicationem admittuntur, et offertur nomen eorum, et nondum pœnitentia

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Excommunication.

that giveth the people any interest in excommunicating or absolving. But this is evidently to be collected out of it, that no such thing ought to be done without the authority of the bishop.

Epist. 19.

In the 19. epistle he writeth that he will not take upon himself alone to restore those to the church again who, falling in the time of persecution, were condemned by the judgment of all the clergy[1]. I know not how you will frame this to your purpose; for who ever denied but that the synods might excommunicate? and who will grant that such as be orderly and lawfully excommunicated by many should be absolved and reconciled only by one? and yet in that they desire this at Cyprian's hands alone it argueth that the manner was at that time for one man to absolve; but Cyprian refused to do it; for that it was a common cause, and they had been excommunicated by the common consent of the clergy.

Lib. 1. Epist. 3.

In the third epistle of his first book I find nothing that maketh for you, or against me; wherefore you must take the pains to recite his words before you can deserve any credit[2]. Thus, whilst you would seem to say much, you do but abuse the reader, and in the end say nothing pertaining to the controversy.

Chapter i. The Eighteenth Division.

T. C. Page 149, Sect. ult.

In Augustine's time it appeareth also that the consent of the church was required; for in the third book against the epistle of Parmenian he sheweth that, if the multitude of the church be not in that fault for which one is to be excommunicated, that then it helpeth much to make the party both afraid and ashamed, that he be excommunicated or anathematized (as he calleth it) by all the church[3]; and in his books De Bapt. contra Donatistas, *in divers places, he is so far from per-* *iii. Lib. contra Epi. Parmen.*

acta, nondum exomologesi facta, nondum manu eis ab episcopo et clero imposita, eucharistia illis datur, &c.—Id. ad Cler. Epist. xvi. p. 37.]

[1 Quæ res cum omnium nostrum consilium et sententiam expectet, præjudicare ego, et solus mihi rem communem vendicare non audeo: &c.—Id. ad Cler. Epist. xxvi. p. 51.]

[2 O si posses, frater carissime, istic interesse nobiscum, cum pravi isti et perversi de schismate revertuntur; videres quis mihi labor sit persuadere patientiam fratribus nostris, ut animi dolore sopito recipiendis malis curandisque consentiant. &c.—Id. ad Cornel. Epist. lix. p. 137. This is the passage which Cartwright (The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 90) seems particularly to have intended.]

[3 See below, note 5.]

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mitting the excommunication to one man that he seemeth to fall into the other extremity, which is to make the estate of the church too popular, and the people to have too great a sway. For there he sheweth that, if the most of the people be infected with the fault, which is to be punished by excommunication, that then no excommunication ought to be attempted, for because a sufficient number of voices will not be obtained for the excommunication[4]. *By which testimonies, besides the institution of God, and the practice of the churches in the apostles' times, appeareth manifestly what hath been the use of the churches touching excommunication, as long as there was any purity in the church.*

Excommunication.

An untruth.

JO. WHITGIFT.

Augustine, in that third book *Contra epistolam Parmeniani*, saith that he would have excommunication then used, when the use thereof can make no schism in the church, that is, when the crime for the which a man is excommunicated is such as all men for the most part do abhor and detest; so that the offender cannot have so many fautors as are able to make a schism in the church: "For then" (saith St Augustine) "may this discipline be executed without the breach of peace and unity, and without the hurt of the people, when the multitude of the congregation of the church is free from that crime that is excommunicated. For then (the multitude) help rather the bishop reproving than the wicked party resisting; then it profitably abstaineth from his company, so that no man doth so much as eat with him, not for raging envy, but for brotherly correction; and then also is the party himself stricken with fear, and healed through shame, when as (seeing himself accursed of the whole church) he can find no companions amongst the multitude with whom he might rejoice in his sin, and insult over good men[5]."

When excommunication should be used.

Aug. Lib. III. contra Epist. Parm.

Whereby it is evident that St Augustine meaneth him to be excommunicated of the whole church, not whom the whole church doth *ex officio* excommunicate, but whose excommuni-

How the whole church is said to excommunicate.

[4 See below, page 259, note 3.]

[5 Tunc autem hoc sine labe pacis et unitatis, et sine læsione frumentorum fieri potest, cum congregationis ecclesiæ multitudo ab eo crimine quod anathematur, aliena est. Tunc enim adjuvat præpositum potius corripientem, quam criminosum resistentem: tunc se ab ejus conjunctione salubriter continet, ut nec cibum quisquam cum eo sumat, non rabie inimica, sed coërcitione fraterna. Tunc etiam ille et timore percutitur, et pudore sanatur, cum ab universa ecclesia se anathematum videns, sociam turbam cum qua in delicto suo gaudeat et bonis insultet, non potest invenire.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Epist. Parm. Lib. III. cap. ii. 13. Tom. IX. col. 64.]

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Excommunication.

cation the whole church doth well like of, whose fact the whole church doth detest, and whose company and fellowship the whole church doth avoid and eschew. Surely, if a man mark the words of Augustine diligently, he may well perceive that St Augustine giveth *jus excommunicandi* to the bishop; for else why should he say that, when the people be free from that crime, "they rather help the bishop correcting, than the wicked person resisting?" But the discreet reader may soon understand how far St Augustine is in this place from confirming your assertion.

St Augustine writeth seven books, *De Baptismo contra Donatistas;* and will you not vouchsafe to name one of them unto me? nor yet to recite his words, that I might know whereupon you ground this popular kind of government falsely ascribed unto him? It may be that Augustine in your understanding attributeth more to the people than he doth indeed; and it is not unlike but that lack of diligent reading hath driven you into this judgment of him. But I will give you a medicine for this disease, even out of these books that you name. In the sixth book and fourth chapter, he seemeth to give authority to all christian people to remit and to retain sins; and these words of Christ, *Si cui dimiseritis peccata, dimittuntur ei, &c.:* "To whomsoever you forgive sins, they are forgiven unto him, &c.," to be spoken to all Christians; but he openeth his own meaning, and teacheth you how to understand all such like kind of speeches; for thus he saith in the same book and chapter: "When sins are remitted unto him that is truly converted unto God, they are remitted by those to whom he is joined by his true conversion; for the same Holy Spirit doth forgive them, which is given to all saints, joined in love among themselves, whether they know one another corporally or not: likewise, when any man's sins are retained, they be retained of those from whom he that hath his sins retained doth separate himself by dissimilitude of life, and wickedness of heart, whether they know him corporally, or know him not[1]." Here you may learn what St Augustine

How Augustine is to be understood in ascribing binding and loosing to the people.

August. Lib. vi. contra Donatist. cap. 4.

[1 Et cum illi veraciter ad Deum converso peccata dimittuntur, ab eis dimittuntur, quibus ipsa veraci conversione conjungitur. Idem quippe Spiritus sanctus ea dimittit, qui datus est omnibus sanctis sibi caritate cohærentibus, sive se noverint corporaliter, sive non noverint. Similiter cum alicujus peccata tenentur, ab eis utique tenentur, a quibus se ille, cui tenentur, vitæ dissimilitudine et pravi cordis aversione disjungit, sive illum corporaliter noverint,

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meaneth by his popular state, and how he is to be understanded, when he saith that either the whole church, or the people, do excommunicate, or absolve. Excommunication.

I would you had noted unto me where I might find this saying of St Augustine, "that, if the most of the people be infected with the fault which is to be punished by excommunication, that then no excommunication ought to be attempted, for because a sufficient number of voices will not be obtained for the excommunication." For I promise you I cannot as yet come to the sight of it in those books of St Augustine by you named; neither can you tell me (as I think) where to find it; but this is your[2] usual manner and custom.

Indeed, in his third book *Contra Epist. Parmeniani*, and second chapt., he hath a place something like to this of yours, but it is from your purpose; neither doth it tend to any such end as you allege it; for the words be these: *Revera, si contagio peccandi multitudinem invaserit, divinæ disciplinæ severa misericordia necessaria est; nam consilia separationis et inania sunt, et perniciosa, atque sacrilega, quia et impia et superba fiunt, et plus perturbant infirmos bonos, quam corrigunt animosos malos*[3]: "Verily, if the contagion of sin hath infected the multitude, the severe mercy of godly discipline is necessary; for the purpose of separation is both vain, pernicious, and sacrilegious, because they are both wicked and presumptuous, and do more trouble the good that be weak, than correct or amend the evil that be stubborn." St Augustine doth not here allege this for a cause, that "sufficient voices cannot be obtained for excommunication," as you pretend; but he thinketh excommunication to be altogether in vain, where the infection is general[4]. August. Lib. iii. contra Ep. Parmen. cap. 2.

But, that it may further appear the doctrine that I affirm touching the authority of bishops in excommunicating to be true, and to have been the usual practice of the church in the best time and state of it, I thought good in this place to add to my former testimonies and answers the authority of certain Excommunication by bishops proved by the practice of the primitive church.

sive non noverint.—Id. De Bapt. contr. Donat. Lib. VI. cap. iv. 6. Tom. IX. col. 163.]

[2 You, Def. B.]

[3 Id. Contr. Epist. Parm. Lib. III. cap. ii. 14. Tom. IX. col. 65.]

[4 "Neither did I propound that sentence 'for Augustine's words,' as he surmiseth, but as that which I gathered of them."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 90.]

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Excommunication.

councils, wherein the practice of the church doth evidently shew itself.

And first, to begin with the canons attributed to the apostles, and so oft alleged by T. C.

Can. Apost. 32.

In the 32. or, as it is in some books, the 33. of those canons, it is thus decreed: "If any priest or deacon be excommunicated of his bishop, it may not be lawful for any other to receive him but only the party that hath separated him, except that bishop die which hath excommunicated him[1]." In this canon power to excommunicate, and also to absolve, is in plain words committed to the bishop alone.

Conc. Nicæn. can. 5.

The fifth canon of the council of Nice speaketh of this matter in these words: "Concerning those that are separated from the communion, be they clerks or laymen, by the bishops which are in every province, let the sentence stand according to the canon which doth pronounce those that are ejected of some not to be admitted of other. But let it be examined whether the parties be excommunicated through the indignation, or contention, or frowardness of the bishop; and for this cause, that the examination may be duly had, let there be in every province a synod celebrated twice in the year[2]." The words be manifest; and what need such provision for to examine the doings of the bishop, if he had not authority to excommunicate alone?

Conc. Antioch. can. 6.

The sixth canon of the council of Antioch is this: "If any man hath been excommunicated of his own bishop, let him not be received of any other before he be absolved of his own bishop, or shall defend himself in a synod, and (the synod being persuaded) receive another sentence. The same decree is to be observed against laymen, and priests, and deacons, and those that be in the number of the clergy[3]." Why

[1 Εἴ τις πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος ἀπὸ ἐπισκόπου γένηται ἀφορισμένος, τοῦτον μὴ ἐξεῖναι παρ' ἑτέρου δέχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἢ παρὰ τοῦ ἀφορίσαντος αὐτὸν, εἰ μὴ ἂν κατὰ συγκυρίαν τελευτήσῃ ὁ ἀφορίσας αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπος.—Canon. Apost. can. 31. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 32.]

[2 Περὶ τῶν ἀκοινωνήτων γενομένων, εἴτε τῶν ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ, εἴτε ἐν λαϊκῷ τάγματι, ὑπὸ τῶν καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν ἐπισκόπων, κρατείτω ἡ γνώμη κατὰ τὸν κανόνα τὸν διαγορεύοντα, τοὺς ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἀποβληθέντας, ὑφ' ἑτέρων μὴ προσίεσθαι. ἐξεταζέσθω δὲ, μὴ μικροψυχίᾳ, ἢ φιλονεικίᾳ, ἢ τινι τοιαύτῃ ἀηδίᾳ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἀποσυνάγωγοι γεγένηνται. Ἵνα οὖν τοῦτο τὴν πρέπουσαν ἐξέτασιν λαμβάνῃ, καλῶς ἔχειν ἔδοξεν, ἑκάστου ἐνιαυτοῦ καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν δὶς τοῦ ἔτους συνόδους γίνεσθαι.—Concil. Nic. can. 5. in eod. Tom. II. cols. 29, 32.]

[3 Εἴ τις ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου ἀκοινώνητος γέγονεν, μὴ πρότερον αὐτὸν

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should the council say, "he that is excommunicated of his own bishop, &c.," if the authority and power of excommunicating did not belong to the bishop alone? Excommunication.

In the second council of Carthage, canon 8, it is likewise determined, "That, if a priest, being excommunicated or punished by his own bishop, shall presume to celebrate, he shall be accursed[4]." Conc. Carthag. II. can. 8.

In the sixth council of Carthage, canon 10[5], the same is affirmed. Conc. Carthag. VI. can. 10.

In the council holden at Sardica, canon 13. (or, as it is in some books, 16.), it is in like manner decreed, "That, if a deacon or a priest, or any of the clergy, be excommunicated of his own bishop, and shall flee to another bishop, understanding that he is excommunicated of his own bishop, he may not give unto him the communion, doing thereby injury to his brother and fellow-bishop[6]." Conc. Sardic. can. 13.

By all these canons and ancient councils it is evident that from time to time, even in the best and purest state of the church, bishops alone have had authority to excommunicate.

And, lest T. C. should here flee to his old shift and newly-devised distinction, that this is attributed to the bishop, because he was the chief of the action, and did moderate it, and not because the authority and power of excommunicating remained in him alone, although the manifest words of the councils overthrow it, and it is not to be justified by any learning or good authority, yet, that the reader may the better understand the vanity of it, I will recite the 14. canon (or, as it is in some books[7], the 17. canon) of this council of Sardica; wherein it doth plainly appear that the bishop alone did excommuni- The bishop did excommunicate alone, not as moderator of the action.

παρ' ἑτέρων δεχθῆναι, (εἰ μὴ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παραδεχθείη τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου) ἢ συνόδου γενομένης ἀπαντήσας ἀπολογήσεται, πείσας τε τὴν σύνοδον, καταδέξοιτο ἑτέραν ἀπόφασιν. ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ ὅρος ἐπὶ λαϊκῶν, καὶ πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ διακόνων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ κανόνι.—Concil. Antioch. can. 6. in eod. ibid. col. 564.]

[4 ...si quis forte presbyter ab episcopo suo correptus, aut excommunicatus... putaverit separatim Deo sacrificia offerenda...non exeat impunitus. &c.—Concil. Carthag. II. cap. 8. in eod. ibid. col. 1161.]

[5 Concil. Carthag. VI. cap. 10. in eod. ibid. col. 1596. This is merely the repetition of a canon of Nice.]

[6 ... καὶ τοῦτο πᾶσιν ἀρεσάτω, ἵνα εἴ τις διάκονος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ καί τις τῶν κληρικῶν ἀκοινώνητος γένηται, καὶ πρὸς ἕτερον ἐπίσκοπον τὸν εἰδότα αὐτὸν καταφύγοι, γινώσκοντα ἀποκεκινῆσθαι αὐτὸν τῆς κοινωνίας παρὰ τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου, μὴ χρῆναι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ὕβριν ποιοῦντα παρέχειν αὐτῷ κοινωνίαν.—Concil. Sardic. can. 13. in eod. ibid. col. 637.]

[7 Book, Def. B.]

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Excommunication. Conc. Sard. can. 14.

cate. The canon is this: "If there shall be found a bishop prone to anger (which ought not to be in such a man), and, being soon moved against a priest or a deacon, shall cast him out of the church, or excommunicate him, it must be foreseen that he be not rashly condemned and excommunicated; therefore let him that is cast out have liberty to complain to the metropolitan of the same province; if he be absent, then to the next bishop, &c.; and that bishop which hath justly or unjustly secluded him must be content to have his doings examined, and his sentence either confirmed or corrected. &c.[1]" What need these affections be feared in the bishop, if he could not excommunicate without the consent of a seigniory, or of the people? For the seigniory might well enough withstand this his hastiness. Wherefore it is plain that the bishop alone may excommunicate[2].

The authority of excommunication ascribed to the bishop not infinite, but limited.

But yet, to cut off all further cavilling, I would have you to understand that I do not so give the authority of excommunicating to the bishop alone, or to any one man, that I think he may excommunicate when he list, without just cause and due proof of the same: my meaning is not to make him both accuser and judge: I do not think that he ought to excommunicate any before the party be orderly and lawfully convicted of such crime or crimes as are to be punished by that censure. And, that you may know that I affirm nothing herein but the very same that St Augustine hath affirmed before me, and to the intent the world may see that my

The practice in Augustine's time.

[1 Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ὀξύχολος εὑρίσκοιτο· ὅπερ οὐκ ὀφείλει ἐν τοιούτῳ ἀνδρὶ πολιτεύεσθαι· καὶ ταχέως ἀντικρὺ πρεσβυτέρου ἢ διακόνου κινηθεὶς ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκκλησίας αὐτὸν ἐθελήσοι· προνοητέον ἐστὶ μὴ ἀθρόον τὸν τοιοῦτον κατακρίνεσθαι, καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας ἀποστερεῖσθαι....ὁ ἐκβαλλόμενος ἐχέτω ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς μητροπόλεως τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπαρχίας καταφυγεῖν· εἰ δὲ ὁ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἀπεστιν, ἐπὶ τὸν πλησιόχωρον κατατρέχειν, καὶ ἀξιοῦν, ἵνα μετὰ ἀκριβείας αὐτοῦ ἐξετάζηται τὸ πρᾶγμα....κἀκεῖνος δὲ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ὁ δικαίως ἢ ἀδίκως ἐκβαλὼν τὸν τοιοῦτον, γενναίως φέρειν ὀφείλει, ἵνα ἡ ἐξέτασις τοῦ πράγματος γένηται· καὶ ἢ κυρωθῇ αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀπόφασις, ἢ διορθώσεως τύχῃ.—Ibid. can. 14. col. 640.]

[2 Cartwright maintains that the canon of the council of Sardica "is to be understanded not of the bishop alone;" one proof of which he says is "in the elders' joint government with the bishop generally in all matters." He adds that "another council (Arles II. ca. 30) authorizeth the suspension which the 'elders and clerks decree against the bishop.'" "The councils therefore," he concludes, "giving the elders remedy at home and within themselves, the 'rash excommunication' which the council ascribeth 'unto the bishop' must needs be understood to have been done by advise of the elders."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 91.]

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opinion in this point is not strange or void of sufficient authority, I will set down his words, as I find them in his book, *De Utilitate et Necessitate Pœnitentiæ*, and reported of Beda in his commentaries upon the first Corinth. v.: "Although some things be true, yet the judge must not believe them unless they be sufficiently proved. And we can forbid no man from the communion (although this prohibition be not mortal but medicinable), except he either willingly confess it, or be accused and convicted, either in some secular or ecclesiastical court; for who dare take unto himself to be both accuser and judge[3]?" And this is my judgment of the authority of bishops in excommunicating.

Excommunication.

Augustinus, To. x. ho. 50.

The abuses crept into this church in the executing of it I do not defend (as it is manifest in my Answer), but wish them by due order and authority with speed reformed.

Chapter i. The Nineteenth Division.

T. C. Page 150, Line 7.

And it is to be observed here, that both in this part of the discipline, and also in all other parts of it (as I have shewed), as in harder and difficulter causes things were referred unto the synods provincial, national, or general, as the case required; so, if the elders of any church shall determine anything contrary to the word of God, or inconveniently in any matter that falleth into their determination, the parties which are grieved may have recourse, for remedy, unto the elders and pastors of divers churches, that is to say, unto synods of shires, or dioceses, or provinces, or nations of as great or of as small compass as shall be thought convenient by the church, according to the difficulty or weight of the matters which are in controversy; which meetings ought to be as often as can be conveniently, not only for the decision of such difficulties which the several presbyteries cannot so well judge of, but also to the end that common counsel might be taken for the best remedy of the vices or incommodities which either the churches be in, or in danger to be in. And, as those things which cannot be decided by the eldership of the churches are to be reserved unto the knowledge of some synod of a shire or diocese, so those, which for their

[3 Quamvis enim vera sint quædam; non tamen judici facile credenda sunt, nisi certis indiciis demonstrentur. Nos vero a communione prohibere quemquam non possumus, (quamvis hæc prohibitio nondum sit mortalis, sed medicinalis,) nisi aut sponte confessum, aut in aliquo sive sæculari, sive ecclesiastico judicio nominatum atque convictum. Quis enim sibi utrumque audeat assumere, ut cuiquam ipse sit et accusator et judex?—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Serm. cccli. (De Util. agend. Pœnit. i.) cap. iv. 10. Tom. V. col. 1359. Conf. Ven. Bed. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. Ad Corinth. i. cap. v. Tom. VI. col. 304.]

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Excommunication.

hardness cannot be there decided, must be brought into the synods of larger compass; as I have shewed to have been done in the apostles' times, and in the churches which followed them long after.

JO. WHITGIFT.

The tumultuous and disorderly order propounded by the Replier.

So shall there be *turbarum et contentionum satis:* "much unquietness;" for one or two busy pastors, such as your school can yield good store of, would invent matter enough to trouble the whole church; and pastors should then be compelled to be as much absent from their benefices, by reason of those synods, as they be now upon other occasions. Lord, what a tumultuous church would this be, if this platform might take place! In the mean while, the prince should be a cipher, and only wait to understand what kind of religion, ceremonies, and government these seigniories and their synods would prescribe unto her to maintain and defend; for she must have *potestatem facti* only, not *juris:* she must take laws, she must give none: she must execute whatsoever it pleaseth Master pastors and their seniors to command her; else will they stir up the whole country against her: at the least she must be excommunicated: methinketh I see the very beginning of a new popedom.

T. C. ascribeth his own device to the apostles.

Have you "shewed" this confused order "to have been in the apostles' time, or in the primitive church?" Where have you shewed it? or when will you prove it? Synods there were indeed; and necessary it is that when occasion serveth they should be; but your seigniory in every town or parish under a christian prince never was, neither is it possible that without confusion it should be; as I have before declared. But what audacity is this, to ascribe an order invented by yourself (upon the which scarce three of you do agree, if you were well examined, and in the which yourself, or ever it were long, would espy some thing to be altered) unto the apostles!

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Bishops' courts, &c.

Of bishops' courts, and their officers.

Chapter ii. The First Division.

T. C. Page 150, Sect. 1.

These things standing in this sort, all those courts of bishops and archbishops must needs fall, which were by antichrist erected, against this lawful jurisdiction of eldership; as the court of faculties, and those which are holden by chancellors, commissaries, officials, and such like; the describing of the corruptions whereof would require a whole book; of which I will note the principal heads and sums.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

And not these courts only, but all the courts in England, would be devoured up of your seigniory; yea, even the prince's regal authority; as may appear partly by that which is said before, and partly by that which shall follow hereafter. For what jurisdiction will not your seigniory usurp? what matters would it not presume to determine? what degree of person would it not tread underfoot? But let us hear what you say of these courts.

Chapter ii. The Second Division.

T. C. Page 150, Sect. 2.

First, for that they enter into an office which pertaineth not unto them, but to every particular church, and especially to the eldership and[1] *governors of the church; and therefore, although they should do nothing but that which were good, lawful, and godly, yet can they not approve their labours unto men, much less to God, putting their sickle in another man's harvest. For neither by the truth of the word of God doth that appertain unto them, neither by M. Doctor's own judgment (if his yea were yea, and his nay, nay), considering that he said before that this jurisdiction belongeth to the ministers. And, although it should pertain unto the bishop (as he is called), to whom notwithstanding it doth not appertain, yet were it not lawful for him to translate this office unto another, and to appoint one to do it, when he listeth, no more than he can appoint them to do his other offices of ministering, as preaching the word and ministering the sacraments.*

Jo. WHITGIFT.

Your several government by eldership in every parish

[1 Or, Repl. 1 and 2.]

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Bishops' courts, &c.

I utterly reject, as neither justifiable by God's word, nor any example of any church at any time, under a christian prince, in that manner and form by you prescribed.

The court of faculties meddleth not with excommunications.

The courts of chancellors, &c., have many more matters to deal withal than excommunication; for that is but one part of discipline, that they use or ought to use only upon an extremity; concerning the which discipline, and the ministers thereof, I am of the self-same judgment that I was before, and "my yea is yea, and my nay is nay." And yet I will tell you what I have read since in M. Gualter's commentaries upon the 1 Cor. v.: "If any would appoint some kind of separation, or shutting out, which should be executed by a lawful magistrate, and should rather be civil than ecclesiastical, we will not be against them. For the laws of our cities also do punish them with excommunication which are very negligent in hearing sermons, and in the use of the Lord's supper, and furthermore which do offend the church with their wicked life. For such, if they live in the city, they are thrown out of the fellowship of the wards or companies, so that they can buy and sell with no man; neither are they capable of any honour or public office; but, if they dwell in the country, they are kept from the use of the common pastures and woods. And this way is most meet for us: let other cities and countries do that which they think to be most profitable for their people; forsomuch as it is evident that the same form of discipline cannot be appointed and observed in all places[1]." I wish the other removed from those courts, and this in the place of it. But that bishops may lawfully use the true ecclesiastical excommunication I have proved before. Deny

Gualter in 1 Cor. v. A kind of civil excommunication.

[1 Quod si aliqui exclusionem qualemcunque instituere velint, quæ a magistratu legitimo exerceatur, et politica potius sit, quam ecclesiastica, cum illis nulla erit nobis contentio. Etenim nostræ quoque civitatis leges excommunicatione puniunt eos, qui in audiendis concionibus et cœnæ dominicæ usu negligentiores, insuper vita scelerata ecclesiam offendunt. Tales enim, si in urbe vivant, ex tribuum societate ejiciuntur, ut commercia cum nemine habere possint, neque illis ad honores et munera publica accessus est: sin in agro habitent, a pascuorum et sylvarum communium usu arcentur. Et hæc ratio nobis commodissima est. Faciant aliæ urbes et gentes, quod e re sui populi esse putarint, quando constat eandem disciplinæ formam ubique locorum constitui et observari non posse.—R. Gualther. Hom. in prior. ad Corinth. Epist. Tigur. 1588. In cap. v. Hom. xxiv. fol. 68.]

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it you as oft as you will, you can shew no sound reason or ground of your denial. Bishops' courts, &c.

Chapter ii. The Third Division.

T. C. Page 150, Sect. 3.

Another thing is that in these courts (which they call spiritual) they take the knowledge of matters which are mere civil, thereby not only perverting the order which God hath appointed in severing the civil causes from the ecclesiastical, but justling also with the civil magistrate, and thrusting him from the jurisdiction which appertaineth unto him, as the causes of the contracts of marriage, of divorces, of wills and testaments, with divers other such[2] like things. For, although it appertain to the church and the governors thereof to shew out of the word of God which is a lawful contract or just cause of divorce, and so forth, yet the judicial determination and definitive sentences of all these do appertain unto the civil magistrate. Hereunto may be added, that all their punishments almost are penalties of money, which can by no means appertain to the church, but is a thing merely civil. A manifest untruth.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

We give to the civil magistrate authority in ecclesiastical causes; and we acknowledge all jurisdiction that any court in England hath or doth exercise, be it civil or ecclesiastical, to be executed in her majesty's name and right, and to come from her as supreme governor; so far are we off from "justling with her, or thrusting her from the jurisdiction which pertaineth unto her." Neither do we make any such distinction betwixt civil and ecclesiastical causes as the pope and you do. And therefore we are not they that detract anything from the civil magistrate; but it is the pope and you, who both thrust him from the jurisdiction that by the law of God and all equity he ought to have in ecclesiastical matters. God hath not so severed civil causes from ecclesiastical but that one man may be judge in them both; and, if "it pertain to the church to declare what is a lawful contract, and which be the just causes of divorce," by what reason can you prove "that the judicial determination and definitive sentence of those matters doth pertain to the civil magistrate only?" For is not he most meet to judge in these causes which best understandeth them? But both this and that which Ecclesiastical courts executed in the prince's name. Who they are that justle with the civil magistrate.

[2 Such other, Repl. 2.]

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Bishops' courts.

followeth you speak without reason; and therefore the custom of the church, and the laws appointed for the same, now also received and confirmed by the civil magistrate, with the consent of the whole realm, must be of greater force than your single words.

Chapter ii. The Fourth Division.

T. C. Page 150, Sect. ult.

Thirdly, as they handle matters which do not appertain unto the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, so those which do appertain unto the church they do turn from their lawful institution unto other ends not sufferable; which M. Doctor himself doth confess in excommunicating for money, &c.

Jo. Whitgift.

So I do indeed: but it is the fault of the man, not of the law.

Chapter ii. The Fifth Division.

T. C. Page 151, Sect. 1.

Last of all, they take upon them those things which are neither lawful for civil nor ecclesiastical jurisdiction, nor simply for any man to do; of which sort divers are reckoned up by the Admonition, and some confessed by M. Doctor. I will not here speak of the unfitness of those which are chief officers in these courts, that the most of them are either papists, or bribers, or drunkards (I know what I write), or epicures, and such as live of benefices and prebends in England and[1] *in Ireland, doing nothing of those things which appertain unto them, and of other such naughty persons, which are not only not meet to be governors in the church, but which in any reformed church should not be so much as of the church. I speak not of all; I doubt not but there be some do that which they do of conscience, and with mind to help forward the church, which I trust will (when the Lord shall give them more knowledge) keep themselves in their vocations, and, being men for their gifts apt and able either to serve the church or the commonwealth in some other calling, will rather occupy their gifts there, than where they have no ground to assure themselves that they do please God.*

Jo. Whitgift.

Forasmuch as you refer us to the Admonition to know what these things be, that chancellors, &c., "take upon them, being lawful neither for civil nor ecclesiastical jurisdiction,"

[1 Or, Repl. 2. The table of errata to that edition, however, corrects to *and in England.*]

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I will also refer you to my Answer made to that part of the Admonition. Bishops courts, &c.

Your slanderous and opprobrious speeches against the men (having little to say against their offices) they must take in good part until you come forth namely to accuse them; but I am sorry that they (being as you say such persons) shall have little occasion to be persuaded to amendment of life by you, whom they see as factious in religion, as they are peevish in condition; as corrupt with affections, as they be with bribes; as deep in spite and malice, as they be in drunkenness. What divinity call you this, thus to libel against men in authority, whom you dare not accuse to their faces? I defend them not if there be any such, nay, I wish them severely punished; but you utter nothing less than the fruits of divinity; and I would have you come forth to accuse them. Touching their "benefices and prebends," they will defend themselves by the example of your adherents; whereof some have shaken off the ministry, and yet keep their prebends, some, misliking the state of this church, crying out of the canon law, the court of faculties, &c., take notwithstanding all the benefit thereby that they can, some of them retaining two, some four, &c., and yet do full little duty, nay, rase up rather than plant. A taste of the Replier's divinity.

But why do I fall into this vein, which I mislike in you? I am thereunto forced by your intolerable outrageousness, the which howsoever I suffer against myself, yet may I be bold something to say unto you, thus swelling and raging against other.

Chapter ii. The Sixth Division.

Admonition.

These seniors then, because their charge was not overmuch[2], *did execute their office*[3] *in their own persons, without substitutes. Our lord*[4] *bishops have their under-officers, as suffragans, chancellors, archdeacons, officials, commissaries, and such like.*

Answer to the Admonition, Page 117, Sect. 2, 3, 4.

You barely affirm, without any proof, that these seniors then did execute their offices in their own Of[5] substitutes or vicars.

[2] Adm. omits the preceding six words.] [3] Offices, Adm.]

[4] Lords, Adm. edit. 1.]

[5] Answ. 2 omits *of*, and joins the other three words to *Concil. Ancyran.* below.]

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Bishops' courts, &c.

persons, without substitutes; but your bare word is not of sufficient credit; although I think you will make a great difference betwixt seniors and bishops; for they whom you call seniors had no authority to preach or to minister the sacraments, as bishops have.

That bishops might have substitutes, and had so, it is manifest in the 13. canon *Ancyrani Concilii*, which was about the year of our Lord three hundred and eight, and before Nicene council; where we read on this sort: *Vicariis episcoporum (quos Græci chorepiscopos vocant) non licet vel presbyteros vel diaconos ordinare, sed nec presbyteris civitatis, sine episcopi præcepto, amplius aliquid ordinare, nec sine auctoritate literarum ejus in unaquaque parochia aliquid agere*[1]: "It is not lawful for bishops' substitutes (whom the Grecians do call fellow-bishops or coadjutors) to order either priests or deacons; neither is it lawful to the priests of the city, without the bishop's authority, to command anything else, or without the authority of his letters to do anything in any parish."

Concil. Ancyran.

It is manifest hereby that bishops then had deputies: whether you will call them chancellors, commissaries, &c., the matter is not great. To contend for the name when the thing is certain is a note of a contentious person.

T. C. Page 151, Sect. 1.

Now I will take a short survey of that which M. Doctor allegeth to prove his offices of master of faculties, chancellors, &c. First he saith in the 117. *page, out of the Ancyran council, that there were vicars of bishops, where although the name be not found of chancellors, yet there is, saith he, the office. What vicar St Paul's bishop may have and in what case I have shewed before, where I have proved the necessary residence of every pastor in his flock. But I will note here how M. Doctor doth go about to abuse his reader in these vicars. And first, where there were three editions, of which one only maketh mention of these vicars, he took that and left the other; which is to be observed, for that this variety of editions rose of the divers understanding of the Greek word (χωρεπίσκοπος) which may be taken either for him that is bishop for another and in his place, or for*

[1 Concil. Ancyr. ex interp. Isid. Mercat. can. 13. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 1473. This is the version which Whitgift almost literally follows. For the others which Cartwright mentions below, see can. 13. ibid. col. 1462; can. 12. col. 1468.]

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him that is bishop in the country, that is, in some town which is no city; so that chorepiscopus *was opposed unto the bishop which was of some city. And, if it be so taken, then here is no proof for the vicars of bishops. But howsoever it be, it shall appear that the names of chancellors and* chorepiscopos *do not so much differ as the offices and functions of them. For it appeareth, in the same council and canon, that they were like the* 70. *disciples, that they had also some care to provide for the poor, and that they were such as did minister the sacraments. And in another council they have authority given them to make subdeacons, exorcists, and readers*[3]. *I know this was a corruption of the ministry; but yet all men see how M. Doctor looketh as it were afar off upon things, and therefore taketh a man for a molehill, when he would make us believe that these were chancellors, &c.*

χωρεπίσκοποι.

An untruth; for there is no such thing in that canon nor council.

Antioch. cap. 10.[2]

JO. WHITGIFT.

My purpose is to prove that which the Admonition denieth, that is, that bishops had their substitutes, call them by what name you will; neither do I speak either of the names or office of chancellors in that place, but I reprove the authors of the Admonition of ignorance for saying that bishops had then no substitutes.

You have shewed nothing hitherto which proveth that bishops may have no substitutes, but you have declared rather the contrary; as it is by me in that place noted.

How I "abuse the reader in these vicars," and what choice I make of these three editions, let the authors of the Centuries judge; who, speaking of the same matter, *Cent. iv. cap.* 7, write thus: *Episcoporum vicarios canones conciliorum Ancyrani, Neocæsariensis, et Antiocheni (si quam fidem habent) chorepiscopos nominant, &c.*[4]: "The canons of the councils of Ancyra, Neocæsarea, and Antioch (if they bear any credit), do call the vicars of bishops *chorepiscopos;* which word also is extant in the 54. epist. of Basil. And Sozom., *Lib. ii. cap.* 14, calleth one Maureandas, *chorepiscopum* of Bicoris,

χωρεπίσκοποι bishops' vicars.

Cent. iv. cap. 7.

[2 This is inserted from Repl. 1, 2, and Def. A.]

[3 ... ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ ... καθιστᾶν δὲ ἀναγνώστας, καὶ ὑποδιακόνους, καὶ ἐφορκιστὰς, καὶ τῇ τούτων ἀρκεῖσθαι προαγωγῇ. μήτε πρεσβύτερον, μήτε διάκονον χειροτονεῖν τολμᾶν, κ. τ. λ.—Concil. Antioch. can. 10. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. II. col. 565.]

[4 Episcoporum &c. nominant, quæ vox etiam apud Basilium extat, epistola quinquagesimaquarta. Et Sozomenus libro secundo, capite decimoquarto, Maureandam chorepiscopum cujusdam Bicoris episcopi Persarum appellat.—Cent. Eccles. Hist. Basil. 1560, &c. Cent. IV. cap. vii. col. 490. Conf. Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Ad Athanas. Epist. xxiv. Tom. III. p. 103; et Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. II. cap. xiii. p. 376.]

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χωρεπίσκοπος. Calvin.

bishop of the Persians." M. Calvin, in his *Instit. cap. viii. sect.* 52, is of the same judgment: "Every college (saith he) only for the preservation of order and concord was subject to one bishop, which did so excel the rest in dignity, that, notwithstanding, he was subject to the company of brethren. But, if the circuit which was under his bishopric was larger than that he could sufficiently perform the office of a bishop in all places, there were priests appointed in certain places through the country, which supplied his room in smaller matters. These they called *chorepiscopos;* because through the province they represented the bishops[1]."

You may therefore now understand that I have not gone about to abuse the reader by using this word "vicars," but rather that yourself did not, or would not, understand what was meant by this word *chorepiscopus.*

You say, "it appeareth in the same council and canon (meaning the council of Ancyran, and 13. canon), that they[2] were like the 70. disciples, that they had also some care to provide for the poor, and that they were such as did minister the sacraments;" and yet there is not one word of this in that canon or in that council; whereby it appeareth that some man hath deceived you with his collections, and that you have not read the canon or the council yourself. This canon I have reported wholly and truly, in my Answer to the Admonition. Let the reader measure your great skill and reading by such gross errors. Indeed in the council of Neocæsarea, and 13. canon, there are the like words to be found[3].

All that which you speak to prove that the office of these *chorepiscopi* doth differ from the office of chancellors is needless (although it is no good reason to say: They differ in some

[1 Singula (ut dixi) collegia politiæ tantum et pacis conservandæ gratia uni episcopo suberant: qui sic alios dignitate antecedebat, ut fratrum cœtui subjiceretur. Quod si amplior erat ager, qui sub ejus episcopatu erat, quam ut sufficere omnibus episcopi muniis ubique posset, per ipsum agrum designabantur certis locis presbyteri, qui in minoribus negotiis ejus vices obirent. Eos vocabant chorepiscopos, quod per ipsam provinciam episcopum repræsentabant.—Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Inst. Lib. IV. cap. iv. 2. Tom. IX. p. 286.]

[2 Def. B. omits *they.*]

[3 Οἱ δὲ χωρεπίσκοποι, εἰσὶ μὲν εἰς τύπον τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα· ὡς δὲ συλλειτουργοὶ, διὰ τὴν σπουδὴν εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς, προσφέρουσι τιμώμενοι.—Concil. Neoc. can. 14. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 1484.]

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points; *ergo*, they agree in no points): my purpose only in this place is to prove, against the Admonition (as I have said), that bishops had substitutes; which being granted, it will soon fall out that they may as well have chancellors. χωρεπίσκοπος.

Chapter ii. The Seventh Division.

Admonition.

Instead of chancellors, archdeacons, officials, commissaries, proctors, doctors, summoners, churchwardens, and such like, you have to place[4] *in every congregation a lawful and godly seigniory*[5].

Answer to the Admonition, Page 125, Sect. 2.

That is, instead of learned, wise, and discreet men, you must place to govern the church in every congregation unlearned, ignorant, and men most unapt to govern; for such of necessity you must have in most congregations.

Chapter ii. The Eighth Division.

T. C. Page 151, Sect. 2.

In the 125. *page, to the Admonition desiring that these may be removed and the eldership established according to God's order, M. Doctor answereth that that were to place, "instead of wise and discreet men, unlearned, ignorant, and unapt to rule." Let M. Doctor take heed lest, in allowing so well of the popish ceremonies, not only as tolerable, but as fit, and then acquainting himself with the papists' manner of speaking, in saying that the people be "ignorant and unlearned," he fall or ever*[6] *he be aware into some worse thing. Moses in Deuteronomy, and Salomon in his Proverbs, place the principal wisdom in keeping God's commandments and in fearing God. And David saith that the secrets and the privy counsel of the Lord is known to those which fear him; and I have shewed out of St Paul, that he giveth to the spiritual man great discretion and judgment of things. If therefore there be in every church which fear God and keep his commandments, there are both "wise and learned and discreet men," and therefore not to be spoken of so contemptuously as M. Doctor speaketh. And, God be praised, there are numbers in the church that are able to be teachers unto most of the chancellors, in any matter pertaining to the church, and*

Deut. iv. 6.[7]
Prov. i. 7.[7]
Psal. xxv. 12, 14.[7]
1 Cor. ii. 15.[7]

[4 Plant, Adm.]

[5 This portion of the Admonition has appeared above (see before, page 153): the sentence of the Answer here inserted precedes that which is there cited.]

[6 Over, Repl. 2.] [7 The verses are inserted from Repl. 2.]

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are able to give a riper judgment in any ecclesiastical matter than the most part of them can.

JO. WHITGIFT.

The people for the most part unapt to govern.

Who knoweth not that the people for the most part be ignorant, unlearned, and unapt to govern? you know what Chrysostom saith of them, *Hom. ii. in Joh.*[1] And yet I do not take from them sufficient knowledge in things pertaining to their salvation, nor that wisdom that Salomon or David speaketh of, nor yet the discretion that St Paul meaneth, 1 Cor. ii. But is every man that shall be saved apt to rule and govern? or doth Christ pour into them such gifts and graces miraculously as he did in the beginning of the church? cometh learning, wisdom, aptness to govern, and such like, by inspiration only, and not by means? I know there are many of the people that fear God, and are sober and discreet: the Lord increase the number of them; but, on the other side, you must know that some there be (and that not the smallest number) that think better of themselves than they deserve. And I suppose that no man will deny the most part to be unfit for such functions; and that, even of those that are godly, many are far unmeet to govern. But, if your reason be sound, then may the basest and simplest man, keeping God's commandments, and fearing him, be as apt to govern as the wisest man, the most learned, and of best experience in a whole country; which is too great an absurdity, and too popular an argument.

The absurdity of the Replier's assertion.

Godliness required in governors; but all that be godly are not meet to govern.

True it is, that to keep God's commandments, and to fear him, is requisite and necessary in a governor; but yet (as I say) not all those that fear God, and keep his commandments, be apt and meet to govern. These be the chief points of heavenly wisdom, which bring salvation, and which teach a man to govern himself in those things that pertain to eternal life; but there are other things also necessarily required in such as take upon them the government of others; except you will say with the anabaptists, *Christianis non est opus magistratu:* "Christians have no need of a magistrate."

[1 Εἰ δὲ πάλιν ἔροιο τί δήποτε ὁ δῆμός ἐστιν, ἐροῦσι, πρᾶγμα θορύβου γέμων καὶ ταραχῶδες, καὶ ἐξ ἀνοίας τὸ πλέον συγκείμενον, ἁπλῶς φερόμενον, κατὰ τὰ τῆς θαλάττης κύματα πολλάκις, καὶ ἐκ ποικίλου καὶ μαχομένης συνιστάμενον γνώμης. ὅταν οὖν τις τοιοῦτον ἔχῃ δεσπότην, τίνος ἐλεεινότερος οὐκ ἂν εἴη;— Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Joann. Hom. iii. Tom. VIII. p. 23.]

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There may be therefore in every church wise, learned, and discreet men in matters pertaining to themselves, and to their own salvation, and yet not meet to govern others: there may be also meet men to govern others, but yet peradventure by the more part (which is commonly evil-disposed) put back from the seigniory. In a word, God hath appointed the multitude, how godly and learned soever they be, to obey and not to rule; unless indeed you will make the state popular, to the which all your arguments tend.

All the Replier's arguments tend to popularity.

Chapter ii. The Ninth Division.

T. C. Page 151, Sect. ult.

And, besides that the choicest are to be taken to this office, this ought not to be forgotten, that, seeing good success of things depend upon the blessing of God, and that blessing followeth the church when the Lord's order is kept, simple men which carry no great countenance or shew will undoubtedly do more good unto the church, having a lawful calling, than those of great port which have no such calling.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

But how will you bring it to pass that the "choicest may be taken?" for, if the election go by the whole parish (as it must), then is it a thing unpossible to be brought to pass in many parishes, the most part being evil-affected, except you will use violence, and compulsion; which is against the liberty that you seek for.

"The Lord's order is kept," when due obedience is given to the civil magistrate, and other that be placed under him, to govern the church of God. For of this we have express mention to the Rom. xiii., 1 Tim. ii., 1 Pet. ii.; and it is confirmed by the examples of the old church under Moses, Josua, David, Salomon, Jehosaphat, Ezechias, Josias, and all other godly kings and judges. Likewise, the order of God is kept, when next to this supreme governor under God we reverence and obey in the ecclesiastical state such as God hath appointed to take the chief care and government of the church, under the prince, be they archbishops, bishops, or such like. And thereof also we have express warrant in the word of God, and that such as admitteth no other interpretation; as 1 Tim. iii., Tit. i., Hebr. xiii.; but, as for your order of seniors, and kind of government, you have no such warrant in the word of God.

How the Lord's order is kept.

Rom. xiii. 1 Tim. ii. 1 Pet. ii.

1 Tim. iii.

Tit. i. Hebr. xiii.

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And the places that you use for your purpose be doubtful, and diversly interpreted by learned men; wherefore not sufficient to ground any certain doctrine upon, being of faith and of salvation; as you have said before the kind of government to be. Wherefore it is you that disturb and seek to overthrow the order of government appointed by God; and therefore in the end you must look to be overthrown yourself.

To your imagination of transforming simple, unapt, and unlearned men to an aptness and dexterity of government, if your platform were placed, I will only answer that which Master Bullinger did to a fantasy of the anabaptists not much unlike: "You imagine and conceive in your mind those things which never have been, nor are extant, and shall never hereafter be[1]."

Chapter ii. The Tenth Division.

Admonition.

The nineteenth.

What should we speak of the archbishop's court, sith all men know it, and your wisdom[2] cannot but see what it is. As all other courts are subject to this by the pope's prerogative, yea, and by statute of this realm yet unrepealed, so is it the filthy quave-mire and poisoned plash of all the abominations that do infect the whole realm. We speak not of licences granted out of this court to marry in forbidden times, as in Lent, in Advent, in the gang-week[3], when banners and bells, with[4] the priest in his surplice, singing gospels, and making crosses, rangeth about in many places, upon the ember days, and to forbidden persons, and in exempt places. We make no mention of licences to eat white meat and flesh in Lent, and that with a safe conscience, for rich men that can buy them with money; nor we say nothing how dearly men pay for them. As for dispensations with beneficed boys, tolerations for non-residents, bulls to have two benefices, to have three, to have more, and as many as they list or can get; these are so common that all godly and good men are compelled

To prove that the regiment of the church should be spiritual, read[5] *Ephe. i. 23.*[6] *1 Thess. v. 12. 1 Tim. i. 2.*[7] *Heb. x. 30.*

[1 Inanis vero opinio est, et imaginatio levis, quod anabaptistæ sibi imaginantur talem ecclesiam, in qua affectus et motus omnes penitus extincti sint. Solent autem anabaptistæ libenter ea imaginari et in animo suo confingere, quæ nunquam fuerunt, neque extant, aut posthac futura sunt.—H. Bullinger. adv. Anabapt. Libri VI. Tigur. 1560. Lib. v. cap. i. fol. 158.]

[2 Wisdoms, Adm.]

[3 Gang-week: rogation-week, when processions were made.]

[4 The four preceding words are omitted in Adm.]

[5 Here Adm. inserts *Calvin in his commentaries upon these places.*]

[6 Eph. ii. 23, Adm.] [7 1 Tim. v. 2, Adm.]

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with grief of heart to cry out upon such abominations. We omit excommunication for money, absolution for the same, and that by absolving one for[8] *another; which how contrary it is to the scriptures, the complaints of many learned men, by propositions in open schools proposed, by writings in printed books set out, and by preaching in open pulpits, have been sufficiently witnessed. To conclude, this filthy court hath full power, together with the authority of this petty pope, metropolitan and primate of all England, to dispense in all causes wherein the pope was wont to dispense; under which are contained more cases and causes than we are able to reckon. As for my lord's grace of York*[9]*, we deal not with him: we refer him to that learned epistle which Beza wrote unto him about these matters*[10].

Answer to the Admonition, Page 228, Sect. 1, 2, and Page 229.

I think this court to be necessary for the state of this church and realm; and, if there be abuses in it, either in the law itself, or in the persons, I wish it were reformed. But the whole order of the court is not therefore to be condemned, no more than it is of other courts, which cannot be missed, and yet have abuses in them. I confess myself to have little experience in such matters, and therefore I will speak the less thereof.

Abuses in the church disliked[11].

As I do mislike that there should be any time forbidden to marry in (for that can have no good meaning), or any dispensations for boys to keep benefices, or excommunications and absolutions for money, for[12] one man to be absolved for another, and if there be any other such like abuse; so do I utterly condemn your unseemly and unchristian terms, as "filthy quavemire," "poisoned plash of all abominations," "filthy court," especially considering whereof they be spoken, to whom, and by whom: they argue a scolding nature, and a stomach boiling with contempt of laws and superiors. Neither can I suffer you to slander, not that court, but this church, with manifest untruths, as you do when you say that "banners, bells, and making of crosses, be

The church slandered by the Admonitors[13].

[8] One man for, Adm. and Answ.]

[9] As for the archbishop of York, Adm. Grindal was at this time archbishop.]

[10] This letter is appended to the Admonition. See also Th. Bezæ Epist. Theolog. Genev. 1575. Epist. viii. pp. 68, &c.]

[11] This is inserted from Answ. 2.] [12] Or, Answ.]

[13] This is not in Answ. Answ. 2 has, instead, *A scolding nature.*]

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allowed to be used in the gang-week," and that "the archbishop's court hath full power to dispense in all causes wherein the pope was wont to dispense;" which both be most untrue. I think in dispensations this court goeth no further than the laws of the realm do permit.

Agreeable to this spirit is your contemptuous speech used to both the archbishops; men to be reverenced, not only in the respect[1] of their years and authority, but of their singular wisdom, gravity, learning, and sound religion also. Howbeit you reverence them as you do all other that be in authority, except some, whom you do but seek to use to bring your intents to pass: I will say no more.

Beza and others abused by false informations.

I think you have abused Master Beza with your false reports; which hath caused him to write otherwise than he would do, if he knew the whole state of the controversy: so you have also abused other notable learned men, and caused them to write according to your fancy; which since that time (being truly informed) have by their letters (which are to be seen) both condemned your contentiousness, and their own too much credulity. But our faith and church depends neither upon M. Beza, nor any other man; neither do they look for any such prerogative. But still you are without the book.

T. C. Page 152, Sect. 1.

In the 228. *page he thinketh the archbishop's court necessary, but bringeth no reason, and further confesseth himself ignorant of the estate of it; and therefore I know not from whence that good opinion of his should come, unless it be from thence, that he liketh of all things, be they never so evil, which the Admonition misliketh. The rest which M. Doctor hath of this matter is nothing else but great and high words. And, as for the*[2] *canon law, it is known what a stroke it beareth with us, and that, a few cases excepted, it remaineth in his*[3] *former effect.*

Jo. Whitgift.

Laws made must not be overthrown but by very strong reasons.

I have shewed better reasons for it than you have done against it as yet[4]. For it is a reason for me sufficient that

[1] In respect, Answ. 2.]

[2] Repl. 1 repeats *the*.] [3] Her, Repl. 2.]

[4] "...which is no defence of his rashness whereby he affirmed that which he confessed 'he knew not.'"—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 97 (erroneously marked 87).]

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the court is established by the authority of the prince and the whole realm; and fit it is that very strong reasons should be used before this reason be rejected. For in matters of government place must be given to the governors, law-makers, and to the state, except there can be shewed invincible reasons to the contrary; whereof you have not in this place uttered one.

[Admonition.

The twentieth.

*And as for the commissary's court, that is but a petty little stinking ditch, that floweth out of that former great puddle, robbing Christ's church of lawful pastors, of watchful seniors and elders, and careful deacons. In this court as in the other, one *alone doth excommunicate, one alone sitteth in judgment, and when he will can draw back the judgment which he hath pronounced having called upon the name of God, and that for money, which is called by*[5] *changing of penance. In this court, for non-payment of two-pence a man shall be excommunicated if he appear not when he is sent for, if he do not as his ordinary would, from whom he had his popish induction and institution, and to whom he hath sworn* canonicam obedientiam: *"canonical obedience," if he learn not his catechism like a good boy without book, when it were more meet he should be able to teach others. To conclude, if he be not obedient to all these lord bishop's officers, by and bye he must be cut off by excommunication. And, as it is lightly granted and given forth, so, if the money be paid, and the court discharged, it is as quickly called in again. This court polleth parishes, scourgeth the poor hedge-priests, ladeth churchwardens with manifest perjuries, punisheth whoredoms and adulteries with toyish censures, remitteth without satisfying the congregation, and that in secret places, giveth out dispensations for unlawful marriages, and committeth a thousand such like abominations. God deliver all Christians out of this antichristian tyranny, where the judges, advocates, and proctors for the most part are papists, and as for the scribes and notaries, as greedy as cormorants, and, if they all should perhaps see this writing, they would be as angry as wasps, and sting like hornets: three of them would be enough*[6] *to sting a man to death: for why? they are high commissioners.*

* 1 Cor. v. 4.

All this, we say, springeth out of this pontifical, which we must allow by subscription, setting down our hands, that it is not repugnant or against the word of God. We mean this antichristian hierarchy and popish ordering of ministers, strange from the word of God, and the use of all well-reformed churches in the world.

Answer.

To this I answer as before, I will neither justify

[5 The, Adm.] [6 Enow, Adm.]

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that which is amiss, nor condemn that which I know not; only this I say, that this taunting spirit of yours seeketh rather defamation than reformation, uttereth spitefulness of stomach rather than godly zeal; for what a deriding of authority and disdain towards the same is this: "Three of them would be enow to sting a man to death: for why? they are high commissioners!" What example have you of any godly man that used thus to deride and flout magistrates?

Defamation sought for rather than reformation.

You say, "all this springeth out of that pontifical which" you "must allow by subscription, &c." But it had been well if you had told us out of what part of that pontifical they spring, and how they be thereof gathered.

Of "this antichristian hierarchy and popish ordering of ministers" (as it pleaseth you to say) I have spoken before sufficiently, and proved it neither to be antichristian nor popish, but profitable and convenient, and both according to the word of God, and use of ancient godly and well-ordered churches, especially where the reformation is general, and in a kingdom. For you must not look to have the same government of one whole kingdom, and of one little village or city. In such matters you must have consideration to the time, place, persons, and other such circumstances: the lack of this discretion maketh you wander you know not whither.

Government of a kingdom and a city be diverse.

Admonition.

The one and twentieth.

We have almost let pass one thing worthy the remembrance, which is that they take upon them blasphemously, having neither promise nor commandment, to say to their new creatures, "Receive the Holy Ghost." As though the Holy Ghost were in their power to give without warrant at their own pleasure.

It containeth manifest blasphemy: as may appear Eph. i. 17.[1]

Answer.

I have answered to this before; and you have in the former treatise set it down in the same words[2].][3]

[1] This marginal note is only in Adm.]

[2] See Vol. I. pages 488, &c.]

[3] These paragraphs between brackets are introduced from Adm. and Answ.]

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Deacons.

Of Deacons and Widows.

Tract. XIX.

Of the office of deacons.

Chapter i. The First Division.

T. C. Page 152, Sect. 2.

It was before shewed that of the governors of the church there were some whose charge pertained unto the whole church, of the which we have spoken; some other whose charges extend but to a part of the church, that is unto the poor, and these are the deacons. And, as in the former part I shewed there were two kinds, so in this latter part the same is to be noted, that, of those whose charge was over the poor, some had charge over all the poor of the church (as those which are called deacons), some had charge over the poor strangers, and those poor which were sick only, and those xvi. Rom. 1.[4] 1 Tim. v. 10.[4] *St Paul calleth in one place deaconesses, and in another place widows. For the deacons did distribute unto the necessities as well of the poor strangers and the sick poor, as unto the other poor of the church. And the widows did employ their labours to the washing of the feet of the strangers, and attending upon the poor which were sick, and had no friends to keep them.*

Jo. WHITGIFT.

There is no great matter in all this, saving only that I would gladly learn where the office of "widows and deaconesses" is restrained to "poor strangers only, and such as be sick;" seeing that the other poor, that be neither strangers nor sick, may need their help in sundry things as well as they; and seeing also that neither in the xvi. to the Rom., nor in the 1 Tim. v. (which you quoted in the margent), there is any such restraint made, or to be gathered, but the contrary almost in express words.

Chapter i. The Second Division.

Admonition.

Touching deacons, though their names be remaining, yet is the office foully perverted and turned upside down; for their duty in the primitive church was to [a] *gather the alms diligently, and to distribute it faithfully; also for the sick and impotent persons to provide painfully; having ever a diligent care that the charity of godly men were*

[a] Rom. xii. 8.

[4] The verses are added from Repl. 2.]

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Deacons. *not wasted upon loiterers [t] and idle vagabonds*[1]. *Now it is the first step to the ministry, nay, rather a mere order of priesthood.* [2 Thess. iii. 10.]

Answer to the Admonition, Page 118, Sect. 2.

More pertaineth to the office of deacons than provision for the poor[2].

In the whole xii. chapter of the epistle to the Romans there is not one word to prove the office of a deacon to consist in gathering alms, and distributing the same; neither yet doth he speak there of the office of a deacon, no more doth he in the third chapter of the second epistle to the Thessalo. Lord God, what mean you thus to play with the scriptures?

T. C. Page 152, Sect. 2.[3]

First, I will speak of the deacons; and, whereas M. Doctor crieth out of dallying with the scriptures for alleging the 8. verse of the twelfth unto the Romans, to prove deacons, affirming that there is no word of them, truly I can find no words to set forth this so gross ignorance. And had it not been enough for M. Doctor to have uttered this ignorance, but he must also with an outcry proclaim it, and as it were spread the banner of it? What do these words note, "he that distributeth in simplicity," but the office of the deaconship? for in that place St Paul reckoneth up all the ordinary and perpetual offices of the church, as the office of the doctor, of the pastor, of the deacon, of the elder, and leaveth not out so much as the widow, which he noteth[4] *in these words, "shewing mercy." If the authors of the Admonition do dally with the scriptures in this place, surely Master Calvin*[5]*, Master Beza*[6]*, Master Bucer*[7]*, Peter Martyr*[8]*, &c. do dally with them. And shall all these be esteemed to play with the scriptures, and Master Doctor only to handle them seriously?*

Jo. Whitgift.

Rom. xii. 8. I think rather this clause: "he that distributeth, let him

[1] This portion of the paragraph has previously appeared. See before, page 61.]

[2] Office of a deacon than providing for the poor, Answ. 2.]

[3] 151, Sect. 1, Def. B.] [4] Comprehendeth, Repl. 2.]

[5] ... non eos intelligit qui largiuntur de suo: sed diaconos, qui publicis ecclesiæ facultatibus dispensandis præsunt.—Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. In Epist. ad Rom. cap. xii. 8. Tom. VII. p. 87.]

[6] ... quum hic significentur qui proprie diaconi dicuntur, ii nimirum, qui eleemosynas distribuebant.—Nov. Test. cum Th. Bezæ Annot. H. Steph. 1565. Rom. cap. xii. v. 8. p. 210.]

[7] Est impartiens, id est, ecclesiæ minister ad dispensandas facultates ecclesiæ et sanctorum collationes, in usus egentium, qui alias diaconus, id est, minister simpliciter dicitur, &c.—M. Bucer. Enarr. in Epist. ad Rom. Basil. 1562. cap. xii. p. 541.]

[8] Hic attingitur munus diaconorum, ut erant illo tempore, et nostro etiam esse deberent.—P. Martyr. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. Heid. 1613. cap. xii. p. 566.]

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do it with simplicity," is spoken to such as be able to help the poor, that they should do it willingly and simply for Christ's sake, not for vain-glory, or any other like respect. For the whole scope of that chapter is to move such as believe in Christ to good life and conversation; neither doth the apostle speak of the ministers of the church only, but of all Christians, of what vocation or calling soever they be. And therefore, this sentence being general, and spoken to all of ability, it may also include deacons; but I see not how it can be particularly restrained to them. Origen upon this place saith: "The apostle saith that he, which giveth and bestoweth anything upon the poor, must do it in simplicity of heart; that is, that he seem not to benefit the poor, and in heart seek the praise of men. Wherefore it is not simplicity, if one thing seem to be done outwardly, and in heart another be sought for[9]." Chrysostom likewise expounding these words saith: "It sufficeth not to give, but it must also be done bountifully. &c.[10]" So doth the Greek scholiast[11], Theodoret[12], Theophylact[13], Ambrose[14], Hierome[15]: all these do understand this place, not of the deacons, who distribute other men's alms, but of such as give alms themselves, and relieve the poor with their own substance.

Deacons.

Origen. in xii. Rom.

Chrysost. in xii. Rom.

Master Bullinger also doth admit, and well allow this interpretation[16]. Wherefore you see that I have good ground

[9 Qui tribuit et præstat indigentibus, oportet, inquit, ut in simplicitate cordis hoc faciat; hoc est, ne videatur quidem benefacere indigentibus, corde vero laudem quærat ab hominibus. Non est ergo simplicitas si aliud agi videatur in manibus, et aliud quæratur in corde.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. IX. 3. Tom. IV. p. 650.]

[10 Οὐ γὰρ ἀρκεῖ τὸ δοῦναι, ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ μετὰ ἁψιλείας τοῦτο ποιεῖν. κ.τ.λ. —Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Rom. Hom. xxi. Tom. IX. p. 664.]

[11 Δοικτὸν δείκνυσιν, ὅτι οἱ κακῶς τοῖς] χαρίσμασι χρώμενοι, δύνηται αὐτὰ ποιοῦσιν. κ.τ.λ.—Œcumen. Op. Lut. Par. 1630-1. Comm. cap. xviii. in Epist. ad Rom. Tom. I. p. 369.]

[12 Theod. Op. Lut. Par. 1642-84. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. cap. xii. Tom. III. pp. 96, 7.]

[13 Theophyl. Op. Venet. 1754-63. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. cap. xii. Tom. II. pp. 89, 90.]

[14 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. cap. xii. v. 8. Tom. II. Append. col. 95.]

[15 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. cap. xii. Tom. V. col. 963.]

[16 Jam qui pauperum operibus præfectus est, aut cui contigerunt splendidæ opes, is negotium agat simpliciter, hoc est, citra fraudem, summa cum diligentia et fide: aut largiatur iis quibus opus est, non ad gloriam vel ad versutiam spe meliora consequendi, sed simpliciter et citra omnem dolum malum. Porro si

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Deacons. of my saying, when I said that he "did not speak there of the office of a deacon."

You say that "Paul reckoneth up here all ordinary and perpetual offices of the[1] church;" but you speak it only, you prove it not: he speaketh here of prophesying; and you deny the office of a prophet to be perpetual. You say he speaketh here of widows; and I deny their office to be perpetual. Moreover, it is certain that he speaketh in this place of gifts profitable to the church, and some of them common as well to civil as to ecclesiastical persons; as all learned fathers in their commentaries upon this place do confess; and so doth Master Bullinger in like manner; and so I think must all others do that well consider the drift of St Paul in that chapter, and the profitable lessons the apostle there giveth to all and every sort of men.

Chapter i. The Third Division.

T. C. Page 152, Sect. 2.

And, as Master Doctor's ignorance appeareth in this place, so his mind not desirous of the truth, but seeking to cavil, doth as manifestly shew itself. For all men see that the Admonition allegeth not the place to the Thessalonians to prove the office of deacons, but to shew that idle vagabonds might not have any of that relief which belongeth unto those which be poor indeed; which thing appeareth, both by the placing of the quotation over against that allegation, and by the letter which directeth thereunto.

Jo. Whitgift.

Belike that place was only quoted for the phrase; else I see not to what end it serveth, except it be to prove the office of a deacon. For to what purpose should they note it to prove that idle vagabonds should have none of that relief, seeing that is not denied, nor yet in question?

Chapter i. The Fourth Division.

T. C. Page 152, Sect. 2.

And, whereas Master Doctor saith that the office of the deacons is not only to provide for the poor, but also to preach and minister the sacra-

qui præsunt, ut aut munere alio fungantur ecclesiastico, aut magistratu præmineant, omnia impigre cum summa diligentia administrent.—H. Bullinger. Comm. in Omn. Apostol. Epist. Tigur. 1539. Rom. cap. xii. p. 98.]

[1 Def. B. repeats *the*.]

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ments, I have shewed before that it doth not appertain unto them to do either the one or the other. For the proof whereof, this place of the Romans, quoted by the Admonition, is very fit and most proper. For St Paul speaketh there against those which, not contenting themselves with their own vocations, did break into that which appertained unto others, as if the hand should take upon it the office of the eye, or of some other member of the body; and therefore St Paul doth, as it were, bound and point the limits of every office in the church, and so placeth the deacon's office only in the provision for the poor. This one thing I will add to that matter, that, if the apostles which had such excellent and passing gifts, did find themselves (preaching of the word, and attending to prayer) not able to provide for the poor, but thought it necessary to discharge themselves of that office, to the end they might do the other effectually and fruitfully, he that shall do both now must either do none well and profitably, or else he must have greater gifts than the apostles had. Deacons.

JO. WHITGIFT.

I have proved before manifestly that it pertained to the office of a deacon to preach and to minister the sacrament of baptism, and to help in other business pertaining to the church[2]: I have alleged both manifest examples out of the scripture to justify the same, and the practice of the primitive church, together with the testimonies both of the ancient and late writers; and undoubtedly you are driven to a great strait when you are enforced to use this place of the xii. to the Romans, to prove the contrary; for, though it were meant of deacons, yet doth it not prove in any respect your purpose; neither can you frame any argument of it to that end. Neither Stephen nor Philip, when they being deacons preached, and the one ministered the sacrament[3] of baptism also, "did break into that which appertained not unto them," being incident to that[4] office when they be thereunto called. Tract. XIV.

The apostles were occupied in planting churches, in going from place to place to spread abroad the word of God, and therefore they could not so conveniently provide for the poor; but the deacons, having no such occasion of travelling and removing from place to place, might very well both preach the gospel and provide for the poor. Neither can I conceive any reason to the contrary; for I think they spent no great time in turning over many volumes to provide for their sermons; because God gave to them extraordinary gifts of

[2 See before, pages 58, &c.]
[3 Sacraments, Def. B.]
[4 Their, Def. A.]

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Deacons. knowledge, utterance, and such like, necessary for their function. And, if you speak of deacons now, I say unto you that, under a christian prince in the time of peace, that part of their office to provide for the poor is not necessary; seeing that by other lawful and politic means they may much better be provided for. Wherefore glory as much as you will in your own wit and reason; yet in these heavenly and divine things your reasons shall prove but vain and untoward.

Some part of the deacon's office not so needful in the time of christian magistrates.

Chapter i. The Fifth Division.

Admonition.

Again, in the old church every w *congregation had their deacons.*

w *Phil. i. 1. John xiii. 27. Acts vi. 5. 1 Tim. iii. 8.*

Answer to the Admonition, Page 120.

O how aptly you have alleged the scriptures to prove that every congregation had their deacons! In the first to the Philip. these be the words, "Paul and Timotheus, &c., to all the saints which are at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons." Paul and Timotheus salute the bishops and deacons which are[1] at Philippi; therefore in those days every congregation had their deacons; a strange kind of reasoning! you might well have thus concluded; *ergo*, at Philippi there was deacons. But surely this argument is too much out of square: There was deacons at Philippi; therefore every congregation had their deacons.

Whether deacons were in every congregation.

Unapt arguments.[2]

In the xiii. of St John, verse 27, these be the words: "And after the sop Satan entered into him: then said Jesus unto him, That thou doest[3] do quickly." After supper Satan entered into Judas; and Jesus said unto him, That thou doest[3] do quickly; therefore every congregation had their deacons. No marvel though your margent be pestered with scriptures, when you take liberty to make *ex quolibet quidlibet*. Peradventure you mean that Judas was a deacon (as he was not, but an apostle) because he carried the bag, and that some of the apostles thought that Christ had bid him give somewhat to the poor: belike whosoever giveth a penny to

[1 Were, Answ.] [2 Arguments unapt, Answ. 2.] [3 Doste, Answ.]

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the poor at his master's commandment is with you a deacon. Deacons.

In the sixth of the Acts we learn that there were chosen seven deacons; but there is not one word to prove that every congregation had their deacons.

In the third of the first to Timothy St Paul sheweth what qualities and conditions a deacon ought to have; but not one word of deacons being in every congregation. This is great audacity thus manifestly to wring the scriptures, without all colour or shew of reason.

T. C. Page 152, Sect. ult.

The second point is touching that there were deacons in every church, which is well proved of the Admonition, both by the place of the Philippians, and of the Acts; for, although it be not there said that the deacons were in every church, yet, forsomuch as the same use of them was in all churches which was in Jerusalem and at Philippos, and for that the apostles (as hath been before touched), labouring after the uniformity of the church, ordained the same officers in all churches, the proof of one is the proof of all, and the shewing that there were deacons in one church is the shewing in all. The place which they allege out of the first to Timothy is of all other the most proper; for St Paul, there describing not how the church of Ephesus, but simply and generally how the church must be governed, reckoneth there the order of deacons; whereunto may be added the continual practice of the church long after the apostles' times; which appeareth by the often superscriptions and subscriptions in these words: "The bishop, elders, and deacons of such a church," and: "Unto the bishops[1], elders, and deacons of such a church;" and by that it is so oftentimes said in the councils where the churches assembled, that there were so many bishops, so many elders, so many deacons.

Jo. Whitgift.

And I say, again, that they be most unapt reasons; for the deacon's office was not so troublesome, but that the deacons of one city might serve all the churches and congregations belonging unto the same; neither have you read either in scripture, or any ancient writer (except I be greatly deceived), that deacons were placed anywhere but in cities; and yet it is not to be thought but that there were churches also in meaner towns. And surely no man without blushing can defend this argument: There were deacons at Jerusalem, and at Philippos; *ergo*, there were in every congregation deacons. It is like unto this: There be preachers in Cambridge and

[1 Bishop, Repl. 2.]

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Deacons. London; therefore in every parish in England there be preachers.

This is also untrue, that "the apostles ordained the same officers in all churches." For in chief and principal cities they ordained bishops to guide and govern the rest of the ministers which were in towns belonging to those cities; as it is manifest by the examples of James, Timothy, and Titus; but they did not ordain any such bishops in every congregation. For further proof of this, I refer the reader to that which I have Tract. VIII. spoken of archbishops and bishops[1].

The first to Timothy, the third, is as violently wrested to serve their purpose. For St Paul doth not speak one word there of deacons being in every congregation; only he telleth what manner of men they ought to be. And you are not able to shew (as I have said), by the practice of the church, that there were deacons in every congregation. These "superscriptions and subscriptions," that you talk of, were then used when letters were sent to the bishop, ministers, and deacons of chief cities, where all these commonly remained, and therefore cannot prove that every congregation had their deacons. The deacons named in councils were resident in cities, not in every congregation.

The Admonitors left to their own defence. But, among all these slender defences of yours, you leave out the xiii. of St John, vers. 27: belike the authors of the Admonition must answer that themselves, as they must do many other places which you by silence pass over unto them.

Chapter i. The Sixth Division.

Admonition.

Now they are tied to cathedral churches only, and what do they there? gather the alms and distribute it to[2] *the poor? nay, that is the least piece, or rather no part of their function. What then? to sing a gospel when the bishop ministereth the communion. If this be not a perverting of this office and charge, let every one judge.*

Answer to the Admonition, Page 121, Sect. 2.

I am sure you are not offended that there be deacons in cathedral churches; for, if they ought to be in every congregation, they ought to be there also; and

[1 See Vol. II. pages 77, &c.] [2 Distribute to, Adm.]

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yet I know no such order now in cathedral churches, that they be more bound to deacons in the respect of reading the gospel than other churches be; but admit they were, it is no perverting of the office of a deacon, being incident to his office as well to read the scriptures in the congregation, and to exhort, as to give alms, and distribute to the poor[4]; for the state of the church is not now as it was in the apostles' time, neither is that part of the office of a deacon so necessary now as it was then, being laws and orders otherwise to provide for the poor than there either was then, or could have been.

Deacons.

Diverse[3] state of the church.

Some part of the deacon's office not now so necessary[5].

T. C. Page 153, Sect. 1.

The third point in this deaconship is, whether it be a necessary office in the church, or for a time only; which controversy should not have been, if M. Doctor's English tongue had been agreeable with his Latin. For in a certain Latin pamphlet of his, whereof I spake before, he maketh the deaconship a necessary office, and such as ought not to be taken out of the church: here he singeth another song. There, because he thought the necessity of the deacon made for him, he would needs have deacons: here, because it maketh against him, he saith there is no need of them; whereby appeareth how small cause there is that M. Doctor should upbraid the authors of the Admonition with mutability and discord with themselves. But that this office is durable and perpetual it may appear by that which I have alleged before out of the sixth of Timothy, for the necessity of elders; for the arguments serve to prove the necessity of those orders which are there set forth, whereof the deacon is one.

This discord is in your ears, not in my song.

Jo. Whitgift.

The only thing that is spoken in that Latin book touching the continuance of deacons in the church is this, that "they are not mentioned in the fourth to the Ephesians, and yet they may not be taken out of the church[6]." In my Answer to the Admonition, I say that "this part of the office of a deacon," which consisteth in providing for the poor, "is not necessary now as it was in the apostles' time." "My English tongue agreeth very well with my Latin tongue," for any signification of dissension that is here uttered. I am fully persuaded that the office of a deacon is to be retained in the church; for it is a degree to the ministry; which consisteth

[3] A diverse, Answ. 2.]
[4] Here Answ. 2 introduces *as I have proved before.*]
[5] This is not in Answ.] [6] See Vol. II. page 106, note 2.]

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Deacons. in preaching, baptizing and helping the ministers in other functions of the church; as I have shewed. But yet I say that this part of the office, which consisteth in providing for the poor, is not so necessary under a christian prince, when better provision is made, as it is under a tyrant and in time of persecution. Therefore I "sing" one and the self-same "song;" but you would gladly espy out the contrary, if it were possible.

To your allegation out of the sixth of Timothy, I have answered fully: it is but a conceit of yours, which yourself will mislike when you be better advised.

Chapter i. The Seventh Division.

Admonition.

And yet, lest the reformers of our time should seem utterly to take out of God's church this necessary function, they appoint something[1] *to it concerning the poor, and that is to search for the sick, needy, and impotent people of the parish, and to intimate their estates, names, and places where they dwell, to the curate, that by his exhortation they may be relieved by the parish, or other convenient alms. And this you*[2] *see is the nighest part of his office, and yet you must understand it to be in such places where there is a curate and deacon*[3]*: every parish cannot be at that cost to have both; nay, no parish, so far as can be gathered, at this present hath.*

Answer to the Admonition, Page 122, Sect. 1.

And what fault can you find herewith? is not this greatly to be commended? If every parish cannot be at the cost to have both curate and deacon, why do you require them both in every parish? why do you not think well of such laws as appoint collectors for the poor, which may as well provide for them, and better too, than could the deacon, who must be sustained himself with that which the poor should have?

T. C. Page 153, Sect. 1.

And, whereas M. Doctor saith that every church is not able to find a curate, as he termeth him, and a deacon, I have before shewed, entreating of the seniors, that the churches in the apostles' times might best have said this, being poor and persecuted, although I see not why the church may not have a deacon, or deacons, if more be needful, with as small charges as they may have a collector or collectors.

[1 Somewhat, Adm.]
[2 And this as you, Adm.] [3 And a deacon, Adm.]

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Jo. WHITGIFT.

Deacons.

It is the Admonition that saith, "Every parish cannot be at that cost to have both." Whereupon I do but ask this question, "why they require them both in every parish, if every parish cannot be at the cost to have them both?" Belike you make small account of the Admonition, in that you read it not, or else you have forgotten that this question is demanded upon their confession. But indeed I am of that opinion too, and have before answered your objection of the churches in the apostles' times. As for our collectors, they be such as put not the church to one half-penny charge; so could not your deacons do.

Chapter i. The Eighth Division.

Admonition.

[y] *Pontif. Tit. The ordering of deacons.*

For they [y] may baptize in the presence of a bishop or priest, or in their absence (if necessity so require) minister the other sacrament, likewise read the holy scriptures and homilies in the congregation, instruct the youth in the catechism, and also preach, if he be commanded by the bishop.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 119, Sect. 2.

I know not what you mean by your *Ponti. Tit.* in the margent of your book; but, if you mean the book entituled "The Form and Manner of Making and Consecrating Bishops, &c.," now allowed in this church of England, then do you untruly report it; for there is no mention of baptizing in the presence of a bishop or priest, neither yet of ministering the other sacrament in their absence if necessity require; only the book saith that a deacon may baptize or preach, if he be thereunto admitted by the bishop; and that he may so do by the word of God I have proved before. As for reading the holy scriptures and homilies in the congregation, also for instructing the youth in the catechism, who doubteth but that a deacon may do them?

Untruth [4].

Office of deacons [4].

Admonition.

[y] 1 Tim. iii. 8.

The deaconship [y] must not be confounded with the ministry, nor the collectors for the poor may not usurp the deacon's

[4] These marginal notes are inserted from Answ. 2.]

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Deacons. *office; but he that hath an* [z]*office must look to his office; and every man must keep himself within the bonds*[1] *and limits of his own vocation.* * Rom. xii. 7. 1 Cor. vii. 20.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 126, Sect. 2.

Neither do we confound them; and yet Paul, in the place by you quoted in the margent, speaketh not one word of confounding, or not confounding, these offices: so the poor be provided for, it forceth not whether provision be made by deacons or by collectors: by the one it may be well done; by the other it cannot be done in all places, as the state is now. But shew any scripture to prove that the poor must only be provided for by deacons, else not.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

Nothing answered to this.

Of the offices of widows, and their continuance.

Chapter ii.

T. C. Page 153, Sect. 2.

There remaineth to speak of the widows, which were godly poor women in the church, above the age of threescore years, for the avoiding of all suspicion of evil, which might rise by slanderous tongues, if they had been younger. These, as they were nourished at the charges of the church, being poor, so did they serve the church in attending upon poor strangers, and the poor which were sick in the church whereof they were widows. Now, although there is not so great use of these widows with us, as there was in those places where the churches were first founded, and in that time wherein this order of widows was instituted, part of the which necessity grew both by the multitude of strangers through the persecution, and by the great heat of those east countries, whereupon the washing and suppling of their feet was required; yet, forsomuch as there are poor which are sick in every church, I do not see how a better and more convenient order can be devised, for the attendance of them in their sickness and other infirmities, than this which St Paul appointeth, that there should be (if there can be any gotten) godly poor widows of the age which St Paul appointeth, which should attend upon such. For, if there be any such poor widows of that age destitute of all friends, it is manifest that she[3] *must needs live of the charge of the church, and, seeing she*[3] *must needs do so, it is better she*[3] *should do some duty for it unto the church again, than the* 1 Tim. v. 9.[2]

This will not agree with the doctrine you taught before, Pag. 141.

[1] Bounds, Adm.]
[2] This is inserted from Repl. 2.] [3] They, Repl. 2.]

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church should be at a new charge, to find others[4] *to attend upon those which are sick and destitute of keepers, seeing that*[5] *there can be none so fit for that purpose as those women which St Paul doth there describe; so that I conclude that (if such may be gotten) we ought also to keep that order of widows in the church still. I know that there be learned men which think otherwise, but I stand upon the authority of God's word, and not upon the opinions of men, be they never so well-learned; and, if the matter also should be tried by the judgment of men, I am able to shew the judgment of as learned as this age hath brought forth, which thinketh that the institution of widows is perpetual, and ought to be where it may be had, and where such widows are found. Indeed they are more rare now than in the apostles' times. For then, by reason of the persecution, those which had the gift of continency did abstain from marriage after the death of their husbands; for that the sole life was an easier estate and less dangerous and chargeable when they were driven to fly, than the estate of those which were married.*

Widows.

This condition cannot agree with so precise a commandment as you have made it before.

Jo. Whitgift.

Here you are taken in your own trap, and fain you would wring yourself out if you could tell which way; for, if all things contained in St Paul his first epistle to Timothy be perpetual, and must be kept under the great charge that he gave unto Timothy in the sixth chapter, as you have before affirmed[6], then of necessity the church must needs still retain widows. You know not in the world how to avoid this absurdity, and therefore sometimes you say that "now there is not so great use of them with us as there was in those places where the churches were first founded, &c.," and by and bye you begin to call that back, and say that you "do not see how a better and more convenient order can be devised for the attendance of them in their sickness and other infirmities, &c.;" and in the end you "conclude that (if such may be gotten) we ought also to keep that order of widows in the church still." Surely, if it be an order appointed of God to be perpetual, and contained under that denunciation to Timothy in the sixth chapter, these "ifs" and "ands" can take no place; for there are widows good store in this realm of England; so that that excuse will not serve. But it is a world to see what you dare avouch, be it never so untrue, contrary both to the practice of all reformed churches that I can hear of, and judgments of all learned men that I have read of this matter.

The Replier tripped and caught in his own net.

Pag. 141.

[4] Other, Def. B.]

[5] *That* is not in Def. B.]

[6] See before, pages 171, 2.]

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Widows. But, if the institution of widows be so necessary, why should they not be in every congregation as well as deacons; for the apostle speaketh as directly of them in his epistle to Timothy, as he doth of deacons. Again, if this be a sufficient excuse why the church hath no widows, to say that they cannot be gotten, or there is none meet, why will not the excuse serve the church for lack of your seniors also, &c.?

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Of the Authority of the civil Magistrate in Ecclesiastical matters.

Tract. XX.

The prince's right in ecclesiastical matters.

The First Division.

Admonition.

And to these three jointly, that is, the ministers, seniors, and deacons, is the whole regiment of the church to be committed.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 126, Sect. ult.

This is only by you set down without proof; therefore I will hear your reasons before I make you answer. In the meantime, I pray you, what authority in these matters do you give to the civil magistrate? methink I hear you whisper that the prince hath no authority in ecclesiastical matters: I know it is a received opinion among some of you, and therein you shake hands also with the papists and anabaptists.

Where is the prince's authority?

T. C. Page 153, Line ult., &c.

Unto all the rest, until the end of the first part of the Admonition, I have answered already; yet there is a point or two which I must touch, whereof the first is in the 126. *page, where he would bear men in hand that the authors of the Admonition, and some other of their mind, would shut out the civil magistrate and the prince from all authority in ecclesiastical matters. Which surmise although I see it is not so much because either he knoweth or suspecteth any such thing, as because he meaneth hereby to lay a bait to entrap withal, thinking that, where he maketh no conscience to give he careth not what authority to princes, we will be loth to give more than the word of God will permit; whereby he hopeth to draw us into displeasure with the prince; yet, for because he shall understand we nourish no opinions secretly, which we are ashamed to declare openly, and for that we doubt not of the equity of the prince in this part, which knoweth that, although her authority be the greatest in the earth, yet it is not infinite, but it is*[1] *limited by the word of God, and of whom we are persuaded that, as her majesty knoweth, so she will not unwillingly hear the truth in this behalf—these things, I say, being considered, I answer in the name of the authors of the Admonition, and those some other which you speak of, that the prince and civil magistrate hath to see that the laws of God, touching his worship, and touching all matters and orders of the church, be executed and duly observed, and to see that every ecclesiastical person do that office whereunto he is appointed, and to punish those which fail in their office accordingly. As for the making of the orders and ceremonies of the church, they do (where there is a constituted and ordered church) pertain*

Note these speeches.

The prince spoiled of authority to make ecclesiastical orders.

[1 But is, Repl. 1, 2, and Def. A.] [2 Papistry, Def. A.]

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The prince's right in ecclesiastical matters.

unto the ministers of the church, and to the ecclesiastical governors; and that, as they meddle not with the making of civil laws, and laws for the commonwealth, so the civil magistrate hath not to ordain ceremonies pertaining to the church; but, if those to whom that doth appertain make any orders not meet, the magistrate may and ought to hinder them, and drive them to better, forsomuch as the civil magistrate hath this charge to see that nothing be done against the glory of God in his dominion.

JO. WHITGIFT.

The Admonitors and T. C. join with the papists against the queen's supremacy in matters ecclesiastical.

The words of the Admonition, pag. 126, be these: "And to these three jointly, that is, the ministers, seniors, and deacons, is the whole regiment of the church to be committed." Wherefore they spoil the civil magistrate of all government in ecclesiastical matters; for, if the "whole government of the church is to be committed to ministers, seniors, and deacons," what authority remaineth to the civil magistrate in the government of it? Agreeable to this disobedient spirit and erroneous and papistical doctrine is that in the Second Admonition, fol. 8. and 9; where the authors of that book take from the civil magistrate all supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, and, by evident circumstances, call his authority used in those things usurped[1]. Pag. 57, they say, "only mere civil laws are to be made[2]." And here in this place T. C. in express words taketh from the civil magistrate, "all authority of making and appointing orders and ceremonies of the church," and giveth the same only to "ministers and ecclesiastical governors:" he maketh it the prince's duty "to see those laws executed which these ecclesiastical governors shall appoint and prescribe;" and in his preface he saith that "civil persons may not handle ecclesiastical matters;" and, pag. 35. and 145, that "the civil magistrate may not be the head of the church in that commonwealth whereof he is the head" (whereby as I suppose he meaneth supreme governor); and that "the church may be established without him." Pag. 54, he denieth that "the magistrate ought to prescribe what kind of apparel ministers should wear." In divers places he maketh such a distinction betwixt the church of Christ and a christian commonwealth that hath a christian magistrate, as he would do betwixt the church and a heathenish commonwealth that

The opinion of the Replier concerning the prince's authority.

Sect. 3.

Pag. 35, about the midst. Pag. 145, sect. 1.

Pag. 54, sect. 1.

[1 This is fully implied in the place referred to, where, the queen's "supremacy in ecclesiastical things" being mentioned, it is said that they "are indeed to be determined in conferences and councils, &c."—Sec. Adm. to the Parl. pp. 8, 9.]

[2 And therefore to make laws it availeth not, save mere civil, &c.—Ibid. p. 57.]

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hath a persecuting and an unbelieving magistrate, and separateth the commonwealth of England as far from the church of England, as he can do the commonwealth of Turcia from the church of Christ in Turcia[3]. All this I have noted to this end, that the good subject, and those that be careful for the preservation of the state of this realm, and the lawful authority of her majesty, may the better consider and beware of this doctrine; the which unless I prove to be the self-same with the papists' in substance, let me sustain that punishment that is due unto them whom I burden and charge with forgetfulness of duty in this point.

The prince's right in ecclesiastical matters.

Saunders, in that traitorous book of his, writeth thus: "That hath deceived many, because they see kings to be Christians, and to rule over Christians; for they know not, or at the least they will not know, what difference there is, whether thou rule over a Christian in that he is a Christian, or in that he is a man. For a king ruleth over christian men, but not because they be Christians, but because they be men; and, because bishops be men, in that respect he ruleth also over them. &c.[4]" And T. C. in his Reply, pag. 35, writeth on this manner, saying that "the godly magistrate is the head of the commonwealth, but not of the church," meaning that particular church contained in the commonwealth whereof he is governor; and in the same page he saith that "the christian magistrate is but only a member of that particular church." And, pag. 145, he saith that "the prince may well be monarch immediately between God and the commonwealth, and not between God and the church, in that commonwealth or any singular member in the church[5];" and in this place he would have "the civil magistrate no more to intermeddle with making ecclesiastical laws and orders, than the ecclesiastical minister should deal with civil." Divers such nips and pinches he hath at the civil magistrate, speaking no otherwise of him than of a Turk or a Jew, and giving him

Saunders and the Replier agree. Saunders.

Pag. 35, in the midst.

Pag. 145, sect. 1.

[3 See Vol. I. pages 18, 390, Vol. II. page 17, and before, page 198.]

[4 Id autem in hac causa multos decepit, quod et regem Christianum esse, et Christianis præesse vident. Nesciunt enim, aut saltem nolunt scire, quantum intersit, utrum homini christiano præsis, quia homo, an quia Christianus est. Rex quidem præest hominibus christianis, verum non quia sunt Christiani, sed quia homines sunt. Et quoniam ipsi episcopi sunt homines, episcopis etiam ex ea parte rex præest. &c.—N. Sander. De Visib. Monarch. Eccles. Libri Octo, Lovan. 1571. Lib. II. cap. ii. p. 62.]

[5 See Vol. I. page 390, and before, page 198.]

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The prince's right in ecclesiastical matters. Musculus.

no more authority in the church of Christ and over Christians, than if he were the great Turk, or wicked Nero. But I answer them both with the words of M. Musculus, in his Common-places, *Titu. de Magistratu:* "Let ethnics and infidels, which live not in the unity of truth, but in the confusion of error, have their divers laws and magistrates, some profane and some holy, whose whole life is profane, whose religion is but ecclesiastical superstition and in the temple only. Christian people are altogether holy, and dedicated to the name of Christ, not in temples only and ecclesiastical rites, but in their whole life, in every place, at all times, in all things, in all deeds and studies; that, according to the admonition of the apostle, 1 Cor. x., whether he eat or drink, or whatsoever he doth, all may be done to the glory of God; and Col. iii., whatsoever he doth in word or in deed, he do it in the name of the Lord &c. Wherefore that distinction of ecclesiastical and profane laws hath no place in it; because there is nothing in it that is profane, seeing it is a people holy to the Lord God; and the magistrate is holy and not profane: his authority is holy, his laws are holy, his sword is holy, a revenger of the wicked and ungodly, whereby he serveth the Lord being the chief law-maker and judge: our members are the members of Christ, and our bodies are the bodies of the Holy Ghost: we are willed to glorify God not in our spirit only, but in our body also, 1 Cor. vi. Therefore this be far from the church of Christ, that it should be partly holy, and partly profane, holy before, and profane behind, like unto an idol which sheweth beautiful before, and behind is full of filth and spiders' webs[1]."

[1 Habeant ethnici et infideles, non in veritatis unitate, sed mendaciorum confusione viventes, diversos legislatores et magistratus, alios profanos, alios sacros, quorum omnis vita profana est, et religio nihil aliud quam templaria et ecclesiastica superstitio. Christianus populus per omnia sanctus est, et non in templis tantum et ritibus ecclesiasticis, sed in omni vita, omni loco, omni tempore, omnibus in rebus, factis et studiis nomini et gloriæ Christi consecratus: ut juxta apostoli admonitionem 1 Corinth. 10. sive edat sive bibat, vel quid operetur, omnia in gloriam Dei faciat: et Coloss. 3. omnia quæcunque facit vel in verbo vel in opere, faciat in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et gratias agat Deo Patri per ipsum. Quare distinctio illa legum ecclesiasticarum et profanarum, locum in illo habere non debet: quia nihil in eo est quod sit profanum, cum sit populus Domino Deo suo sanctus. Et ipse magistratus sanctus est, non profanus, sanctaque illius potestas, sanctæ leges, et sanctus gladius, reproborum et impiorum ultor, quo Domino supremo legislatori, judici et ultori servitur. Ipsa nostra corpora membra sunt Christi, et membra nostra templum Spiritus Sancti: jubemurque glorificare Deum non spiritu tantum, sed et corpore nostro, 1 Cor. 6.

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Again, the papists give to the christian magistrate in ecclesiastical matters *potestatem facti*, and not *juris*; that is, to see those laws executed and put in practice that the pope and his clergy shall make, and to be as it were their executioner, but not to make any laws or orders in ecclesiastical matters; for so writeth Saunders in his book before named, fol. 64: "Although I do not deny but that the knowledge of a fact that belongeth to the ecclesiastical law may be committed to kings and magistrates, and before the ecclesiastical cause be determined the king may use his authority to this end, that there may be some quiet place prepared where the bishops shall consult, and that the bishops be called to the same place at a certain day, and that, in the mean time, while the matter is in determining, common peace may be preserved even among the priests themselves; to conclude, after the cause be determined and judged by the priests, the king may punish him with the sword (which he carrieth not in vain), or by some other corporal punishment, which shall refuse to obey the sentence of the priests. Therefore we do not deny but that kings have something to do, both before, and at, and after, the judgments of the bishops; but in the office of judging they have no more to do than other private persons; for they may well give counsel, and declare what they think, but they may not determine or define what God's laws or the ecclesiastical law doth require[2]." And doth not T. C. in this place affirm the same? only herein he seemeth something to differ, that, if the ecclesiastical governors "shall make any orders

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What authority papists give to the prince in ecclesiastical matters.

Saunders.

Potestas facti, not *juris*, ascribed to the magistrates.

Absit igitur hoc ab ecclesia Christi, ut sit partim sancta, partim profana: sancta in facie, profana retro instar eidoli, quod speciosum apparet in facie, retro vero est sordibus et aranearum telis abominandum.—Wolfg. Muscul. Loc. Comm. Theolog. Basil. 1599. De Magistr. pp. 631, 2.]

[2 ...quanquam non negem, quin facti alicujus, quod ad jus ecclesiasticum spectat, cognitio regibus aut magistratibus mandari possit. Antequam vero causa ecclesiastica cognoscatur, rex ad eum finem auctoritatem suam rite interponit, ut locus quietus, ubi judicent episcopi, concedatur. Itemque ut episcopi ad eum locum certo die convocentur. Utque interim, dum causa ecclesiastica cognoscitur, pax publica in ipso etiam sacerdotum consessu conservetur. Denique post causam cognitam et a sacerdotibus judicatam, rex vel *gladio, quem frustra non portat*, vel alia pœna corporea in eum animadvertere potest, si quis recusaverit sacerdotum sententiæ obedire. Itaque non negamus, quin et ante, et circa, et post episcopale judicium, aliquæ regum partes sint. At in ipso munere judicandi nihilo plus reges, quam privati possunt. Nam utrique recte et consilium impartire, et quid sibi videatur ostendere: neutri vero, quid in ea re jus divinum aut ecclesiasticum statuat, definire possunt.—N. Sander. De Visib. Monarch. Eccles. Libri Octo, Lovan. 1571. Lib. II. cap. iii. p. 64.]

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unmeet, the magistrate may drive them to better." But what if they say they be meet, and will stand to it; as you do now in this fond platform? will they not cry out upon the magistrate, and say that he is a persecutor, a maintainer of an unlawful authority, and of that which is against the glory of God, if he withstand them? as the authors of the Second Admonition do in plain terms, saying, "For, though the orders be, and ought to be drawn out of the book of God, yet it is her majesty that by her princely authority should see every of these things put in practice, and punish those that neglect them, making laws therefore; for the church may keep those orders, but never in peace, except the comfortable and blessed assistance of the states and governors link in to see them in their countries and used; for otherwise the church may and must keep God's orders, but always in troubles and persecution, which is like to light upon us except a reformation of religion, or a direct proviso for us be made; for surely only this is God his order, and ought to be used in his church, so that in conscience we are forced to speak for it and to use it, and in conscience and in reverence of God we are forced to speak as we do of that reformation, which we now use, not so much for ought else as to set out the deformities thereof, that we might think upon the amending of them[1]."

2 Admonit. pag. 60.

M. Musculus, in the book and title before recited, setteth out this popish opinion touching the authority of the civil magistrate in ecclesiastical matters briefly, but plainly, in these words: "Those whom they call ecclesiastical persons, and we call them papists, will not commit to the magistrate any further authority in religion, than to be the keeper and revenger of it, and of their ecclesiastical laws, that the ecclesiastical policy may remain immovable; wherefore they deny him to have authority in that he is a magistrate to make or to publish any ecclesiastical laws, because such things pertain to those that do represent the church, whose decrees and constitutions must be maintained and defended by the authority of the magistrate[2]."

Musculus.

[1 Sec. Adm. to the Parl. pp. 60, 1; where *keep these orders, to see them accepted in their countries, keep God his orders*, and *in the reverence.*]

[2 Quos hodie vocant *ecclesiasticos*, nos vero multo rectius *pontificios* appellamus, in ea constat esse sententia, ut magistratui in religione non permittant amplius quicquam, quam ut sit illius pariter et legum ecclesiasticorum custos et vindex, quo ecclesiastica politia immota servetur. Quare negant pertinere ad

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This I thought good to note before I come to answering of his arguments, that all men may understand that I no otherwise charged them in this point than they have well deserved; neither have I as yet detected all that they perversely think of the authority of the civil magistrate: one thing, I pray you, mark, that here is one note practised that I have ascribed to the anabaptists, in my Answer to the Admonition; for there I shew that the anabaptists accuse the true ministers of the gospel for attributing (as they say) too much to the civil magistrate[3]: the same doth T. C. charge me with in this place. But I will now come to his arguments.

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A note of anabaptism practised by the Replier. Pag. 2, sect. 2.

The Second Division.

T. C. Page 154, Sect. 1.

This distinction if M. Doctor knoweth not nor hath not heard of, let him look in the second book of the Chronicles, in the xix. chap. and in the 8. and 11. verses[5], he shall see that there were a number appointed for the matters of the Lord which were priests and Levites, and there were other also appointed for the king's affairs, and for matters of the commonwealth, amongst which were the Levites; which, being more in number than could be applied to the use of the church, were set over civil causes, being therefore most fit, for that they were best learned in the laws of God, which were the politic laws of that country.

2 Chron. xix. 8, 11.[4]

You allege the reasons of the papists to the same purpose with them.

There he may learn, if it please him, that the making of orders and giving of judgments in civil and ecclesiastical, in commonwealth and church-matters, pertained unto divers persons; which distinction the writer to the Hebrews doth note when he saith that the priest was "ordained in things pertaining to God."

Heb. v. 1.[6]

This is unadvisedly alleged.

JO. WHITGIFT.

Yes, I both know this distinction, and have heard of it, for I have read it in the books of the papists; as I have shewed before: I have heard also this same place of the 2 Chron. xix. alleged to confirm it; for Saunders, in his book

The Replier useth the same distinction and reasons with the papists.

illum quatenus magistratus est, ecclesiasticarum legum constitutionem aut promulgationem: quod illa pertineat ad eos qui referunt ecclesiam, quorum decreta et instituta magistratus auctoritate sarta tecta conservari debeant.—Wolfg. Muscul. Loc. Comm. Theolog. Basil. 1599. De Magistr. pp. 629, 30.]

[3 See Vol. I. page 83.]

[4 This marginal reference is inserted from Repl. 2.]

[5 The preceding eleven words are omitted in Repl. 2.]

[6 This reference is inserted from Repl. 1, 2 and Def. A. Repl. 2 alone gives the verse.]

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before named, doth use it to the same end and purpose that you do, that is, to prove the civil magistrate to have no authority in making ecclesiastical laws and orders: his words be these: "Likewise Josaphat, king of Juda, distinguishing both the powers, said to the Levites and priests: Amarias the priest and your bishop shall govern in those things which pertain to God; but Zabadias &c. Behold something pertained to the bishop, other somethings to the office of a king[1]." The same place also doth Harding use to the self-same end, against my lord of Sarisbury, fol. 118. of the Defence of the Apology of the Church of England[2]; from whom I believe you have borrowed it. Do I not say truly that you jump with the papists? do you not both conspire against the civil magistrate? and are you not content to use their very words and reasons? Great ado there is against me, because I use a place of Cyprian for the authority of an archbishop over his province[3], which the papists abuse for the authority of the pope over all Christendom; and here you use the reason not only of papists, but of traitors, to the same end with them, that is, against that lawful jurisdiction which we have given to our prince, and which hath hitherto been maintained both by preaching and by burning.

Saunders, Lib. ii. cap. 1. fol. 57.

The place of the Replier against himself.

But, to let this rest in the consideration of the reader, I will in few words declare that this place maketh flat against you; for who placed those Levites and priests in Jerusalem for the judgment and cause of the Lord? or who prescribed unto them what they should do? or who gave to them that authority? did not Jehosaphat? the text is plain. Jehosaphat had chief authority and government both in things pertaining to God, and in things pertaining to the commonwealth; but, for better execution of them, the one he did commit to be executed by Amaria the priest, the other by Zabadiah a ruler of the house of Juda[4]: even as the queen's majesty, being

[1 Itemque Iosaphat rex Iuda utramque potestatem distinguens, dicebat ad Levitas et sacerdotes: *Amarias sacerdos et pontifex vester in his, quæ ad Deum pertinent, præsidebit. Porro Zabadias* &c. Ecce alia pertinent ad pontificis, alia vero ad regis officium.—N. Sander. De Visib. Monarch. Eccles. Libri Octo, Lovan. 1571. Lib. II. cap. i. p. 57.]

[2 Bp Jewel's Works, Park. Soc. Edit. Vol. IV. p. 989.]

[3 See Vol. II. page 195.]

[4 "Whereunto I reply that he committed not those ecclesiastical matters unto the priests and Levites, as those which he might have retained with himself, or as a thing in his own discretion, but used only his princely authority to put in

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supreme governor in all causes, both ecclesiastical and temporal, committeth the hearing and judging of ecclesiastical matters to the archbishops and bishops, and temporal matters to the lord chancellor and other judges; neither can you any more conclude that Jehosaphat had no authority in ecclesiastical causes, because he made Amarias the priest judge in the same, than you can that he had nothing to do in temporal affairs, because he appointed also Zabadiah to hear and determine them. For, if this reason be good, the queen of England hath nothing to do with ecclesiastical matters, because she hath made the archbishops and bishops judges in them, then is this as good, her majesty hath no authority in civil matters, because she hath committed the same to the lord chancellor and other judges. Thus you see how both the papists and you are deceived in one and the self-same reason.

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I will but note by the way, that the Levites, being ecclesiastical persons, had to do in civil matters; as the words of the text verse 11. most manifestly declare: as for your[5] shift of the number of them "being more than could be applied to the use of the church," it is but your own, and therefore too simple to answer so plain and direct a place of the scripture.

Levites, being ecclesiastical persons, had to do in civil matters.

That in the fifth to the Hebrews is far from the purpose; for the apostle in the same sentence declareth what those "things pertaining to God" be, "even to offer both gifts and sacrifices for him:" I think you do not so maliciously report of us as the papists do, that we give to the prince power to minister the sacraments, and to preach the word: if you do not, this place can by no means serve your turn.

The Third Division.

T. C. Page 154, Sect. 2.

This might M. Doctor have learned by that which the noble emperor Constantine attributeth to the fathers of the Nicene council, and to the ecclesiastical persons there gathered; which he doth

Euseb. Lib. iii. de Vita Const. Epi.

execution that which the Lord had commanded....And, if this prove that the 'judgment of ecclesiastical causes pertaineth to the king, because he confirmed by his authority the ecclesiastical judges,' it proveth also that both the ordination of ministers and the preaching of the word belong unto him; considering that this very 'king is said to have sent forth preachers into all Jewry' (2 Chron. xvii. 7, 8, 9)."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 153.]

[5 You, Def. B.]

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A great oversight.

also permit the bishops, elders, and deacons of the churches[1] *to do, either by correcting, or adding, or making new if need be; and by the continual practice of the church in the time of christian emperors, which always permitted unto the ministers assembled in councils as well the determination of controversies which rose, as the making or the abolishing of needful or hurtful ceremonies, as the case required*[2]*; also by the emperor's epistle in the first action of the council of Constantinople, where by the epistle of the emperor it appeareth that it was the manner of the emperors to confirm the ordinances which were made by the ministers, and to see them kept*[3].

ad Euseb. Sozom. Lib. i. cap. 17.

2. Tom. Con.

Jo. Whitgift.

Euseb. Lib. i. de Vita Const. Constantinus his rule in ecclesiastical matters.

I learn in Eusebius, *Lib. i. de Vita Constan.*[4], that Constantinus is called "as it were a general bishop, appointed of God[5]," that he also called synods and placed the moderator in them: I learn, in that second book, that he made laws and constitutions "pertaining to holiness towards God, and to the appointing of meet things for the churches of God; that there should be no images worshipped, none erected and set up, no enchantments used or soothsayings[6]." And I learn, in that same epistle by you quoted, that Constantinus prescribed to Eusebius what he should do, and what he should will others to do, in building and repairing of churches, or enlarging of them; neither is there mention made of any other laws or constitutions in that epistle; and surely I

Lib. II.

Epist. ad Euseb.

A gross oversight of T. C.[7]

[1 Of churches, Repl. 1, 2, and Def. A.]

[2 See below, notes 4, 6, 8, and page 306, note 1.]

[3 Ὁσάκις γὰρ ἡ τῶν ἱερέων ψῆφός τινας τῶν οὐκ ἀξίων τῆς ἱερωσύνης τῶν ἱερατικῶν κατεβίβασε θρόνων...τοσαυτάκις ἡ βασιλεία σύμψηφος γέγονε τῇ τῶν ἱερέων αὐθεντίᾳ, κ.τ.λ.—Const. Justin. Imp. in Concil. Constant. sub Menna, Act. v. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. V. col. 264. Conf. Act. i. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 61.]

[4 ...διαφερομένων τινῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατὰ διαφόρους χώρας, οἷά τις κοινὸς ἐπίσκοπος ἐκ Θεοῦ καθεσταμένος, συνόδους τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ λειτουργῶν συνεκρότει· ἐν μέσῃ δὲ τῇ τούτων διατριβῇ, οὐκ ἀπαξιῶν παρεῖναί τε καὶ συνιζάνειν, κοινωνὸς τῶν ἐπισκοπουμένων ἐγίνετο, κ.τ.λ.—Euseb. De Vit. Constant. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. i. cap. xliv. p. 353.]

[5 "...the word 'bishop' is taken, sometimes generally, for any overseer, and not only for the church minister. In which respect Constantine calleth himself a bishop."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 155.]

[6 ...ὁ μὲν [νόμος] εἴργων τὰ μυσαρὰ τῶν κατὰ πόλεις καὶ χώρας τὸ παλαιὸν συντελουμένης εἰδωλολατρίας· ὡς μή τε ἐγέρσεις ξοάνων ποιεῖσθαι τολμᾷν, μήτε μαντείαις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις περιεργίαις ἐπιχειρεῖν, μή τε μὴν θύειν καθόλου μηδένα· ὁ δὲ τῶν εὐκτηρίων οἴκων τὰς οἰκοδομὰς ὑψοῦν, κ.τ.λ.—Euseb. De Vit. Constant. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. ii. cap. xlv. p. 382.]

[7 "...'gross oversight' there is none, seeing there is not a word in that place which enforceth 'external building.'"—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 157.]

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believe that those words, which Constantinus speaketh to Eusebius of building, or repairing, or enlarging churches builded of stone, you understand of making, restoring, or enlarging of ecclesiastical orders and laws, which if you do (as your words plainly signify), then understand you not the place, abuse your reader, and cast away an argument. For Constantinus' words to Eusebius be these: "How hitherto, by that wicked sentence and tyranny, persecuting the ministers of our Saviour, the buildings of the churches are decayed and weakened, through negligence, or sold and made vile, for fear of imminent danger, I know and am fully persuaded; but now, liberty being restored, and that dragon, through the providence of God and our ministry, banished from the government of the commonwealth, I think God's power is made manifest to all, and that those, which have fallen into certain sins, either for fear or through unbelief, and now know the truth, will return again to the true and right way of life; therefore admonish all churches which thou dost govern, or any other churches under the government of other bishops, priests, or deacons, that they be diligent about the building of their churches, and that they either repair such as stand still, or enlarge them, or, if necessity require, build them new; and thou thyself, or other for thee, may require of the governors and magistrates in the provinces those things that be necessary[8]." It is plain that Constantine in these words speaketh only of material churches; and therefore you are greatly deceived. But, if it were as you say, do you not see how it maketh against yourself? for what doth more plainly appear in that you say, "he permitteth this unto the bishops, &c.,"

Lib. II. Eus. de Vita Constan. Epist. ad Eus.

Eusebius governor of more churches than one.

The place against himself.

[8 Ἕως τοῦ παρόντος χρόνου τῆς ἀνοσίου βουλήσεως καὶ τυραννίδος τοὺς ὑπηρέτας τοὺς τοῦ Σωτῆρος διωκούσης, πεπίστευκα καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἐμαυτὸν πέπεικα, πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τὰ ἔργα ἢ ὑπὸ ἀμελείας διεφθάρθαι, ἢ φόβῳ τῆς ἐπικειμένης ἀδικίας μὴ ἀξίως γεγενῆσθαι ἀδελφὲ προσφιλέστατε, νυνὶ δὲ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀποδοθείσης, καὶ τοῦ δράκοντος ἐκείνου ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν κοινῶν διοικήσεως, τοῦ Θεοῦ μεγίστου προνοίᾳ, ἡμετέρᾳ δ' ὑπηρεσίᾳ ἐκδιωχθέντος, ἡγοῦμαι καὶ πᾶσι φανερὰν γεγενῆσθαι τὴν θείαν δύναμιν· καὶ τοὺς ἢ φόβῳ ἢ ἀπιστίᾳ ἁμαρτήμασί τισι περιπεσόντας, ἐπιγνόντας τὸ ὄντως ὂν, ἤξειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀληθῆ καὶ ὀρθὴν τοῦ βίου κατάστασιν. ὅσων τοίνυν ἢ αὐτὸς προΐστασαι ἐκκλησιῶν, ἢ ἄλλους τοὺς κατὰ τόπον προϊσταμένους ἐπισκόπους, πρεσβυτέρους τε ἢ διακόνους οἶσθα, ὑπόμνησον σπουδάζειν περὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν· καὶ ἢ ἐπανορθοῦσθαι τὰ ὄντα, ἢ εἰς μείζονα αὔξειν, ἢ ἄνθα ἂν χρεία ἀπαιτῇ, καινὰ ποιεῖν. αἰτήσεις δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς, καὶ διὰ σοῦ οἱ λοιποὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα παρά τε τῶν ἡγεμόνων, καὶ τῆς ἐπαρχικῆς τάξεως.—Euseb. De Vit. Constant. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. II. cap. xlvi. pp. 382, 3.]

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than that the authority was in him, and they were but his vicegerents?

Christian princes have exercised supreme authority in ecclesiastical cases.

The continual practice of christian churches (in the time of christian magistrates), before the usurpation of the bishop of Rome, hath been to give to christian princes supreme authority in making ecclesiastical orders and laws, yea, and that which is more, in deciding of matters of religion, even in the chief and principal points. And that book and chapter of Sozomen by you quoted declareth the same. For the bishops that came to the council of Nice committed the hearing and determining of their controversies to the emperor; which argueth that it was then a common and undoubted opinion received among them, that the emperor had authority to judge in their causes; and, although the emperor of modesty refused so to do, saying that "it was not meet for them so to use themselves, that they should be judged of other[1]," yet I am sure you will not make this a rule to except the clergy from the jurisdiction of the civil magistrate, unless you will take hold with the pope and say, "We must judge all, and be judged of none." This modesty in Constantinus (in refusing to hear the matters in controversy among the bishops) excepted, there is nothing in that first book and xvii. chapter of Sozomen that can by any means serve your turn.

Sozomenus, Lib. i. cap. 17.

If you say that he would not determine anything against Arius' heresy, but committed the same to the synod and council of Nice, I answer that therein he nothing at all abridged his authority, but shewed his wisdom and godly care. For it is the part of a wise and godly prince to have such weighty matters of doctrine (being in controversy) decreed and determined by such as, for their authority, wisdom, and learning, are most fit to entreat of such matters. But, alas, how doth this argument follow: Constantinus called the council of Nice to determine certain matters of religion in controversy; therefore he had no authority to make ecclesiastical orders and laws[2]?

A wise prince will take the advice of the learned in discussing of weighty matters.

[1 ...καὶ περὶ ὧν ἕκαστος τῶν ἄλλων ἐμέμφετο, βιβλίον ἐπιδοὺς βασιλεῖ, τὰ εἰς αὐτὸν ἡμαρτημένα προσήγγελλεν'...ἀφικομένης δὲ τῆς προθεσμίας, τὰ ἐπιδοθέντα βιβλία δεξάμενος, αὖται μὲν ἔφη αἱ κατηγορίαι καιρὸν οἰκεῖον ἔχουσι τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς μεγάλης κρίσεως. δικαστὴν δὲ, τὸν μέλλοντα πᾶσι τότε κρίνειν' ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐ θεμιτὸν ἀνθρώπῳ ὄντι, τοιαύτην εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἔλκειν ἀκρόασιν, ἱερέων κατηγορούντων καὶ κατηγορουμένων' ἥκιστα γὰρ χρὴ τοιούτους ἑαυτοὺς παρέχειν, ὡς παρ' ἑτέρου κρίνεσθαι.—Soz. in eod. Lib. i. cap. xvii. p. 351.]

[2 "Here also I would ask of him how the council of Nice was fitter to judge

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What council of Constantinople was that? if you mean the v., being celebrated *anno* 549, in the time of Justinianus, it is a very late testimony for this cause, the bishops of Rome being then in great authority; and yet manifest it is, that no emperor made more ecclesiastical laws, both concerning matters of order, and also of doctrine, than did the emperor Justinianus; as may be seen in the Code under these titles: *De Summa Trinitate et Fide Catholica: De Sacrosanctis Ecclesiis: De Episcopis et Clericis: De Hæreticis et Manichæis et Samaritanis: Ne sanctum Baptisma iteretur: De Statuis et Imaginibus;* and a number such like[3]. Justinian made many ecclesiastical laws.

If you mean the sixth council of Constantinople, as it is like you do, then are you without my compass; for that council was *anno* 681[4]; and who will allege any authority of that corrupt time for any such matter in controversy? and yet it is certain that Constantinus the emperor did govern that council, and that the bishops on both sides did plead before him at his appointment, himself sitting as moderator; and this was in a matter of faith. But be it as you say (though I can find no such thing in the first action of that council), doth it follow that, because emperors confirmed ordinances that were made in synods and councils, therefore they have no authority to make ecclesiastical laws? Surely I understand not how you can make any such conclusion. For (as I said before) it is a point of great wisdom and singular care to provide that weighty matters in controversy be determined with great deliberation and advice of such as be most skilful in them: but this can be no argument to prove that civil magistrates may make no orders in the church, or ecclesiastical laws; for even those orders and laws which were made in such councils were made by the authority of the emperor; as doth very well appear in the same councils; for, when the matters were concluded in the council of Chalcedon, the bishops burst[5] out into these voices: "It is a true and a right Conc. Chalced. Constantinus Pogon. governed the council of Constantinople an. 681.

of the matter than the emperor? Was it by some singular case, or by reason of their office of being bishops? If (as needs he must) he answer that they are by calling and by office fitter to judge of such causes, how must not that pertain unto them which are hereof, by calling, the fittest judges?"—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 158.]

[3 Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Cod. Lib. I. Titt. i. ii. iii. v. vi. xxiv. Tom. II. pp. 1, &c., 5, &c., 11, &c., 32, &c., 35, 50.]

[4 See above, page 304, note 3. The council referred to by Cartwright was that held A. D. 536.] [5 Brust, Def. A. and B.]

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judgment: long life to the senate: many years to the emperor[1]." Whereby it appeareth that the chief authority in such councils was given to the emperor, and that he was esteemed as the chief judge; which appeareth also at large in the second book of Evagrius[2].

Evagr. Lib. II. cap. 4.

The Fourth Division.

T. C. Page 154, Sect. 2.

Another reason of the papists against the authority of the civil magistrate.

The practice of this he might have also most plainly seen in Ambrose, who would by no means suffer that the causes of the churches should be debated in the prince's consistory or court, but would have them handled in the church, by those that had the government of the church; and therefore excuseth himself to the emperor Valentinian for that (being convented to answer of the church-matters unto the civil court) he came not[3].

v. Lib. epist. 33.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

vi. Part. 14. Chap. 5. Division.

This is another of M. Harding's reasons against the authority of the civil magistrate in ecclesiastical matters; and he used it against the Apology; but the answer made to the same in the Defence of the Apology, by that reverend father the bishop of Sarisbury, is learned and true; the sum whereof is this. The emperor Valentinian, at that time when Ambrose wrote this epistle unto him, was very young; he was not yet baptized, he knew not the principles of Christ's religion, he was an Arian heretic, he would have thrust out the Christians and placed heretics in their churches, he thought it was lawful for him to do what him listed, &c. For this cause Ambrose refused him to be his judge; so that he did not mislike his authority in causes ecclesiastical, but only his wilful ignorance and his tyranny; for that he knew his judgment was corrupted and not indifferent[4]. And, if you had marked the beginning of his epistle, you might have perceived that he allegeth, for his chief defence and excuse for not appearing, the decree of Theodosius the father of Valentinian; so that, in not coming or appearing at the emperor's summon, he did but

Why Ambrose refused to come at the emperor's commandment.

[1 ...εἴτε Θεὸς ὁ τοῦτο ποιήσας. πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη τῶν βασιλέων'...πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη τῆς συγκλήτου' κ.τ.λ.—Concil. Calched. Act. IV. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. IV. col. 509. Such exclamations were frequent in this council. Conf. ibid. Act. v.; xiv. cols. 558, 9, 754.]

[2 Evagr. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. II. cap. iv. pp. 288, &c.]

[3 Quando audisti, clementissime imperator, in causa fidei laicos de episcopo judicasse? &c.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Epist. Class. I. Ad Valent. August. Epist. xxi. 4, &c. Tom. II. cols. 860, &c. Conf. 2. ibid.]

[4 Bp Jewel's Works, Park. Soc. Edit. Vol. IV. pp. 1027, &c.]

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challenge the privilege granted before of godly emperors unto the clergy.

The prince's right in ecclesiastical matters.

And it is evident that the learned and ancient fathers have committed the deciding of matters of controversy to emperors; as it appeareth in Athanasius his second Apology, where he, committing himself and his cause to the emperor, saith thus: "We require that the emperor's most godly and most religious majesty may have the hearing of the same matter, before whom we may open both our church's right, and also our own; for we hope that his godliness, understanding our reasons, will never condemn us[5]."

The ancient fathers have committed the deciding of controversies to emperors. Athanasius, Apol. 2.

Likewise St Augustine, *Contra Epist. Parme. Lib. i.*, speaking to the Donatists, saith: "Is it not lawful for the emperor or his deputy to give sentence in a matter of religion? wherefore then went your ambassadors to the emperor? why made they him judge of their cause[6]?"

August. contra Epist. Parmen. Lib. 1.

Sozomen, *Lib. iv. cap. xvi.*, saith that "the emperor commanded that ten bishops of the east, and ten of the west, chosen by the council, should repair to his court, and open to him the decrees of the council, that he might not only consider whether they were agreed according to the scriptures; but that he might further determine and conclude what were best to be done[7]."

Sozom. Lib. IV. 16.

Socrates, *Lib. v. cap. x.*, saith that Theodosius the emperor, for the appeasing of contention, commanded an assembly of bishops and best-learned to appear before him, and each part to write a confession of their faith and religion; the which being done, at a day appointed they came to the court and delivered up their writings to the emperor, who, after earnest prayers made, perusing the writings that were delivered, rent in pieces

Socrat. Lib. V. cap. 10.

[5 ...καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῷ εὐσεβεστάτῳ καὶ θεοφιλεστάτῳ βασιλεῖ τηρηθῆναι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀξιοῦμεν, παρ' ᾧ δυνάμεθα καὶ τὰ δίκαια τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἑαυτῶν παραθέσθαι. πιστεύομεν γὰρ ὅτι ἡ εὐσέβεια αὐτοῦ ἀκούσασα, οὐ καταγνώσεται ἡμῶν.—Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Apolog. contr. Arian. 79. Tom. 1. Pars 1. pp. 196, 7.]

[6 An forte de religione fas non est ut dicat imperator, vel quos miserit imperator? Cur ergo ad imperatorem vestri venere legati? Cur eum fecerunt caussæ suæ judicem, non secuturi quod ille judicaret?—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Epist. Parm. Lib. 1. cap. ix. 15. Tom. IX. col. 20.]

[7 Δέκα δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἑσπερίων μερῶν, καὶ τοσούτους ἀπὸ τῆς ἕω, οὓς ἂν κοινῇ γνώμῃ ἐπιλέξωνται οἱ συνιόντες, ἀφικέσθαι εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, καὶ τὰ δόξαντα ἀφηγήσασθαι. ὥστε καὶ αὐτὸν συνιδεῖν, εἰ κατὰ τὰς ἱερὰς γραφὰς συνέβησαν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ περὶ τῶν πρακτέων ὅπῃ ἂν ἄριστα δοκῇ ἐπιτελέσαι.—Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. IV. cap. xvi. pp. 456, 7.]

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The prince's right in ecclesiastical matters.

the confessions made by the Arians and Eunomians, and allowed only and received the confession of the catholics[1].

The practice, therefore, of the authority of princes in ecclesiastical matters, even in determining and judging controversies in religion, you might have learned by these examples in Ambrose' time.

The Fifth Division.

T. C. Page 154, Sect. ult.

Another argument of the papists to the same purpose.

And by whom can the matters and orders of the church be better ordained than by the ministers of the church? And, if that be a good reason of M. Doctor in the forty and seventh page, that the bishops ought therefore to ordain ministers, because they are best able to judge of the learning and ability of those which are the fittest[2]*, it is also as good reason that therefore the ministers and governors of the church should appoint and decree of such ceremonies and orders as pertain to the church, for because it is to be supposed that they can best judge of those matters, bestowing their studies that ways, and further best understanding the state*[3] *of the church, about the which they are wholly occupied.*

Jo. WHITGIFT.

The debating and deciding of matters in religion by bishops doth not derogate from the prince's authority.

This also is a reason of M. Harding's in the same cause, but it only proveth that it is most convenient and necessary that bishops and ministers of the church, while they be learned and godly, may have the debating and deciding of matters in religion; neither doth this derogate anything from the authority of the prince in the same causes: we see that matters in law are determined by judges and lawyers: so be other civil matters by wise and prudent officers in like manner; and yet is not the authority of the prince thereby abridged; but what if all the ministers of the church or most of them be corrupt and ungodly, as it was in the beginning of the reigns of Ezechias and Josias, and as it hath oftentimes been, must all be committed to them then also?

[1 ...καὶ δηλοῖ ἔγγραφον ἑκάστην θρησκείαν γνωρίζειν τὸν ὅρον αὐτῶν, ἧς ἔχουσι πίστεως· τότε οἱ παρ' ἑκάστοις δεινοὶ τὰς λέξεις ἀκριβοῦντες, τὸ οἰκεῖον δόγμα ἐνέγραφον· ὥριστό τε ἡμέρα, καὶ οἱ παρ' ἑκάστοις ἐπίσκοποι τὰ βασίλεια κληθέντες συνήρχοντο·...ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς, δέχεται μὲν τοὺς συνελθόντας· καὶ τὸ παρ' ἑκάστου δόγμα ἔγγραφον λαβών, καθ' ἑαυτόν τε γενόμενος, ηὔξατο ἐκτενῶς συνεργῆσαι αὐτῷ τὸν Θεὸν, πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπιλογήν· εἶτα ἕκαστον τῶν γεγραμμένων δογμάτων ἀναγνούς, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα ὡς χωρισμὸν τῆς Τριάδος εἰσάγοντα μεμψάμενος, ἐῤῥήξε· μόνην δὲ τὴν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου ἐπαινέσας ἐδέξατο.—Socr. in eod. Lib. v. cap. x. pp. 220, l.]

[2 See Vol. I. page 486.]

[3 Estate, Repl. 1 and 2.]

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No godly princes having godly bishops and ministers of the church will alter or change, determine or appoint anything in matters of religion, without their advice and counsel. But how if there be dissension among them, shall not the prince determine the controversies; as Constantinus, Theodosius, and other godly emperors did? Wherefore the meetness of the priests and bishops doth not take away any authority from godly princes in matters of the church.

The prince's right in ecclesiastical matters.

The Sixth Division.

T. C. Page 155, Line 5.

And this is not, M. Doctor, "to shake hands with the papists." For the papists would exempt their priests from the subjection and from the punishment of the civil magistrate; which we do not. And the papists would that, whatsoever the clergy doth determine, that that forthwith should be holden for good, and the prince should be forthwith compelled to maintain, and set forth that, be it good or evil, without further enquiry; but we say that, if there be no lawful ministry to set good orders, as in ruinous decays and overthrows of religion, that then the prince ought to do it, and, if when there is a lawful ministry it shall agree of any unlawful or unmeet order, that the prince ought to stay that order, and not to suffer it, but to drive them to that which is lawful and meet; and, if this be to shake hands with the papists, then M. Doctor is to blame which hath taught us, once or twice before, that the appointing of ceremonies of the church belongeth unto the church. And yet I know that there is one or two of the later writers that think otherwise; but, as I take no advantage of their authority which think as I do, so I ought not to be prejudiced by those that think otherwise. But, forsomuch as we have M. Doctor yet of this judgment that the church ceremonies should be ordained by the church, I will travail no further in this matter, considering that the practice of this church commonly is to refer these matters unto the ecclesiastical persons: only this is the difference that, where it is done now of one or a few, we desire that it may be done by others also who have interest in that behalf.

It is nothing else; as will appear.

Why then more than at other times? or how prove you this?

JO. WHITGIFT.

Yes, in good sooth is it; for M. Harding against the Apology confesseth that the civil magistrate may punish with corporal punishment any estate or degree of persons offending either against the first or second table[4]. And Saunders saith, *Lib. ii.*, that "bishops, in that they be men, be subject to civil magistrates[5];" and therefore in that point the papists grant as much as you.

The papists confess that the prince may punish priests. Harding.

Saunders, Lib. II.

[4 Bp Jewel's Works, Park. Soc. Edit. Vol. IV. p. 975.]

[5 N. Sander. De Visib. Monarch. Eccles. Libri Octo, Lovan. 1571. Lib. II. cap. ii. p. 62. See before, page 297, note 4.]

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The prince's right in ecclesiastical matters.

Concerning the determination of matters in religion, I know not wherein you differ from them; for, though the prince mislike your determination, yet can he not himself conclude anything, only he may compel you to go to it again, and take better hold; but, if it shall please you to go forward in your determination, or if you cannot agree among yourselves, I see not what authority you have given to the civil magistrate to determine the matter; but for ought that I can espy, if you and your seniors be disposed to be peevish, either must the prince have no religion, or else that which you shall appoint unto him; for *potestatem facti* you give him, that is, you make him your executioner; but *potestatem juris* you do as fully remove from him as the papists do; for he hath not, as you say, any authority to make orders or laws in ecclesiastical matters.

The Replier giveth to the prince no more than *potestatem facti*.

Saunders.

Saunders saith, and so say all the papists, that he hath *auctoritatem promovendi religionem:* "authority to promote religion," but not *constituendi:* "to appoint[1];" and therefore undoubtedly I perceive not wherein you differ in this article from the papists. In the chief point I am sure that you agree fully and flatly with them, and use their arguments, and none other; that is in this, that you take from the civil magistrate *omnem potestatem juris* in matters and causes ecclesiastical.

The Replier uttereth strange doctrine without proof, and yet would have all proved by scripture.

And what scripture have you to prove that the civil magistrate's authority is not as ample and as large in matters of religion, when there is "a lawful ministry, as when there is an unlawful ministry?" Indeed, when he hath the one, he may the more safely use their advice, and follow their counsel, which he neither may nor ought to do when he hath the other; but his authority is all one over them both; and surely I marvel that you will utter such strange assertions so peremptorily without any kind of proof. For you, that would have all things proved by the scriptures, have not in this weighty cause used one text of scripture, but only one borrowed of the papists, and making directly against you.

When I say that "the church hath authority to appoint

[1 Sed aliud est, regem ea quæ Dei sunt promovere, et aliud, illis ex regia potestate præesse. Isti autem fere omnes, qui jam numerati sunt, non solum reges fuerunt, verum etiam prophetæ, quos Deus rerum sacrarum ministros etiam extra ordinem interdum constituere solitus est. &c.—Id. ibid. Lib. II. cap. iii. p. 69.]

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ceremonies," I speak generally of all states of the church, as well under persecution as under a christian magistrate, not secluding but including the christian magistrate, as the chief and principal governor of the church committed to him next under God; for I do not speak of a christian magistrate as you and the papists would have me, to wit, as of Julius Cæsar, Alexander, or Nero; but I speak of him as one appointed by God to govern, not only in the commonwealth, but in the church also. Yea, I will go further with you: I make no difference betwixt a christian commonwealth and the church of Christ; wonder you as much at it as you will: I have shewed my reasons before; and you have not as yet used any to the contrary; wherefore, if you think no otherwise of this cause than I have in these words taught you, the civil magistrate shall be much more beholden unto you than he is.

The prince's right in ecclesiastical matters.

No such difference between a christian commonwealth and the church as is pretended.

Certainly I know not any of the late writers (one or two excepted[2]) that are of your judgment in this cause; and, were it not that the same is learnedly and fully handled almost of all the late writers, and namely of such as have in our tongue notably and learnedly defended this truth of the prince's authority in ecclesiastical matters against the English Lovanists, who have especially sought to impeach the same, I would in more ample manner have prosecuted this cause. But, forasmuch as their books are in every man's hands, it shall be sufficient to refer the reader to my lord of Sarisbury his Defence of the Apology against Master Harding, my lord of Winchester's answer to Master Fecknam, and Master Nowel's books against Dorman[3]; in all which this matter is very learnedly and painfully handled[4].

[2 "...meaning (as I think) M. Calvin and Beza....And how durst he say of those two, upon no ground, that 'in this article of the magistrate's authority they differ nothing from the papists?' For so he saith in effect when he saith so of us....so far as we consent here with the papists, we do it as in the article of the holy Trinity, where we have with warrant of the word of God the approbation also of the best."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 168.]

[3 See Vol. I. page 22, notes 1, 2.]

[4 "To end this matter, seeing the church and commonwealth are distinguished as well under a christian prince as under an unchristian, and that thereof followeth the distinction one from another, not only of the lower, but also of the higher members, which are the governors in both the bodies; seeing also the Lord hath appointed the ministers to be over the matters pertaining to himself; seeing, further, the ministry of the church is, by calling and gifts incident thereunto, the fittest judge of the church-matters; last of all, seeing the ancient practice of the church holdeth up her hand hereunto, I conclude that, as well in

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Admonition.

Is a reformation good for France? and can it be evil for England? is discipline meet for Scotland? and is it unprofitable for this realm? Surely God hath set these examples before your eyes, to encourage you to go forward to a thorough and a speedy reformation. You may not do as heretofore you have done, patch and piece, nay, rather go backward, and never labour or[1] *contend to perfection. But altogether remove whole antichrist, both head, body, and*[3] *branch, and perfectly plant that purity of the word, that simplicity of the sacraments, and that severity*[4] *of discipline which Christ hath commanded and commended to his church.*

[t] Heb. vi. 1.[2]

Answer to the Admonition, Page 138, Sect. 1.

Hath there been no reformation in this church of England sithence[5] the queen's majesty's reign? What say you to the abolishing of the usurped power of the bishop of Rome? what say you to the banishing of the mass? Nay, what say you to the purity of doctrine in all points pertaining to salvation? Is this no reformation with you? O intolerable unthankfulness!

Unthankfulness of the Admonitors.

T. C. Page 155, Sect. 1, 2.

The other point is in the 138. *page; where he most untruly and slanderously chargeth the authors of the Admonition, and maketh wonderful outcries, as*[7] *though they should deny that there had been any reformation at all sithence the time that the queen's majesty began to reign, manifestly contrary not only to their meaning, but also to their very words; which appeareth in that they move to a thorough reformation, and to contend, or to labour to perfection, denying only that the reformation which hath been made in her majesty's days is thorough and perfect. We confess willingly that, next unto the Lord God, every one of us is most deeply bound to*[8] *her majesty, whom he hath used as an excellent instrument to deliver his church here out of the spiritual Egypt of popery, and the commonwealth also, and the whole land out of the slavery and subjection of strangers, whereunto it was so near. This, I say, we willingly confess before men, and do in our prayers daily give most humble thanks to God therefore.*

And, by this humble suit and earnest desire which we have for further

the decision of the doctrine, as in the choice of the variable ceremonies of the church, the principal authority belongeth unto the ministry."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 170.]

[1 To, Def. A. and B.]

[2 This text is not in Adm.; though the mark of reference to it appears there.]

[3 Head and tail and, Adm.] [4 And severity, Adm.]

[5 Since, Answ.] [6 Unthankfulness of these men, Adm. 2.]

[7 Outcries of them as, Repl. 1 and 2.] [8 Unto, Repl. 1 and 2.]

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reformation, we are so far from unthankfulness unto her majesty, that we thereby desire the heap of her felicity, and the establishment of her royal throne amongst us; which then shall be most sure and unremoved, when our Saviour Christ sitteth wholly and fully, not only in his chair to teach, but also in his throne to rule, not alone in the hearts of every one by his Spirit, but also generally and in the visible government of his church, by those laws of discipline which he hath prescribed.

JO. WHITGIFT.

The words of the Admonition, page 137, be these: "Is a reformation good for France, &c.? and can it be evil for England? is discipline meet for Scotland, &c.? and is it unprofitable for this realm?" To this I answering say: "Hath there been no reformation in the church of England, since the queen's majesty's reign, &c.?" What "wonderful outcries" these be, or how untrue slanders, let the discreet reader judge. Doth not he, that saith, "Is a reformation good for France? and can it be evil for England?" insinuate that there is no reformation in England? In the same place they say that hitherto we have but "patched and pieced, nay, rather gone backward." Moreover, to what end doth their book tend, but to the defacing of this reformation? What is it that either they or you commend or like in this church? nay, what is it that you mislike not? For to the sincerity of doctrine, as it appeareth, you have little regard: all things else you utterly cast down; neither the authority of the prince, the ministry, the government of the church, the administration of the sacraments, the ceremonies, the discipline, the form or matter of public prayers, nor almost anything else can please you; and, howsoever now in words you confess that you are "most deeply bound unto her majesty, &c." yet both in tongue and in deed divers of you declare that your meaning is nothing less. For why do you then so unorderly, so undoubtedly, so spitefully, publicly and privately, in word and in writing, deface her proceedings, slander her government, deprave the reformation that she hath made, with sects and schisms divide the realm, set dissension among the people, make the papists more stubborn, drive those back that were well-nigh persuaded, thrust a misliking of the state into the hearts of many protestants, encourage her adversaries, separate her faithful subjects one from another, and greatly disquiet herself? But I will not prosecute this mat-

The Admonitors and the Replier mislike our reformation almost wholly.

The good they acknowledge of the queen dissembled.

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ter; only I desire of God most heartily that it would please him to work that mind and affection in you indeed that becometh dutiful subjects and quiet members of the church.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 138, Sect. 1.

England is not bound to the example either of France or Scotland: I would they both were (if it pleased God), touching religion, in that state and condition that England is. I would antichrist were as far from them removed. The Lord make us thankful, and continue this reformation we have, and grant peace to his church, and either convert the hearts of those that be enemies unto it, or remove them.

England is not bound to other churches for examples[1].

T. C. Page 155, Sect. 3; and Page 156, Sect. 1.

And, whereas M. Doctor would bring us into a foolish paradise of ourselves, as though we need not to learn anything at the churches of France and Scotland, he should have understanded that, as we have been unto them in example, and have provoked them to follow us, so the Lord will have us also profit and be provoked by their example, and so be mutual helps one to another, and stir up ourselves with the admonition that our Saviour Christ stirred up his apostles, that oftentimes those that are first are not forwardest, but are overrun of others that come after. And, whereas he would privily pinch at the reformation there, forsomuch as the Lord hath humbled the one, and exerciseth the other by civil wars and troubles[3], he should have, instead of rocking us asleep in our security, put us in remembrance of God's scourges which hang over us, and of God's great patience that still tarrieth for our repentance; and that, if he have punished that people of his which have suffered so much for the profession of the gospel, and which went with so straight a foot in it, with an universal hazard of their goods and lives, that we shall not escape unless we repent speedily of our coldness and halting in religion, and unwillingness, I will not say to hazard to put our lives in danger, but not to leese some of our wealth and honour, for the obtaining of a thorough reformation of the church, and advancement of the glory of the Lord.

Matt. xx. 16.[2]

A slanderous and malicious untruth.

Finally, he would have rather[4] put us in remembrance of the sermon which our Saviour Christ maketh, where he sheweth that those cities are not always the greatest sinners, or those whom God is most angry with, which have the heaviest judgments executed upon them,

Luke xiii. 2, &c.[2]

[1 England is not bound to Scotland for examples, Answ. 2.]

[2 The verses are inserted from Repl. 2.]

[3 For an account of the state of religious affairs in Scotland about this time see Robertson, Hist. of Scotl. Book VI. anno 1572. The massacre of the protestants in France occurred Aug. 24, in the same year.]

[4 Rather have, Repl. 1, 2, and Def. A.]

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but that thereby the Lord calleth us to repentance, otherwise that we shall likewise perish. This had been more fit for our estate to have been said, than to have after a sort insulted upon the afflicted, and daubed up our eyes, that we should not see our misery and our nakedness.

God root out of you this malicious spirit, which delighteth in slanders.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

I have said truly that we are not bound to their examples: I do not deny but that examples may be followed, and one ought to follow another in that which is good and convenient. But I have shewed before, that one church is not bound of necessity in all things to follow another: only the church of Rome is so arrogant and proud as to challenge that prerogative.

No church may challenge to be a pattern necessary to be followed.

I have great cause to expostulate with you for this your unchristian, unbrotherly, and most unjust handling of me. For where or in what words do I "pinch at their reformation?" Wherein do I use any "insultation upon the afflicted," and against them? is this to pinch at them, or to insult against them, to wish that touching religion they were in that state and condition that England is? to wish that unto them that they groan for themselves? Surely flesh and blood will hardly suffer me to put up this injury; but I am taught patience, I thank God; and the Lord forgive you, and root out that root of bitterness that is so deep in your heart.

Admonition.

And here to end, we desire all to suppose that we have not attempted this enterprise for vain-glory, gain, preferment, or any other worldly respect.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 139, Sect. 1.

I would to God you were as free from vain-glory, ambition, and malice[5], and other sinister affections, as you would seem to be; but no indifferent man reading your book will so think of you; for, besides the opprobrious and unseemly terms you use towards your superiors, your Admonition smelleth altogether of popularity and vain-glory.

Admonition.

Neither yet judging ourselves so exactly to have set out the state of the[6] church reformed as that nothing more could be added, or a more perfect form and order drawn; for that were great presumption to arrogate so much unto ourselves, seeing that, as we are but weak and simple

[5] Ambition, malice, Answ.] [6] A, Adm. and Answ.]

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souls, so God hath raised up men of profound judgment and notable learning.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 139, Sect. 3.

And yet in the beginning of your book you call it "a true platform of a church reformed;" and I dare say you think it to be as perfect a form of a church as all the best-learned and godliest men in the world could frame; for it is well known that men of your disposition think commonly as well of themselves as they do of any man else, and better too. But we grant unto you, that you are so far from setting down a perfect state of a church reformed, that you may rather be called confounders and deformers, than builders and reformers.

Men think[1] too well of themselves.

Admonition.

But thereby to declare our good-wills towards[2] *the setting forth of God's glory, and the building up of his church, accounting this as it were but an entrance into further matter, hoping that our God, who hath begun in us this*[3] *good work, will not only in time hereafter make us strong and able to go forward therein, but also move other, upon whom he hath bestowed greater measure of his gifts and graces, to labour more thoroughly and fully in the same.*

Phil. i. 6.[4]

Answer to the Admonition, Page 140.

God grant that you may[5] become builders, and not destroyers: I think indeed you have but "begun:" I know there is other opinions among you, which be not yet commonly known; and truly I doubt that you will never end, but from time to time coin new devices to trouble the church, until you have brought that heavy plague of God upon us, which the like kind of men through their schisms and heresies have brought upon all those places almost where any of the apostles preached, and where the gospel was first planted; and commonly before ruin and destruction cometh inward discord and domestical dissension.

Suspected opinions behind.

Domestical dissension forerunner of destruction[6].

The Lord make us thankful for the purity of his gospel that we by his mercy enjoy: the Lord root out schisms and factions from among us, and either convert

[1 Thinking, Answ.] [2 Toward, Adm. Edit. 1 and Answ.]
[3 Hath in us begun this, Adm. Answ. and Def. A.]
[4 This reference is inserted from Adm.]
[5 Grant you may, Answ.]
[6 Domestical dissension commonly goeth before destruction, Anw. 2.]

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or confound the authors of them: the Lord of his singular goodness continue our gracious queen Elizabeth unto us, and give us faithful and obedient hearts to his word, and to her majesty! Amen.

T. C. Page 156, Sect. 1.

In all the rest M. Doctor hath nothing but words of reproach against the authors of the Admonition, and calling still, as his manner is, for more punishment for them; which I will not bestow the answer of.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

And to this end have I here set my words down, that the reader may understand what words of reproach those be that you charge me with; but, seeing it will not please you to bestow the answer of them, I shall also be content to spare so much labour.

Admonition.

[*A view of popish abuses yet remaining in the English church, for the which godly ministers have refused to subscribe.*

Abide patiently the Lord's leisure. Cast thy care upon the Lord; and he will bring it to pass: he will do it.

The jeopardous time is at hand, that the wrath of God shall be declared from heaven upon all ungodliness of those seducers that withhold the truth in unrighteousness, and set his commandments at nought for their own traditions.][7]

Whereas immediately after the last parliament holden at Westminster, begun in anno 1570, *and ended* anno[8] 1571, *the ministers of God's holy word and sacraments were called before her majesty's high commissioners, and enforced to subscribe unto the articles, if they would keep their places and livings; and some for refusing to subscribe were unbrotherly and uncharitably entreated, and from their offices and places removed; may it please therefore this honourable and high court of parliament, in consideration of the premises, to take a view of such causes as then did withhold, and now doth, the foresaid ministers from subscribing and consenting unto those foresaid articles, by way of purgation to discharge themselves of all disobedience towards the church of God and their sovereign, and by way of most humble entreaty for the removing away and utter abolishing of all such corruptions and abuses as withheld them; through which this long time brethren have been at unnatural war and strife among themselves, to the hinderance of the gospel, to the joy of the wicked, and to the grief and*

[7] This is inserted from Adm.: Answ. places as a heading to what follows: "An Answer to the second part of the Libel called An Admonition to the Parliament, and entituled, A view of popish, &c." (as above).]

[8] Ended in anno, Adm. and Answ.]

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dismay of all those that profess christian[1] *religion, and labour to attain christian reformation.*

Answer to the Admonition, Page 146, 147, 148.

Complaint[2] of persecution without cause.

You complain much of unbrotherly and uncharitable entreating of you, of removing you from your offices and places. Surely in this point I must compare you to certain heretics that were in Augustine's time, who, most bitterly by sundry means afflicting and molesting the true ministers of the church, yet for all that cried out that they were extremely dealt with, and cruelly persecuted by them[3]; or else unto a shrewd and ungracious wife, which, beating her husband, by her clamorous complaints maketh her neighbours believe that her husband beateth her; or to him that is mentioned in Erasmus' Colloquies, that did steal and run away with the priest's purse, and yet cried always as he ran, Stay the thief, stay the thief; and thus crying escaped, and yet he was the thief himself[4]. You are as gently entreated as may be, no kind of brotherly persuasion omitted towards you, most of you as yet keep your livings, though some one or two be displaced, you are offered all kind of friendliness, if you could be content to conform yourselves, yea, but to be quiet and hold your peace. You, on the contrary side, most unchristianly and most unbrotherly, both publicly and privately, rail on those that shew this humanity towards you, slander them by all means you can, and most untruly report of them, seeking by all means their discredit. Again, they, as their allegiance to the prince and duty to laws requireth, yea, and as some of them by oath are bound, do execute that discipline which the prince, the law, and their oath requireth; you, contrary to all obedience, duty, and oath, openly violate and break those laws, orders, and statutes, which you

Persecution of the tongue.

Disobedience.

[1] Christs, Adm. and Answ.] [2] A complaint, Answ. 2.]

[3] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Litt. Petil. Lib. I. cap. xviii. 20; Lib. II. cap. lxxxiii. 184; Contr. Cresc. Donatist. Lib. III. cap. xliii. 47. Tom. IX. cols. 213, 268, &c. 458, 9.]

[4] Sacrificus deponit crumenam: denuo contemplantur. Ibi impostor averso sacrificio, crumenam arripit, ac semet in pedes conjicit. Sacerdos cursu insequitur, ut erat palliatus, et sacrificum venditor. Sacrificus clamat, *Tenete furem:* venditor clamat, *Tenete sacrificum:* impostor clamat, *Cohibete sacrificum furentem:* ...Itaque dum alter alteri in mora est, impostor effugit.—Erasm. Op. Lugd. Bat. 1703-6. Coll. Famil. Conviv. Fab. Tom. I. col. 762.]

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ought to obey, and to the which some of you by oath is bound. If your doings proceed indeed from a good conscience, then leave that living and place which bindeth you to those things that be against your conscience; for why should you strive, with the disquietness both of yourselves and others, to keep that living which by law you cannot, except you offend against your conscience? Or what honesty is there to swear to statutes and laws, and, when you have so done, contrary to your oath to break them, and yet still to remain under them, and enjoy that place which requireth obedience and subjection to them? For my part, I think it much better, by removing you from your livings, to offend you, than, by suffering you to enjoy them, to offend the prince, the law, conscience, and God. And before God I speak it, if I were persuaded as you seem to be, I would rather quietly forsake all the livings I have, than be an occasion of strife and contention in the church, and a cause of stumbling to the weak, and rejoicing to the wicked. I know God would provide for me, if I did it *bona conscientia:* ["of good conscience and unfained zeal[6]"] yea, surely I would rather die than be the[7] author of schisms, a disturber of the common peace and quietness of the church and state. There is no reformed church that I can hear tell of but it hath a certain prescript and determinate order, as well touching ceremonies and discipline as doctrine, to the which all those are constrained to give their consent that will live under the protection of it; and why then may not this church of England have so in like manner? Is it meet that every man should have his own fancy, or live as him list? Truly I know not whereunto these your doings can tend, but either to anabaptism, or to mere confusion. But now to the reasons that move you not to subscribe to those articles ministered unto you by her majesty's high commissioners.

A token of a good[5] conscience.

Every church hath a determinate order of[8] ceremonies.

T. C. Page 156, Sect. 2.

Sed etiam quodam in loco facetus esse voluisti. Deus bone, quam te illud non decet[9]. *Here M. Doctor was disposed to make himself and*

Pleasant divinity.

[5] Answ. 2 omits *good.*] [6] This is inserted from Answ. 2.]
[7] An, Answ. and Def. A.] [8] In, Answ. 2.]
[9] Cic. Or. Phil. II. cap. VIII.]

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his reader merry; but it is with the bagpipe or country mirth, not with the harp or lute, which the learned were wont to handle. For he hath packed up together the old tale of the curst wife, and of the thief that took away the priest's purse, very familiar and homely gear. It might peradventure make M. Doctor hop about the house; but the learned and the wise cannot dance by this instrument.

It pleaseth M. Doctor to compare those which be put out of their livings without just cause to heretics, curst wives, and to thieves; but all men do understand how rightly. What his troubles be within, and in his conscience, the Lord God and he knoweth best; but as for the outward persecution which he suffereth, it is not such as he need thus to stoop, and[1] *to groan, and to blow underneath it, as though he had some great burden upon his shoulders. And, if he complain of the persecution of the tongue, to let pass his immoderate heat of speech, which he useth with those that he hath to do withal, the tongue which is more intemperate than his is in all his book shall hardly be found.*

Jo. WHITGIFT.

And I thank God, I can be merry with "the bagpipe:" I am neither ashamed of the instrument, nor of "the country." But what divinity call you this? alack, poor spite at the bagpipe. Surely you do me a pleasure when you tell me of it. You have omitted nothing that by any means might serve you for a jest. O great gravity, &c. But let us leave *puerilia pueris.*

I know none of you "put from your livings without most just cause:" if there be any injuried that ways, God be thanked, they may find justice. My quietness within my conscience (I most humbly thank my God therefore) doth mitigate the heat of the slanderous generation, and maketh me more willing to deal against that sect that cannot be maintained without such kind of uncharitable and slanderous dealing. I remember what Cyprian saith to Cornelius, *Epist. Lib. i.*: "Ecclesiastical discipline is not therefore to be left off, nor the severity that becometh a priest to be slackened, because we are reviled and evil spoken of, &c.[2]" And again; "The opprobrious speeches of the wicked ought not to move us so that we decline from the right way, and the sure rule; seeing that the apostle instructeth us, saying, 'If I should please men, I were not the servant of Christ[3].'" If "the heat of my tongue be immoderate," what shall be said of yours?

Cyprian.

[1 Or, Repl. 1 and 2.]

[2 Sed non iccirco, frater carissime, relinquenda est ecclesiastica disciplina, aut sacerdotalis solvenda censura, quoniam conviciis infestamur, aut terroribus quatimur, &c.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cornel. Epist. lix. p. 127.]

[3 Nec movere nos debent convicia perditorum, quo minus a via recta et a

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But this kind of dealing is nothing meet for us. Wherefore, if you continue in this vein, you shall have the best game for me.

T. C. Page 156, Sect. 2.

And, although it be unreasonable enough that he should not give men leave to complain of their troubles, when he glorieth in troubling them, yet that of all is most untolerable, that, besides the injury which he doth them, he is angry that they will not lay hands of themselves, by casting themselves out of their livings, or ever they be cast out by him. Tully maketh mention of one C. Fimbria which, when he had caused Q. Scævola, a singular man, to be wounded, and saw that he died not of it, convented him before the judges, and, being asked what he had to accuse him of, answered for that he did not suffer the whole weapon wherewith he was stricken to enter into his body[4]*; even so M. Doctor contenteth not himself only to do injuries unto men, but accuseth them also, that they will not do it unto themselves, or that they would not willingly suffer his weapons enter so far as he would have them.*

Jo. WHITGIFT.

I trust there is not one that can justly say I have without great cause molested him: if there be any such, or whom I have by any means injuried, I refuse not to answer, and to satisfy him; yea, it is my desire that it may come to the trial: so shall many slanderous speeches, together with the authors of them, be found as they are.

[C.] Fimbria was a very proud seditious Roman, and one that disquieted the state of the commonwealth, and greatly envied his superiors. Q. Scævola was a wise and a prudent senator, one that lived in authority, and observed laws himself, and caused the same to be observed by other. Scævola surely you cannot be; for you are neither of that credit for wisdom, nor of that authority in the commonwealth, nor so diligent an observer of good orders and laws: your conditions come nearer to Fimbria: I will not conclude: you shall do it yourself. C. Fimbria. Q. Scævola.

If I have done you any injury, prosecute it to the uttermost, and spare not: I never entreated you to hold your peace. The greatest injury that I acknowledge myself guilty of is unto the college, that I so long suffered you, contrary to your express oath[5], to usurp a place therein, to the great hinderance and disquieting thereof.

certa regula non recedamus, quando et apostolus instruat dicens: Si hominibus placerem, Christi servus non essem.—Id. ibid. p. 131.]

[4 Cicer. Op. Lond. 1680-1. Orat. Pro Sex. Rosc. Amerin. Tom. II. p. 195.]

[5 See Vol. I. page 123, note 10.]

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T. C. Page 156, Sect. 2.

What conscience is there that bindeth a man to depart from his living in that place where he liketh not of all the orders which are there used? Is it not enough to abstain from them if there be any evil in them, or to declare the unlawfulness of them, if his calling do suffer him, when as the reformation is not in his power? And, if, either of this abstaining, or declaration of this unlawfulness of them, troubles be moved, there is no more cause why they should give place, than the other which like of those disorders; yea, there is less cause, for that they are not the causes of trouble, but the other, and for that, by their departure out of their places, room is made for those which will like of those disorders, which the other misliked; which is to the hurt of that company or congregation in such places.

Jo. Whitgift.

If he be sworn to keep those orders keeping his living, if as honest men as he is will like of them, if his equals, or rather betters, might supply his place, I think he ought either to satisfy his oath, or to refuse his living, if he will avoid perjury; yea, though there were no such meet persons to succeed him. But, if the case be this, that a man shall directly swear, either to do such a thing by such a time, or to leave his place, if by that time he neither do the thing by oath required, nor leave his place, but still usurp the same, at the least the space of five years, I think he ought to be displaced for perjury; which is a greater matter than either cap or surplice. I do but now put a case, that men may understand every man that is displaced not to be displaced without great and urgent occasion. I would not enter into this vein, if I were not urged. Therefore, to answer in one word for all, I have put no man out of his living, but there is greater cause why he should be ashamed to complain of injury, than I to do according to my oath and duty.

T. C. Page 156, towards the end.

And, as for M. Doctor's easiness to depart from his living, rather than he would cause any trouble, he giveth men great cause to doubt of, which, having divers great livings, and amongst them a benefice, is very loth to go from troubling of others, to do his duty at any of them. It is true that the church of England may have an order, whereunto it may justly require the subscription of the ministers in England. And so is it likewise untrue that we desire that every one should have his own fancy, and live as him listeth, for we also desire an uniform order, but such, and in such sort, as we have before declared. As for the old accusation of anabaptism and

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confusion, it is answered before; therefore, according to my promise, I will leave your words, and, if you have any matter, I will speak to that.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

This was objected and answered before: God knoweth my heart; and I am ready to give mine account, when I am thereunto by order called. Orders you will admit, but such as pleaseth you, that is, you will be in order, if you may do what you list.

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Of Subscribing to the Communion-Book.
Tract. XXI.

Certain general faults wherewith the book is charged by the Admonitors.

Chapter i. The First Division.

The first Article[1].

Of subscribing to the communion-book[2].

First, that the book, commonly called the book of common prayers for the church of England, authorized by parliament, and all and every contents[3] therein, be such as are not repugnant to the word of God.

Admonition.

Albeit, right honourable and dearly-beloved, we have at all times borne with that which we could not amend in this book, and have used the same in our ministry, so far forth as we might, reverencing those times, and those persons, in which and by whom it was first authorized, being studious of peace, and of the building up of Christ's church, yet now, being compelled by subscription to allow the same, and to confess it not to be against the word of God in any point, but tolerable, we must needs say as followeth, that this book is an unperfect book, culled and picked out of the popish dunghill, the mass-book[4], full of all abominations; for some, and many of the contents therein, be such as are against the word of God; as by his grace shall be proved unto you. And, by the way, we cannot but much marvel at the crafty wiliness of those men, whose parts it[5] had been first to have proved each and every content therein to be agreeable to the word of God, seeing that they force[6] men by subscription to consent unto it, or else send them packing from their callings.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 149, Sect. 1.

Scilicet, the communion-book[2].

And what reason can you give why you should not as well allow of it by subscription, as you say that you "have hitherto done by using of it in your ministry?" Will you speak one thing and do another? Will you not subscribe to that which you publicly use, and give your consent unto?

T. C. Page 157, Sect. 1.

The Admonition hath no such thing as M. Doctor chargeth the authors

[1 Subscription to three articles was, it would seem, enforced by the ecclesiastical commissioners. See Strype, Life of Parker, Book IV. chaps. v. vi.]

[2 These notes are not in Answ.]

[3 Every the contents, Adm.]

[4 That popish dunghill the portuis and mass-book, Adm. But Edit. 1 has only *that popish dunghill the mass-book.*]

[5 Adm. omits *it.*] [6 Enforce, Adm.]

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thereof with, that they did ever allow of the book of service. It saith, they bare with it, and used it so far as they might; and therefore now, when it came to the approving of it by subscription, they refused; and there is no man which cannot understand that it is one thing to bear with a thing, and another to approve it; and therefore to bear and to use it so far as might be may well agree with their refusal of subscription; so that M. Doctor's note is not worth the noting. The apostles did bear with the infirmity of the Jews addicted to the observation of the ceremonial law, yet they never allowed that infirmity, and they were so far from approving it by subscribing, that they wrote against it[7].

Jo. WHITGIFT.

They say they have not only "borne with" it, but "used it also in their ministry, &c.;" and he that useth a thing doth as much allow of it by using, as he could do by subscribing. But I will not contend with you about a matter of so small weight; for neither is their learning, discretion or judgment such that the book is better or worse for their allowing or disallowing of it. They shew their natures bent to contention, and unreverent estimation of the scriptures, by abusing of them; and that is all that can be gathered out of their book.

The apostles refused not to subscribe unto such things as they permitted unto the Jews for a time; neither did they bear with anything for their infirmity, against the which they wrote. If they have done any such thing, note the place.

Chapter i. The Second Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 149, Sect. 1.

If "those persons by whom this book was first authorized were studious of peace, and of building up of Christ's church," as you say they were, then you that seek to deface it are disturbers of peace, and destroyers of the church of Christ. They were singular-learned men, zealous in God's religion, blameless in life, and martyrs at their end; for either all, or the most part of them, have sealed this book with their blood. But by the way this is to be noted, that you confess yourselves to have allowed that (by using of it) which you say is against the word of God.

A note by the way.

[7 Def. B. omits *it*.]

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T. C. Page 157, Sect. 1.

"Those," saith M. Doctor, "which authorized this book were studious of peace, and of building of Christ's church;" therefore they that speak against it (which he calleth "defacing") are "disturbers of the peace, and destroyers of the church." So I will reason: Gedeon was studious of peace, and of building of the church; therefore they which spake[1] *against the ephod which he made were disturbers of the peace, and destroyers of the church. We speak against images in churches, and consubstantiation in the sacraments, and such like, which Luther, being studious of peace, and of the building of the church did hold; and yet we are not therefore disturbers of peace, or destroyers of the church. Although they were excellent personages, yet their knowledge was in part; and, although they brought many things to our light, yet they, being sent out in the morning, or ever the sun of the gospel was risen so high, might oversee many things, which those that are not so sharp of sight as they were may see, for because that, which they want in the sharpness of sight, they have by the benefit and clearness of the sun and of the light. They sealed not the book of service with their blood (as M. Doctor saith); for some that suffered for the truth declared openly their misliking of certain things in it; and as for the other, they could never die for that book, more than for the liturgy used in the French church, or at Geneva. For they received not the sentence of condemnation because they approved that book, but because they improved the articles drawn out of the mass-book. And, if they had died for that book (as indeed they died for the book of God), yet the authority of their martyrdom could not take away from us this liberty that we have to enquire of the cause of their death. Justin and Cyprian were godly martyrs; and yet a man may not say that they sealed their errors which they wrote with their blood, or with this glory of their martyrdom prejudice those which speak or write against their errors; for this is to oppose the blood of men to the blood of the Son of God.*

Unequal comparisons. For in these points they were not builders up of Christ's church.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

These be the words of the Admonition: they say that the authors of that book were "studious of peace, and of the building up of Christ's church;" and therefore upon their own words and confession I ground mine argument. This peace, that they were studious of, and sought to maintain by collecting and authorizing this book, was a godly peace, sought to be maintained by godly means; and therefore such as shall deface that godly means, whereby they procured peace, cannot be judged otherwise than disturbers of the same peace.

Gedeon's ephod.

Gedeon by making the ephod did not seek peace, but rather glory, for he erected it to be a monument of his victory; Gedeon erected the ephod for another end and purpose than

[1] Speake, Def. B.]

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God did appoint it: the ephod that Gedeon made was the cause of idolatry. Likewise images are expressly forbidden in the word of God; and there is a direct commandment against them; so is consubstantiation also. But the book of common prayer is framed according to the scriptures, appointed to the true worshipping of God, most repugnant to all idolatry and idolatrous worshipping; and therefore these similitudes and examples that you use be nothing like: it is neither like to "Gedeon's ephod," nor maintaineth "Luther's images, or consubstantiation;" but overthroweth them all.

The praise of the makers of the book. 1 Cor. xiii.

Their knowledge was "in part," in that sense that the apostle speaketh: *Ex parte enim cognoscimus, et ex parte prophetamus:* "We know in part, and we prophesy in part. &c." But, if they be compared unto men, I think, for learning, zeal, godliness, and sound judgment, most of them have not been overmatched by any that have followed. And surely their learning and judgment was singular. But no marvel it is, though you make so small account of me poor wretch, when you so basely speak of them. Undoubtedly in comparison of yourselves I think you contemn all learned men both living and dead.

How they sealed the book with their blood.

They may well be said to have "sealed this book with their blood," because they were martyred for that religion that is contained in this book, and according to the which this book was framed; and, if they were condemned "for improving the articles drawn out of the mass-book" (as you say), why may it not be likewise affirmed that they received the sentence of condemnation for approving the articles contained in the communion-book? I know the book they died for was the book of God; yet did not the adversary pretend that, but the articles drawn out of this and such like books, grounded upon the word and book of God.

Name one of them who, at the time of his death, or in the time of his imprisonment, "declared openly his misliking of certain things in this book." I can shew you the contrary. That notable vessel of God, for learning, zeal, and virtue, inferior to none of our age, Master Ridley, bishop of London, in his "Last Farewell," as it is called, looking daily and hourly when he should go to the stake, giveth this testimony of this same book of common prayers, the which the church of England now useth, and you so contemptuously reject: "This

M. Ridley's testimony of the book of common prayer.

M. Fox.

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church," saith he, "of England had of late, of the infinite goodness and abundant grace of Almighty God, great substance, great riches of heavenly treasure, plenty of God's true and sincere word, *the true and wholesome administration of Christ's holy sacraments*, the whole profession of Christ's religion truly and plainly set forth in baptism, the plain declaration and understanding of the same taught in the holy catechism, to have been learned of all true Christians. This church had also *a true and sincere form and manner of the Lord's supper*, wherein according to Jesus Christ's ordinance and holy institution Christ's commandments were executed and done. For upon the bread and wine set upon the Lord's table thanks were given, the commemoration of the Lord's death was had, the bread in remembrance of Christ's body torn upon the cross was broken, and the cup in remembrance of Christ's blood was distributed, and both communicated unto all that were present, and would receive them, and also they were exhorted of the minister so to do.

"All was done openly in the vulgar tongue; so that every thing might be both easily heard, and plainly understood of all the people, to God's high glory, and the edification of the whole church. This church had of late the whole divine service, all common and public prayers ordained to be said and heard in the common congregation, *not only formed and fashioned to the true vein of the holy scripture, but also set forth according to the commandment of the Lord, and St Paul's doctrine, for the people's edification in their vulgar tongue*[1]."

But I know his testimony shall weigh with you as all other men's do, howbeit I trust it will pierce the hearts of the godly. Neither is this "to oppose the blood of men to the blood of the Son of God," when the martyrdom of men is brought in to bear witness unto the truth of God.

[1 Bp Ridley, Letter of Farewell, in Fox, Acts and Monuments, Lond. 1684. Vol. III. p. 432; where *hath of late, great plenty of God's true sincere word, the church had also, Jesus Christ's own ordinance, in the remembrance of Christ's blood shed was distributed, might be most easily heard, divine services, not only framed and fashioned,* and *of holy scripture.*—Conf. Bp Ridley's Works, Park. Soc. Edit. pp. 399, 400.]

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Chapter i. The Third Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 149, Sect. ult.; and 150, Sect. 1, 2.

"The unperfectness of this book," and such things in the same as be "culled and picked out of that popish dunghill, the mass-book," with "the contents therein that be against the word of God," shall appear, I am sure, in your several reasons; for it is not sufficient for you barely to say so, without wit, learning, or reason.

This you know right well, that in so saying you make the papists leap for joy, because they have gotten such companions to assault this book, whilst they rest them, and lie as it were in sleep. O that the wise men of this realm (such, I mean, as be in authority) see not this popish practice, and seek not with more earnestness to prevent it. Will ye suffer the papists to gather strength and to multiply, by tolerating such libellers, under the pretence of reformation, to discredit, so much as lieth in them, yea, to overthrow the whole state and substance of religion in this church? Be not secure, but watch, and remember the beginning and increase of the anabaptists of late in Germany; which I have described in my preface to this book.

Advantage given to the papists by the Admonitors[2].

You say that you "cannot but much marvel at the crafty wiliness of those men whose parts it had been first to have proved each and every content therein to be agreeable to God's word, &c." Nay surely, but it were your parts rather to prove that there is something therein contrary or not agreeable to God's word. For such as be learned, and know the manner of reasoning, say that the opponent must prove or improve, and not the answerer. They stand to the defence and maintenance of the book: you seek to overthrow it: it is your parts therefore to justify your assertions by reasons and arguments.

The opponent must prove, by rules of logic.

[* For I must in this point answer you as that learned and zealous man Zuinglius answered one Baltazar, an anabaptist, in his book written unto him: *Dum*

[2 Advantage to the papists, Answ. 2.]

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clara et evidentia scripturæ sacræ testimonia requiris, quibus parvulorum baptismus expresse citra omnem extraneam ratiocinationem institutus sit et probari possit, aliis obtrudis quod tibi probandum erat. Tu enim parvulos baptizandos esse negas. Diserta ergo et expressa scripturæ sacræ testimonia (qualia a nobis postulas) ostende, quæ iisdem baptismo interdicant. Cum enim eum illis diserte neges, scripturis omnino opus est, quibus hanc tuam sententiam probare possis[1]: "Whilst thou requirest evident testimonies of the scriptures which do expressly prove, without all external reason, the baptism of infants, thou dost obtrude to other that which thou shouldest have proved thyself; for thou deniest that children ought to be baptized: shew, therefore, some express testimony out of the scripture (such as thou requirest of us) which forbiddeth them to be baptized; for, seeing thou dost plainly deny it, it is requisite that thou shouldest bring in scriptures to confirm thine opinion." Even so say I unto you: prove anything in that book contained to be against the scriptures; for so you ought to do if you will disallow it. You know that I have before proved, and it is the opinion of all learned men, that the scripture doth not expressly contain all things pertaining to ecclesiastical government, rites, orders, and ceremonies; wherefore, except you can prove some contents of that book to be against the word of God, you labour but in vain. Now to your reasons*.][2]

T. C. Page 157, Sect. 1.

For the papists' triumph I have answered before, and I will not strive about the goat's wool, who is the opponent and who the respondent in this difference.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

Thus you pass all this over in silence; for I do not remember where you have answered one word to it.

[1 H. Zvingl. Op. Tigur. 1581. Ad Libell. Baltas. Hvebm. Resp. Pars II. fol. 103. 2.]

[2 This is inserted from Answ. 2; which reads *Cum enim cum illis.* The last four words are also in Answ. 1.]

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Chapter i. The Fourth Division.

Admonition.

[The first is this.][3]

They should first prove, by the word of God, that[4] *a reading service*[5] *going before and with the administration of the sacraments, is according to the word of God, that*[6]*... wafer-cakes for their bread when they minister it, surplice and cope to do it in, churching of women coming in veils*[7]*, abusing the psalm to her, "I have lifted up mine eyes unto the hills, &c.," and such other foolish things, are agreeable to the written word of the Almighty.*

Psal. cxx.[8]

Answer to the Admonition, Page 151, Sect. 2; and 152, Sect. 1.

The order of prayers in the communion-book agreeable to the scripture[9].

I do not well understand your meaning: would you have us to prove that to read prayers before and with the administration of the sacraments is according to the word of God? Indeed, in the book of service there is first appointed to be read some one or two profitable sentences, moving either to prayer or to repentance; after followeth a general confession; then, the Lord's prayer, and certain psalms; next, certain chapters[10] out of the old and new testament, &c.; last of all, the administration of the sacrament. If you ask me of the sentences, they be scripture. If of the Lord's prayer, psalms, and chapters[10], they be scripture also. If of the

[3] This is introduced from Answ.] [4] By the word that, Adm.]

[5] It is in reference to this place that the notice before adverted to, Vol. I. page 175, note 1, is inserted in the first edition of the Admonition. It is as follows: "We have to desire thee, christian reader, to bear with some faults escaped in the printing of these treatises, thinking it good to put thee in mind of one or two, which may seem somewhat to obscure the matter, leaving the rest to thy good consideration by diligent reading to be amended.

"In the first leaf of the second treatise, page 2, line 30, in stead of 'first prove, that a reading service, by the word of God, &c.' read, 'first prove by the word of God that a reading service &c.' In the second leaf of the same treatise, page 1, l. 12, in stead of a full sentence at this word 'content', make a little pause, and continue the sentence, till the next full point (see page 335). And thus farewell in our Lord and Saviour Christ."]

[6] Here a portion of the Admonition is omitted which has previously appeared; see Vol. II. page 513, note 5.]

[7] Here Adm. inserts *which is not commanded by law, but yet the abuse is great, by reason that superstition is grown thereby in the hearts of many, and others are judged that use it not.*]

[8] Psalm cxxi., Adm.] [9] To scriptures, Answ. 2.]

[10] Chapiters, Answ.]

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sacrament of the supper, it is according to scripture, Matt. xxvi., Mark xiv., Luke xxii., 1 Cor. xi. If of the other prayers annexed, they be likewise according to the scripture; for they be made to God in Christ's name for such things as we need, or as we desire, according to that saying of Christ: *Quicquid petieritis &c.:* "Whatsoever you ask my Father in my name, &c." And again, *Petite, et dabitur vobis:* "Ask, and it shall be given unto you," Matt. vii.; and *Jacob.* i.: "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask it, &c.;" and 1 Timoth. ii., with other infinite places besides.

If you would have us to prove that to read prayers or scripture in the church is according to the word of God (which you seem to deny), then we say unto you that, if there were any piety in you, any religion, any learning, you would make no such vain and godless doubts. Was there ever any from the beginning of the world to this day (the Zuinfildians only excepted) that misliked reading of prayers and scriptures in the church but you? [But touching reading in the church, I have spoken before in the former treatise, and mind to speak something of it hereafter, as occasion shall be ministered.

Only Zuinfildians misliked reading of scriptures.

Of kneeling at the communion I have also spoken before, and declared my judgment thereof. There is more scripture for it than there is either for standing, sitting, or walking; but in all these things (as I have declared) the church hath authority to judge what is fittest.][1]

Pag. 154, sect. 3.

Of "wafer-cakes," ministering in "surplice, or cope," and "churching of women," I have spoken before: wafer-cakes be bread: surplice and cope, by those that have authority in the church, are thought to pertain to comeliness and decency. Churching of women is to give thanks for their deliverance. Bread to be used in the communion, comeliness, and decency, giving of thanks for deliverance out of peril and danger, be agreeable to God's word; therefore all these things be agreeable to God's word. The form of bread, whether it ought to be cake-bread, or loaf-bread, every particular thing that pertaineth to decency or comeliness, at what time, in

[1] The portion between brackets is introduced from Answ. Several pieces inserted before intervene between *ministered* and the next paragragh.]

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what place, with what words we ought to give thanks, is not particularly written in scripture, no more than it is that you were baptized. And therefore (as I have proved before) in such cases the church hath to determine and appoint an order.

Determination of the church in things indifferent.

Admonition.

But their craft is plain; wherein they deceive themselves, standing so much upon this word "repugnant;" as though nothing were repugnant or against the word of God, but that which is expressly forbidden by plain commandment: they know well enough, and would confess, if either they were not blinded, or else their hearts hardened, that, in the circumstances, each content, wherewith we justly find fault, and they too contentiously for the love of their livings maintain, smelling of their old popish priesthood, is against the word of God.

Rash judgment.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 156, and 157, Sect. 1.

If they were disposed to be crafty I think they might soon deceive you, for any great circumspection or discretion that appeareth to be in you by this book. You find great fault that we "stand so much upon this word 'repugnant;' as though nothing were repugnant or against the word of God, but that which is expressly forbidden by plain commandment;" and "herein" (you say) we "deceive" ourselves. But you do not tell us how we are deceived, neither do you let us understand what you think this word "repugnant" doth signify. This is but slender dealing, to find a fault, and not to correct it: you should yet have told us your opinion of the signification of this word; seeing so great a matter doth depend upon it. True it is that this word "repugnant" or "against the word of God" is to be contrary to that which in the word is commanded or forbidden, not only in manifest words, but also in sense and understanding: except you understand this word "repugnant" on this sort, you will bring in many points of dangerous doctrine; for we read in the Acts ii. and iv. that the apostles had all things common; and yet Christians have not all things common. Those that were then converted to the gospel sold all they had, and laid it at the apostles' feet: Acts iv. Now it is far otherwise. Then Christ ministered his supper at night, after supper;

The word "repugnant" expounded.

Diversity of circumstances[2].

[2 This note is inserted from Answ. 2.]

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we in the morning, before dinner: he in a private house; we in the public church: he to men only; we to women also; with a great many of such apparent contrarieties, which be none indeed, because they be not against anything commanded, or forbidden, to be done, or not to be done, either in express words, or in true sense. And therefore you are greatly deceived when you think that we are persuaded that those things which you find fault with be against the word of God.

[* Further, you must learn that an argument *a facto ad jus* is commonly of small force. For this is no good argument: Christ fasted forty days and forty nights; *ergo*, we must do so likewise. Christ had nowhere to lay his head; therefore christian men ought to have no houses to dwell in; and such like; except you can find some commandment general, according to the which these things were done. If you cannot thus reason *a facto*, much less may you reason *a non facto*, as to conclude thus: Christ did not rule in any civil government; *ergo*, Christians ought not to be civil magistrates, &c. Such kind of arguments be mere anabaptistical. And therefore of necessity you must make that repugnant to the word of God, which is contrary to anything commanded or forbidden in the word. I mean in things of men to be done, or not to be done, and not otherwise. For I know that we must believe all things contained in the scriptures, be they facts, or precepts, or stories, or anything else.*][1]

As for this your saying, "if either they were not blinded, or else their hearts hardened," I pray God it be not most aptly spoken of yourselves; but I will not take upon me to judge those secrets that be only known to God and yourselves.

Admonition.

[*For, besides that this prescript form of service (as they call it) is full of corruptions, it maintaineth an unlawful ministry, unable to execute that office.*][2] *By the word of God it is an office of preaching: they make it an office of reading. Christ said, Go, preach*[4]. [a] *Matt. xxvi.* 19. *Mark xvi.* 15.

[1] This is inserted from Answ. 2.]

[2] This is inserted from Adm. and Answ.: Adm. edit. 1 has *maintained.*]

[3] xxviii., Adm.]

[4] The portion after the bracket has already appeared. See before, p. 40.]

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Answer to the Admonition, Page 158, Sect. ult.

[Of "the prescript form of service," and of such corruptions, as hitherto you have found in it, I have spoken before sufficiently, so have I also done of the ministry, and of reading; so that I must refer you to the former treatise for these matters, lest I should be too tedious, and offend as oft in divers times iterating the same thing, as you do.

This I must needs say, that you make here a childish digression far from the purpose that you have taken in hand; for the communion-book meddleth not with the ordering of ministers, although sometimes the book of ordering ministers be bound with the same; neither are these things that you here speak of there to be found. And therefore no cause why you should abstain from subscribing to that book. But now to your painted margent.][5]

You say, "by the word of God the ministry is an office of preaching," and we "make it an office of reading." To prove it to be an office of preaching you note in your margent Matt. xxvi. But I think your meaning is the xxviii., and Mark xvi.; where Christ saith to his disciples, "Go, therefore, and teach all nations, &c." What if a man should say unto you that this commission was given only to the apostles? for he saith, "Go into the whole world;" whereas you teach now that no man may come into the ministry except he first have a flock, and then must he keep him with his flock, and go no further. If this doctrine be true, then cannot this place serve your turn; for, as the office of apostle[6] is ceased by your doctrine, so is this commission also; except you will have the one part to stand, that is, "Go and preach," and this to be abrogated, *in universum mundum:* "into the whole world."

Jo. Whitgift.

You have not anywhere answered directly to any of this, and to the most of it and divers other things included betwixt the 151. page and 171, you have not answered one word;

[5] These paragraphs are introduced from Answ.]
[6] Of an apostle, Answ. 2.]

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which the reader by conference may understand; and I for brevity's sake have omitted to set down.

¶ Of reading of homilies and the apocrypha in the church.

Chapter ii. The First Division.

Admonition.

The second reason.

In this book also it is appointed that, after the creed, if there be no sermon, an homily must follow, either already set out, or hereafter to be set out. This is scarce plain dealing, that they would have us to consent[2] *unto that which we never saw, and which is to be set out hereafter, we having had such cause already to distrust them by that which is already set out, being corrupt and strange, to maintain an unlearned and reading ministry. And sith it is plain that men's works ought to be kept in, and nothing else but the voice of God and holy scriptures, in which only are contained*[3] *all fulness and sufficiency*[3] *to decide controversies, must sound in his church; for the very name "apocrypha" testifieth that they ought rather to be kept close than to be uttered*[6].

Homilies[1].

[7] 2 Tim. iii. 6, [4] 17. 2 Pet. i. 20. [5] Rom. i. 16. 1 Cor. i. 18, &c.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 171, Sect. 1, 2.

Homilies[7].

Your second reason, in few words, is this: "In the book of common prayer it is appointed that, after the creed, if there be no sermon, an homily must follow, either already set out, or hereafter to be set out;" but you know not what will hereafter be set out; therefore you will not subscribe.

You have no cause to suspect anything touching religion set out by public authority (for so is the book), "or hereafter to be set out by common authority." Hitherto you are not able to convince any homily set out by common authority of any error, and therefore you ought not to be suspicious of any that is to come. If any homily shall hereafter be set out, wherein you mislike anything, you need not to read it: the book

Our homilies cannot be accused of any error[8].

[1] This is inserted from Adm. and Answ. 1.]
[2] Have us consent, Adm.] [3] Sufficience, Def. B.]
[4] 16, Adm.] [5] 2 Pet. i. 19, 20, 21, Adm.]
[6] Testifieth that they were read in secret and not openly, Adm.]
[7] This word is not in Answ.] [8] Heresy, Answ. 2.]

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doth not appoint you this or that homily to read, but some one which you like best. But what need you to be scrupulous in this matter? If you be disposed to preach, then need you read no homily at all; therefore this is no reason. Homilies and Apocrypha.

T. C. Page 157, Sect. 2.

I answer that, although it be meet that, as we hope that the homilies which are made already be godly, so those that shall be made hereafter shall be likewise; yet, considering the mutability of men, and that oftentimes to the worse, it is not meet, nay, it is merely unlawful, to subscribe to a blank, seeing that we cannot witness or allow of those things which we have not seen nor heard.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

If you be disposed to quarrel, it is an easy matter to pick out occasions; but your suspicion is without cause; and I think a modest protestation in that point would not be refused.

Chapter ii. The Second Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 171, Sect. 3, 4.

This assertion, that "in the holy scriptures is contained all fulness to decide controversies," if you mean controversies in matters of faith, and in matters touching salvation, is very true; but you have used little discretion in quoting some places to prove the same.

I find no fault with you for citing the sixth verse of the 2 Tim. iii. for the 16. verse; that is but a small oversight, and it may be in the printer; but how do you conclude this assertion of the words of Peter, 2 Epist. *cap. i.* verse 20, which be these: "so that ye first know that no prophecy of the scripture is of any private motion;" for this place only proveth that the scriptures be not of men, but of the Holy Ghost: it speaketh nothing of the sufficiency of the scripture. A place not proving their purpose[a].

Jo. WHITGIFT.

Nothing answered.

[a] This note is inserted from Answ. 2.]

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Homilies and Apocrypha.

Chapter ii. The Third Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 172, Sect. 1, 2, 3.

That place also, 1 Cor. i., is not fitly applied to this purpose: there is scripture sufficient directly to prove the sufficiency of scripture; so that you should not have needed to give the adversary occasion to carp at the unaptness of these places for that purpose.

Homilies concerning doctrine agreeable to the scriptures be of the same nature that sermons be; wherefore, if it be not lawful in the church to read homilies, neither is it lawful to preach sermons: the reason is all one; neither is there any difference, but that homilies be read in the book, sermons said without the book.

Some homilies better than some sermons.

Homilies are pithy, learned, and sound: sermons oftentimes be words without matter, unlearned, erroneous.

T. C. Page 157, Sect. ult.

The place unto the Corinths is the same unto the Romans; and M. Doctor approving one hath no cause to find fault with the other. For the homilies, first of all I have shewed how absurd a saying, and how unlike a divine it is, to match reading of homilies with preaching of sermons. For, if the reading of the holy scriptures is nothing so fruitful as the preaching of them, much less is the reading of homilies to be for their fruit matched with preaching of sermons.

Jo. Whitgift.

Neither of both the places doth prove directly that for the which the authors of the Admonition do use them; and there be other places more manifest which they have omitted.

Reading of scriptures a means to judge of sermons.

I have answered in that place to all your Reply concerning this point; I do not "match reading of homilies with sermons" simply, or with all sermons, but with some; and to some sermons I do prefer the reading of homilies, for the causes contained in mine Answer to the Admonition. Both the reading and the preaching of the scriptures is necessary; and the one in divers respects as necessary, and in some respects more necessary, than the other. For the scripture is the rule to discern and judge sermons and preachers by: Christ willeth to "take heed of false prophets," Matt. vii.;

Matt. vii.

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which cannot be done without the diligent reading of the scriptures: those of Thessalonica are to be commended, for trying by the scriptures the doctrine preached unto them, Acts xvii. St John willeth that "the spirits be tried, whether they be of God or no;" which must be by the scriptures. St Paul, Gal. i., willeth them to "hold him accursed that shall preach any other gospel unto them;" which they cannot do without that knowledge which God doth give unto them by reading of the scriptures. Infinite places there be that tendeth to this end; but I have spoken of this matter before. This is my opinion, that both reading and preaching be most necessary; but in some respects the one to be preferred before the other.

Homilies and Apocrypha. Acts xvii. John, epist. iv. Gal. i.

Chapter ii. The Fourth Division.

T. C. Page 157, Sect. ult.

There remaineth that I shew briefly that neither the homilies nor the apocrypha are at all to be read in the church. Wherein first it is good to consider the order which the Lord kept with his people in times past, Exod. xxx. 29.[1] *when he commanded that no vessel, nor no instrument, either besom, or flesh-hook, or pan, &c., should come into the temple but those only which were sanctified and set apart for that use. And in the* Numb. x. 2.[3] *book of Numbers he will*[2] *have no other trumpets blown to call the people together, but those only which were set apart for that purpose. What should the meaning of this law be? The matter of other common vessels and trumpets was the same oftentimes which theirs was, the same form also, and the other besoms and hooks and trumpets able to serve for the uses of sweeping and sounding, &c., as well as those of the temple, and as those which were set apart. Wherefore mought not these then as well be used in the temple as others? Forsooth because the Lord would by these rudiments and pedagogy teach that he would have nothing brought into the church but that which he had appointed, no, not although they seemed, in the judgment of men, as good as those things which God himself had placed there. Which thing is much more to be observed in this matter, seeing that the homilies read, be they never so learned and pithy, neither the apocrypha, are to be compared either in goodness within themselves, either in fruit, or in effect towards the hearer, with the authentical scriptures of God. Now, if a man will say that the homilies do explain and lay open* xix. Psal. 7.[4] i. Prov. 4.[4] *the scriptures, I answer that the word of God also is plain and easy to be understanded, and such as giveth understanding to*

[1] This reference is inserted from Repl. 2.]
[2] And in Leviticus he will, Repl. 1, and Def. A. and B.]
[3] The verse is added from Repl. 2. Repl. 1 has *Levit. x.*]
[4] The verses are introduced from Repl. 2.]

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Homilies and Apocrypha.

idiots and to the simple. And, if there be hardness in them, yet the promise of the assistance of God's Spirit, that God hath given to the reading of the scriptures in the church, which he hath not given to homilies, or to the apocrypha, will be able to weigh with the hardness, and to overcome it; so that there shall easily appear greater profit to come unto the church by reading of the scriptures, than by reading of homilies.

JO. WHITGIFT.

All this of the "vessels of the temple, the instruments, besoms, flesh-hooks, trumpets, &c.," is superfluous, and proveth nothing, except it can be shewed that the Lord hath commanded only the canonical scriptures to be read in the church, and nothing else; for that the Lord hath as particularly expressed all things to be used in the church under the gospel, as he did in the temple under the law; the contrary whereof I have proved, Tract. II.[1]; and the kind of reasoning that you use in this and other places, upon similitudes, is not of sufficient force to prove anything, only it carrieth away the ignorant people. In the rest of this portion you argue against yourself; for you prove the excellency and the worthiness of the scriptures, and the great commodity that cometh by reading of them; which I have laboured against the authors of the Admonition to verify. But what can you thereupon conclude against homilies, that may not be in like manner against sermons, or other interpretation of the scriptures? and rather against the one (that is, sermons) than against the other. For, as I said before, I make this only difference betwixt homilies and sermons, that the one is pronounced within the book, the other not so. If you object, and say that the preacher is directed by the Spirit of God, I will answer that the writers of homilies be so likewise. And what can you allege in this point for the one, that I cannot allege for the other? The promise of the assistance of God's Spirit is as well given to him that writeth homilies, and to those that hear them, as it is to such as study for their sermons, and such as hear them. To the scriptures I give the chief pre-eminence; but yet both sermons and all other kinds of teaching, publishing the doctrine contained in the scriptures, have their singular commodities and necessary uses in the church of God.

Tract. II. cap. 6. div. 1. & 2.

T. C. seemeth to be contrary to himself.

But either I understand you amiss, or else do you not well agree with yourself; for let the reader consider the

[1 See Vol. I. pages 263, &c.]

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great commodity that you truly give to the reading of the scripture in this place, with that abasing of the same that in the defence of the authors of the Admonition you use, page 173; which I will also note when I come to that place. Homilies and Apocrypha. Pag. 173, sect. ult.

Chapter ii. The Fifth Division.

T. C. Page 158, Sect. 1.

Besides this, the policy of the church of God in times past is to be followed herein, that, for the expounding of darker places, places of more easiness ought to be joined together, as in the persecution of Antiochus, where they could not have the commodity of preaching, the Jews did appoint at their meeting[2] *always a piece of the law to be read, and withal a piece of the prophets which expounded that piece of the law, rather than to bring in interpretations of men to be read. And, because I am entered into that matter, here cometh to be considered the practice also of the church, both before our Saviour Christ's coming and after, that when the churches met together there is nothing mentioned but the reading of the scriptures, for so* xiii. *Acts* 15.[3] *is the liturgy described in the Acts. And it is not to be thought* xv. *Acts* 21.[3] *but that they had those which made expositions of the law and the prophets. And, besides that they had Onkelos the Chaldee paraphrast, both Galatyne, and Rabbi Moses (surnamed Maymon) write that Jonathan, another of the Chaldee paraphrasts, flourished in our Saviour Christ's time*[4]*, whose writings and paraphrases upon the scriptures are esteemed comparable, in that kind of paraphrastical writing, with any which have*[5] *laboured that ways; and, if any men's writings were to be read in the church, those paraphrases, which in explaining the scripture go least from it, and which kept*[6] *not only the number of sentences, but almost the very number of words, were of all most fit to be read in the church—seeing therefore (I say) the church of God then abstained from such interpretations in the church, and contented itself with the scriptures, it cannot be but a most dangerous attempt to bring anything into the church to be read besides the word of God. This practice continued still in the churches of God after the apostles' times; as may appear by the second Apology of Justin Martyr, which sheweth that their manner was to read in the church* Untruth; as will appear.

[2 Meetings, Repl. 1 and 2.] [3 The verses are added from Repl. 2.]

[4 Per idem ferme tempus (anno s. ante Christi natalem circiter secundo et quadragesimo) Jonathas Uzielis filius, Hillelisque auditor, atque Simeonis justi, qui Christum infantulum suscepit in brachiis, condiscipulus, totum vetus instrumentum, in Chaldæam vertit linguam, atque exposuit,...Tantæque apud eos est auctoritatis, ut non solum ei contradicere nemo audeat, sed non minus quoque fidei, quam ipsi textui passim omnes eidem adhibeant: &c.—P. Galatin. De Arcan. Cathol. Verit. Libri XII. 1603. Lib. I. cap. iii. cols. 8, 9. For an account of Onkelos, and Jonathan, and the times when they are supposed to have lived, see Glass. Philol. Sacr. a Dath. et Bauer. Lips. 1776—97. Tom. II. Pars II. pp. 293, &c., 298, &c.]

[5 Hath, Repl. 1, 2, and Def. A.] [6 Keep, Repl. 1 and 2.]

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Homilies and Apocrypha.

the monuments of the prophets and of the apostles[1]*; and, if they had read anything else, it is to be supposed that he would have set it down, considering that his purpose there is to shew the whole order which was used in their churches then. The same may appear in the first homily of Origen upon Exodus, and upon the Judges*[2].

JO. WHITGIFT.

Sermons are of the same nature with homilies.

Surely in all this there is nothing spoken against reading of homilies, that may not in like manner be alleged against preaching of sermons, and other godly exercises of interpreting the scriptures; for, if homilies, interpreting the scriptures according to the true meaning and sense of them, be the "interpretations of men," and therefore not to be read in the church, whose interpretations shall we call sermons, and other readings? The one as well as the other is uttered by men, and by men in that order framed. But I think that no right and true interpretation of the scripture is to be counted man's, though it be written, read, or preached by man; for the Spirit of God is the author of it; and man is but the instrument. The rest of your proofs taken from the use of the church (as you say) be all *ab auctoritate negative*, and most of them *ab auctoritate hominum;* which kind of argument yourself have before utterly condemned. I have oftentimes told you that an argument *a non facto ad non jus* (and it is M. Zuinglius' and other men's judgment as well as mine) is good neither in divine nor yet in human things[3].

The true interpretation of the scripture is not to be accounted as of man.

Jonathan the Chaldee paraphrast before Christ's time.

So far as I can learn, Jonathan, the Chaldee paraphrast, flourished not in Christ's time (as you say), but 42. years before Christ was born; and I think there is none of these paraphrasts so faithful in interpreting but that they miss in some places; and you cannot but acknowledge that one good sermon or homily of some learned man's, well and plainly read to the people, may edify them more than the reading of these paraphrasts. And yet I suppose you know that the Jews have those paraphrasts as yet read in their churches: wherefore hitherto if you have spoken anything it is against yourself.

[1 ...καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται μέχρις ἐγχωρεῖ.—Just. Mart. Op. Par. 1742. Apolog. I. 67. p. 83.]

[2 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Exod. Hom. i. 1. Tom. II. p. 129. In Judic. Hom. i. 1. p. 458. In both these places Origen speaks of the passages on which he is commenting, as having just been read as lessons.]

[3 See Vol. I. page 179, note 5, and page 316, note 1.]

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But you say that "this practice continued still in the churches of God, &c.," and you prove it by Justin Martyr, because he mentioneth nothing "read in the church but monuments of the prophets and apostles." Concerning your proof I have declared already of what force it is, being drawn *ab auctoritate humana negative.* Now that "this practice continued" not "still in the church," you shall easily perceive if you peruse that which Eusebius writeth out of an epistle of Dionysius Corinthius to Soter, bishop of Rome, where he writeth after this sort: "And in this epistle there is mention of an epistle of Clement written to the Corinthians, declaring that (according to the old custom) it was read in the church. For thus he saith: 'We have this day celebrated the holy-day of the Lord, wherein we read your epistle, which we will always read for admonition' sake, in like sort as the former epistle written to us from Clement[4].'" The authors of the Centuries, writing of this Dionysius, think it not unlike that his epistles were also read in the church; because Eusebius calleth them *catholicas:* "catholic." Their words be these: *Non videtur prætereundum, quod Eusebius hasce epistolas catholicas vocet: forte quia in ecclesiis piorum solitæ sunt legi, sicut Clementis*[5]*:* "This thing would not be omitted, that Eusebius calleth these epistles catholic; peradventure, because they were wont to be read in the churches of the faithful, as the epistle of Clement was." And this may testify of the practice of the church in Justinus Martyr's time, better than your negative argument. And of the practice since, the 4. *can. Conc. Vasens.* will give sufficient testimony; where it is decreed that, "if the ministers be let by infirmity or sickness, the homilies of the fathers should be read of the deacons[6]."

Homilies and Apocrypha.

The epistle of Clement read in the church. Euseb. Lib. iv. cap. 23.

Dionysius lived about the year 147.

Cent. ii. cap. 10.

Concil. Vas. can. 4. Homilies of fathers read in the church.

[4 ...ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ ταύτῃ καὶ τῆς Κλήμεντος πρὸς Κορινθίους μέμνηται ἐπιστολῆς, δηλῶν ἀνέκαθεν ἐξ ἀρχαίου ἔθους ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν αὐτῆς ποιεῖσθαι. λέγει γοῦν· τὴν σήμερον οὖν κυριακὴν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν διηγάγομεν, ἐν ᾗ ἀνεγνώκαμεν ὑμῶν τὴν ἐπιστολήν· ἣν ἔξομεν ἀεί ποτε ἀναγινώσκοντες νουθετεῖσθαι, ὡς καὶ τὴν προτέραν ἡμῖν διὰ Κλήμεντος γραφεῖσαν.—Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. IV. cap. xxiii. pp. 117, 8.]

[5 Centur. Eccles. Hist. Basil. 1560, &c. Cent. II. cap. x. col. 200; where *solitæ sint legi.* Conf. Euseb. ubi supra, p. 116.]

[6 ...si presbyter, aliqua infirmitate prohibente, per seipsum non potuerit prædicare, sanctorum patrum homiliæ a diaconibus recitentur.—Concil. Vas. III. (al. II.) can. 2. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. IV. col. 1680.]

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Homilies and Apocrypha.

Chapter ii. The Sixth Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 172, Sect. 3.

But of reading homilies in the church I have something spoken before; now it shall be sufficient only to set down Master Bucer's judgment of this matter in his notes upon the communion-book, which is this: "It is better that, where there lacks to expound the scriptures unto the people, there should be godly and learned homilies read unto them, rather than they should have no exhortation at all in the administration of the supper[1]." And a little after: "There be too few homilies, and too few points of religion taught in them. When, therefore, the Lord shall bless this kingdom with some excellent preachers, let them be commanded to make more homilies of the principal points of religion, which may be read to the people by those pastors that cannot make better themselves[2]."

Bucer's opinion of homilies in the church.

T. C. Page 158, towards the end.

And as for Master Bucer's authority, I have shewed before how it ought to be weighed, and here also it is suspicious; for that it is said that his advice was that[3], *when the Lord should bless the realm with more learned preachers, that then order should be taken to make more homilies, which should be read in the church unto the people. As if M. Bucer did not know that there were then learned preachers enough in the realm, which were able to make homilies so many as the volume of them might easily have exceeded the volume of the bible, if the multitude of homilies would have done so much good. And, if the authority of Master Bucer bear so great a sway with Master Doctor, that, upon his credit only, without either scripture, or reason, or examples of the churches primitive, or those which are now, he dare thrust into the church homilies, then the authorities of the most ancient and best councils ought to have been considered, which have*

[1 Præstat quidem, dum desunt qui scripturas populo viva voce rite explicent, indeque illum sancte ac salubriter doceant, admoneant et exhortentur, recitari populis pias et doctas homilias ab aliis congestas, quam ut nulla ei doctrina atque exhortatio in administranda S. cœna exhibeatur.—M. Bucer. Script. Anglic. Basil. 1577. Censur. in Ordinat. Eccles. cap. vii. p. 465.]

[2 Postremo est etiam nimis exiguus homiliarum numerus, paucique loci religionis nostræ his docentur. Cum itaque Dominus regnum hoc donarit aliquot pereximiis concionatoribus, demandandum illis esset, ut homilias plures, atque de præcipue necessariis locis componerent, quæ populis ab iis recitarentur pastoribus, qui ipsi meliores non possent adferre.—Id. ibid. p. 466.]

[3 Repl. 2 omits *that*.]

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given charge that nothing should be read in the church but only the canonical scriptures. Homilies and Apocrypha.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

They are M. Bucer's words indeed; neither is there any cause why you should suspect them so to be. And it is not his judgment only, but other learned men's also; and namely that famous man D. Ridley's, bishop of London, in the treatise before rehearsed. Wherein thus he speaketh of the church of England, that was in king Edward's time: "It had also holy and wholesome homilies, in commendation of the principal virtues which are commended in scripture, and likewise other homilies against the most pernicious and capital vices, that useth (alas) to reign in this church of England[4]." And truly these authorities, if I had no other reason, prevail more with me than all that you, or any of your part, had said, or is able to say to the contrary. Ridley's judgment of homilies in the church. M. Fox, Tom. II. pag. 1940.

Chapter ii. The Seventh Division.

T. C. Page 159, Line 4.

59. can. Conc. Laodi. Tom. i. Concil. *For it was decreed in the council of Laodicea, that nothing should be read in the church but the canonical books of the old and new testament, and reckoneth up what they be*[5]. *Afterward, as corruptions grew in the church, it was permitted that homilies might be read by the deacon, when the minister was sick, and could not preach*[6]; *and it was also in another council of Carthage permitted, that the martyrs' lives might be read in the church*[7]; *but, besides the evil success that those decrees had (under pretence whereof the popish legend, and Gregory's homilies, &c., crept in), that use and custom was controlled by other councils; as may appear by the council of Colen, albeit otherwise popish*[8]. *And truly, if*

Concil. Vasens. i. Tom.

iv. Tom. Concil. 6. c. Con. Colon. parte 2.

[4 Bp Ridley, Letter of Farewell, in Fox, Acts and Monuments, Lond. 1684. Vol. III. p. 432; where *that use (alas) to reign in this realm of England.*—Conf. Bp Ridley's Works, Park. Soc. Edit. p. 400.]

[5 Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικοὺς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐδὲ ἀκανόνιστα βίβλια, ἀλλὰ μόνα τὰ κανονικὰ τῆς καινῆς καὶ παλαιᾶς διαθήκης.—Concil. Laod. can. 59. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 1507.]

[6 See before, page 345, note 6.]

[7 Liceat etiam legi passiones martyrum, cum anniversarii dies eorum celebrantur.—Concil. Carthag. III. cap. 47. in eod. Tom. II. col. 1177.]

[8 Nam cum olim a sanctissimis patribus institutum sit, ut solæ scripturæ sacræ in ecclesia recitarentur, nescimus qua incuria acciderit, ut in earum locum successerint alia cum his neutiquam comparanda, atque interim historiæ sanctorum tam inculte ac tam negligenti judicio conscriptæ, ut nec auctoritatem

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Homilies and Apocrypha.

there were nothing else but this consideration, that the bringing in of the reading of martyrs' lives into the church, and of the homilies of ancient writers, hath not only by this means justled with the bible, but also thrust it clean out of the church, or into a corner where it was not read nor seen, it ought to teach all men to beware of placing any writing or work of men in the church of God, be they never so well-learned, as long as the world should endure.

JO. WHITGIFT.

It is certain that the decree of the council of Laodicea can no more condemn the reading of homilies in the church, than it may the reading of prayers, or catechisms, or any other interpretation of the scriptures. The meaning of the council is only that nothing be read in the church as scripture, or under the name of scripture, but that which is canonical. And that doth evidently appear in the 47. canon of the third council of Carthage, which doth explain this canon. The words be these: *Item placuit ut, præter scripturas canonicas, nihil in ecclesia legatur sub nomine divinarum scripturarum*[1]: "It is thought good that nothing be read in the church, under the name of the scriptures of God, but the canonical scriptures." It doth not therefore inhibit interpretations of the scripture and godly exhortations grounded upon the same to be read. *Concilium Vasense* (as it is before declared) appointeth homilies to be read when there is no sermon, by reason of some infirmity or sickness in the minister; which is a godly and profitable decree, neither could it be the cause of any corruption.

Nothing ought to be read in the church under the name of scriptures, but the canonical.

Conc. Carth. III. can. 47.

Homilies appointed to be read.

Nothing ought to be read not grounded of the scriptures.

I do not defend the reading of anything in the church which is not grounded upon the word of God; therefore the decree of the council of Carthage, or any such like, doth nothing touch the cause that I defend; and yet I know not in what sort or out of what story these lives of martyrs were read. I like very well of the decree of the council of Colen; for it inhibiteth the reading in the church of fabulous and barbarous stories of the lives of saints, whereby it is like that the book called *Legenda Aurea* is meant. But what is this against godly homilies that contain the true interpretation of the scriptures, godly exhortation to good life, and sound proofs

habere videantur, nec gravitatem. Deo itaque auctore,...reformationem breviariorum meditabimur.—Concil. Colon. I. Pars II. cap. 6. in eod. Tom. XIV. col. 504.]

[1 Concil. Carthag. III. cap. 47. in eod. Tom. II. col. 1177.]

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of true doctrine, which is as far from "justling the bible out of the church, or into corners," as is preaching? And I muse that you can allege this for a cause, seeing you think so slenderly of the reading of the scriptures, and will have the same give place to your sermons. Homilies and Apocrypha.

Chapter ii. The Eighth Division.

T. C. Page 159, Sect. 1.

And, if any man object that by this means also is shut out of the church the form of ordinary prayers to be said, I say the case is nothing like; for when we pray we cannot use the words of the scripture, as they orderly lie in the text. But, forsomuch as the church prayeth for divers things necessary for it, the which are not contained in one or two places of the scripture, and that also there are some things which we have need of, whereof there is no express prayer in the scripture, it is needful that there be a form of prayer drawn forth out of the scripture, which the church may use when it meeteth, as the occasion of the time doth require; which necessity cannot be by no means alleged in the reading of homilies or apocrypha. Whereupon appeareth that it is not so well ordained in the church of England, where both homilies and apocrypha are read, especially when as divers chapters of the books called apocrypha are lifted up so high, that they are sometimes appointed for extraordinary lessons upon feasts' days, wherein the greatest assemblies be made, and some of the chapters of the canonical scripture (as certain chapters of the Apocalypse) quite left out, and not read at all. You have objected that which you cannot answer.

JO. WHITGIFT.

You have made an objection which you cannot answer, and against the which all these reasons that you have before used do as much prevail, as they do against reading of homilies; and whatsoever you can say for the one may likewise be said for the other. For, when we interpret the scriptures, when we teach or exhort, "we cannot use only the words of the scripture, as they lie orderly in the text," but we must amplify them, displace them, apply them to the matter we speak of, intermingling them with our own words and phrases. For, except you will grant this to be lawful, as well in exhorting and teaching, as in public preaching, you must (as I said before) as well condemn sermons as homilies.

The apocrypha that we read in the church have been so used of long time; as it may appear in that third council of Carthage, and 47. canon, where they be reckoned among the Apocrypha read in times past in the church.

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The name of priest.

canonical books of the scripture[1]. They may as well be read in the church, as counted portions of the old and new testament; and, forasmuch as there is nothing in them contrary to the rest of the scripture, I see no inconvenience, but much commodity that may come by the reading of them.

¶ Of the name "priest" given to the ministers of the gospel.

Chapter iii. The First Division.

Admonition.

We speak not of the name of priest, wherewith he defaceth the minister of Christ (because the priest that translated it would perhaps fain have the minister[2] of Christ to be joined with him), seeing the office of priesthood is ended. Christ being the last priest that ever was. To call us therefore priests as touching our office is either to call back again the old priesthood of the law, which is to deny Christ to be comen[3], or else to keep a memory of the popish priesthood of abomination still amongst us. As for the first, it is by [d] Christ abolished, and for the second, it is of antichrist; and therefore we have nothing to do with it. Such ought to have [e] no place in our church; neither are they ministers of Christ, sent to preach his gospel, but priests of the pope, to sacrifice for the quick and the dead, that is, to tread under their feet the blood of Christ. Such ought not to have place amongst us; as the scriptures manifestly teach. Besides that, we never read in the new testament that this word "priest," as touching office, is used in the good part[5].

[d] *Heb. v. 1, 6. Heb. ix. 11.*

[e] *Exe. xliv. 10, 12, 13.[4] Jer. xxiii. Heb. v. 4.*

Answer to the Admonition, Page 183, Sect. 2.

The name of priest[6].

The name of priest need not be so odious unto you as you would seem to make it. I suppose it cometh of this word *presbyter*, not of *sacerdos;* and then the matter is not great.

T. C. Page 159, towards the end.

Although it will be hard[7] for you to prove that this word "priest"

[1 Sunt autem canonicæ scripturæ,...Salamonis libri quinque,...Tobias, Judith, Esther, Esdræ libri duo, Machabæorum libri duo. &c.—Concil. Carthag. III. cap. 47. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. col. 1177. Conf. Bp Cosin, Schol. Hist. of Can. of Script. chap. vii. 82.]

[2 Ministers, Adm.] [3 Come, Adm.]

[4 These verses are inserted from Adm. and Answ.]

[5 Adm. adds here, *except it speak of the Levitical priesthood, or of the priesthood of Christ.*]

[6 The word priest derived of presbyter, Answ. 2.]

[7 Heard, Def. B.]

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cometh of the Greek word πρεσβύτερος, yet that is not the matter; but the case standeth in this, that, forsomuch as the common and usual speech of England is, to note by the word "priest" not a minister of the gospel, but a sacrificer, which the minister of the gospel is not; therefore we ought not to call the ministers of the gospel "priests." And that this is the English speech, it appeareth by all the English translations, which translate always ἱερεῖς, which were sacrificers, "priests," and do not of the other side (for any that ever I read) translate πρεσβύτερον, a "priest." Seeing therefore a priest with us and in our tongue doth signify, both by the papists' judgment in respect of their abominable mass, and also by the judgment of the protestant in respect of the beasts which were offered in the law, a sacrificing office, which the minister of the gospel neither doth, nor can execute, it is manifest that it cannot be without great offence so used.

The name of priest.

JO. WHITGIFT.

I am not greatly delighted with the name, nor so desirous to maintain it; but yet a truth is to be defended. I read in the old fathers that these two names *sacerdos* and *presbyter* be confounded. I see also that the learned, and the best of our English writers, such I mean as write in these our days, translate this word *presbyter* so; and the very word itself, as it is used in our English tongue, soundeth the word *presbyter*. As heretofore use hath made it to be taken for a sacrificer, so will use now alter that signification, and make it to be taken for a minister of the gospel. But it is mere vanity to contend for the name when we agree of the thing: the name may be used, and not used, without any great offence.

Chapter iii. The Second Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 183, Sect. 3; and Page 184, Sect. 1, 2.

The "priest," or "priests," that translated this book be not so scornfully to be taunted. I think some of them have ended their lives in the fire, and all of them singular, both in life, religion, and learning: speak not so contemptuously of so worthy men, utter not your haughty stomachs with so spiteful words towards your superiors and betters, lest you prove yourselves to be in the number of those of whom St Paul speaketh, 2 Tim. iii. vers. 2, 3, 4, 5; and Judas, in his epistle, vers. 8. It is

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The name of priest.

true that the priesthood of the old law is abolished; but the place of scripture noted in your margent proveth it not. For, Hebrews v., Paul doth shew why the high-priest was ordained, and what were his offices; but he speaketh nothing of the abolishing of the priesthood. I muse what you mean thus unnecessarily to paint your margent, and that with so little judgment, and less discretion. The ix. to the Hebrews is something to the purpose, but needless.

Touching popish priests (as you call them) whether they ought to have any place in our church or no, I have spoken before, where I have also answered your marginal notes concerning that matter[1].

You far overshot yourself in mine[2] opinion when you set it down that you "never read in the new testament this word 'priest,' touching office, to be used in good part." What say you to the fourth to the Hebrews, vers. 14: "Seeing then that we have a great high-priest, which is entered into heaven, Jesus Christ, &c.?" And vers. 15[4]: "For we have not a high-priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, but &c." And chapter v. vers. 6: "Thou art a priest for ever, &c." And Apocalypse v., 1 Pet. ii. But what should I trouble you with a tedious heaping up of scriptures? Shew me one place in this epistle, yea, in the whole new testament, where this word "priest" is taken in evil part, touching office. Truly you[5] are far deceived; or else my understanding faileth me. I condemn that office and institution of sacrificing for the quick and the dead with you, and I know it is condemned in the scriptures manifestly, and namely in the ix. and x. to the Hebrews.

Priest taken in good part[3].

Priest concerning office, never in evil part.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

Nothing answered.

[1 See Vol. I. pages 317, &c.] [2 My, Answ.]
[3 This note is inserted from Answ. 2.]
[4 6, Def. A. and B.] [5 Truly either you, Answ.]

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Matters concerning the solemnization of matrimony.

Chapter iv. The First Division.

Admonition.

The ninth.

As for matrimony, that also hath corruptions, too many. It was wont to be counted a sacrament; and therefore they use yet a sacramental sign, to which they attribute the virtue of wedlock, I mean the wedding-ring, which they foully abuse and dally withal, in taking it up and laying it down: in putting it on they abuse the name of the Trinity, they make the new-married man, according to the popish form, to make an idol of his wife, saying, "with this ring I thee wed, with my body I thee worship, &c." And, because in popery no holy action may[7] *be done without a mass, they enjoin the married persons to receive the communion (as they do their bishops and priests when they are made), &c. Other petty things out of the book we speak not of, as that women, contrary*[m] *to the rule of the apostle, come, and are suffered to come, bareheaded, with bagpipes and fiddlers before them, to disturb the congregation, and that they must come in at the great door of the church, else*[8] *all is marred. [With divers other heathenish toys in sundry countries, as carrying of wheat-sheaves on their heads, and casting of corn, with a number of such like, whereby they make rather a May-game of marriage than a holy institution of God.]*[9]

With my body I thee worship[6].

NB

Abuses accidental.

[m] 1 Cor. xi. 5.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 194, Sect. 1.

The first thing you mislike in matrimony is "the ring," which you call "a sacramental sign," and untruly say that we "attribute the virtue of wedlock thereunto." I know it is not material whether the ring be used or no: for it is not of the substance of matrimony; neither yet a sacramental sign, no more than sitting at communion is, but only a ceremony; of the which M. Bucer (writing his judgment upon the first communion-book set out in the time of king Edward) saith on this sort: *Subjicitur alius ritus, ut annulum, &c.*[11]: "There is another

The ring in matrimony[10].

Bucer's opinion of the ring in marriage.

[6] This is introduced from Answ. 2, which omits the other marginal notes in this portion of the Admonition.]

[7] Might, Adm.] [8] Church or else, Adm.]

[9] This sentence is introduced from Adm.] [10] This is not in Answ.]

[11] Subjicitur alius ritus, ut annulum, et si quod aliud signum desponsationis sponsus velit dare sponsæ, sive aurum, sive argentum: ut ista sponsus prius ponat in librum sacrorum, et inde minister sponso illa reddat, quo ipse ea sponsæ tradat, præscriptis in libro verbis. Et hic admodum commodus ritus esse videtur, si

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rite and ceremony used, that the bridegroom should lay upon the book the ring, or any other sign or token of wedlock, be it gold or silver, which he will give to his wife; and from thence the minister taking it doth deliver it to the bridegroom; and he delivereth the same to the bride with a prescript form of words contained in the book. This ceremony is very profitable, if the people be made to understand what is thereby signified, as that the ring and other things, first laid upon the book, and afterward by the minister given to the bridegroom to be delivered to the bride, do signify that we ought to offer all that we have to God before we use them, and to acknowledge that we receive[1] them at his hand to be used to his glory. The putting of the ring upon the fourth finger of the woman's left hand, to the which, as it is said, there cometh a sinew or string from the heart, doth signify that the heart of the wife ought to be united to her husband; and the roundness of the ring doth signify that the wife ought to be joined to her husband with a perpetual band of love, as the ring itself is without end." Hitherto M. Bucer.

The fourth finger.

T. C. Page 159, Sect. ult.

If it be M. Bucer's judgment which is alleged here for the ring, I see that sometimes Homer sleepeth. For, first of all, I have shewed that it is not lawful to institute new signs and sacraments. And, then, it is dangerous to do it, especially in this which confirmeth the false and popish opinion of a sacrament, as is alleged by the Admonition. And, thirdly, to make such fond allegories of the laying down of the money, of the roundness of the ring, and of the mystery of the fourth finger, is (let me speak it with his good leave) very ridiculous and far unlike himself. And, fourthly, that he will have the minister to preach upon these toys, surely it savoureth not of the learning and sharpness of the judgment of M. Bucer.

modo quid ista omnia significent, populo subinde explicetur. Ut, quod annulus et cætera dona, quibus sponsus sponsam ornare vult, prius in librum sacrorum deponuntur, et a ministro sponso rursus traduntur tribuenda ab eo sponsæ, significare: oportere nos nostra omnia, priusquam illis utamur, offerre Deo, cujus sunt, et consecrare, et illa tanquam ex ipsius manu accipere ad illius gloriam usurpanda. Ita annuli insertionem in proximum minimo digitum manus sinistræ: in quo digito aiunt nervum quendam prodeuntem de corde finiri: cæterisque nervis ejus digiti implicari, significare, cor sponsæ debere semper sponso esse devinctum vinculo amoris perpetuo, ut annuli nullus finis est.—M. Bucer. Script. Anglic. Basil. 1577. Censur. in Ordinat. Eccles. cap. xx. pp. 488, 9.]

[1 We do receive, Answ. and Def. A.]

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Jo. WHITGIFT.

I have proved before that every ceremony signifying something cannot be a sacrament. I have also proved that the church may appoint ceremonies[2]; and, though there be no necessity in using the ring, yet I see no cause alleged why it should be refused; seeing this church hath thought it convenient, being also void of all manner superstition, necessity of salvation, opinion of worshipping, and all other circumstances, that should take away the lawfulness of using of it. And surely M. Bucer hath with more learning and sharpness of judgment approved it, than you have as[3] yet confuted it.

Tract. XVI. chap. iii. the 6. division. Tract. II.

Chapter iv. The Second Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 195, Sect. 1.

The second thing you reprove is, because (say you) we "make the married man (according to the papistical form) to make an idol of his wife, saying, 'with my body I thee worship[4].'" And yet St Peter, 1 Epist. chap. iii., speaking to the husbands, saith: "Likewise, ye husbands, dwell with them as men of knowledge, giving honour unto the woman, &c." St Peter would have the man to give honour unto his wife; and yet his meaning is not that a man should make an idol of his wife.

Of these words, "with my body I thee worship[5]."

Honouring maketh not always idolatry[6] in creatures.

T. C. Page 160, Line 5.

And, whereas M. Doctor upon that St Peter willeth the husbands to give honour to their wives, would approve this manner of speech in matrimony, "with my body I thee worship," he must understand that it is one thing with us to worship, and another thing to honour. For we honour men which we do not worship; and, besides, that St Peter speaketh of the honour of the mind, whereby the husband should be moved to bear with the infirmities of his wife; and therefore it is unfitly alleged to prove that he may worship her with his body.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

To honour with the mind is more than to honour with the body; for the one is but a sign of the other; and therefore, if St Peter mean the honour of the mind, he meaneth also the

[2] See before, pages 129, &c.; and Vol. I. pages 175, &c.]
[3] *As* is repeated, Def. B.] [4] Worship, &c., Answ.]
[5] This note is not in Answ.] [6] Idolatry always, Answ. 2.]

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honour of the body. It is a very fond imagination to think that any man meaneth to make an idol of his wife, when he saith, "with my body I thee worship:" have you known any which have offended that way? Neither be these words, neither can they be taken in any other signification than St Peter taketh "honour" in that place; and this word "worship," when it is spoken of one man towards another, can have no other signification than reverence and duty, which is required by the law of God, of nature, of civility. But be these matters of such weight and importance, that such hurlyburlies must be raised and stirred up for them?

Chapter iv. The Third Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 195, Sect. ult.

Communion at marriages.

Last of all[1], you like not that "the married persons should be enjoined to receive the communion." Truly I marvel what you mean so wickedly to revile so godly and so holy a law. Well, I will only set down M. Bucer's judgment of this thing also in the book before of me

Bucer.

recited. His words be these: *Est et illud admodum pie ordinatum, ut novi conjuges una quoque de mensa Domini communicent; nam non nisi in Christo Domino debent Christiani inter se matrimonio jungi*[2]*:* "That is also godly ordained that the new-married folks should receive the communion; for Christians ought not to be joined in matrimony but in Christ the Lord."

T. C. Page 160, Sect. 1.

As for the receiving of the communion when they be married, that it[3] *is not to be suffered (unless there be a general receiving) I have before at large declared; and as for the reason that is fathered of M. Bucer (which is, that "those that be Christians may not be joined in marriage but in Christ"), it is very slender and cold; as if the sacrament of the supper were instituted to declare any such thing, or they could not declare their joining together in Christ by no means but by receiving the supper of the Lord.*

Jo. Whitgift.

They cannot declare it by any better means, and it is the

[1 Last of last, Answ. 2.]

[2 M. Bucer. Script. Anglic. Basil. 1577. Censur. in Ordinat. Eccles. cap. xx. p. 489; where *Domino debebant Christiani.*]

[3 *It* is inserted from Repl. 1 and 2.]

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sacrament of unity and concord; and therefore M. Bucer's reason standeth strong; and whatsoever you have replied to this before is answered.

Chapter iv. The Fourth Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 196, Sect. 1.

"Other petty things," you say, "out of the book," which you call in the margent, "abuses accidental," as "women to come bareheaded," "bagpipes, fiddlers," "coming in at the great door, &c.," you will not speak of. Truly neither will I speak of them, because, being out of that book, and mere trifles, they are not within my compass. But in the mean season[5] this is a sore reason: the ring is used in matrimony: the man saith to his wife, "with my body I thee worship:" the new-married persons receive the communion together; therefore you will not subscribe to the book of common prayers. But this argument cannot be answered: Women come to the church bareheaded, with bagpipes and fiddlers, at the great door of the church; and these things be not in the book; therefore you will not subscribe to the book. [O how well you are occupied to make a schism in the church for such mere trifles!][6]

Things without the book, for the which they will not subscribe to the book[4].

Weak arguments.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

Nothing answered.

¶ Of the confirmation of children.

Chapter v.

Admonition.

The tenth.

As for confirmation[7], *as they use it by the bishop alone to them that lack both discretion and faith, it is superstitious and not agreeable to the*

[4] This note is not in Answ.] [5] Time, Answ.]

[6] This sentence is introduced from Answ. 2.]

[7] Here Adm. inserts *which the papists and our men say was in times past apostolical, grounding their opinion perhaps upon some dream of Hierome, yet.* In Edit. 1 the following words are printed, but erased with a pen: *which was in times past apostolical, and so called of the ancient fathers, yet.* A reference is added in the margin to Heb. vi. 2.]

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Confirmation. *word of God, but popish and peevish. We speak not of other toys used in it; and how far it differeth, and is degenerated from the first institution, they themselves that are learned can witness*[1].

Answer to the Admonition, Page 197, Sect. 1.

Of confirmation[2]. Confirmation, as it is now used, is most profitable, without all manner of superstition, most agreeable to the word of God, and in all points differing from the papistical manner of confirming children. [* If you should deny the use of it, I could prove the same to be most ancient and most convenient; but you seem to acknowledge the same. Only you mislike the use of it as it is now; wherein you shew but a mind delighted with misliking. That the bishop alone used to confirm those that were baptized by imposition of hands, and that from time to time the use of the church hath been that they should so do, Hierome plainly declareth *Adversus Luciferianos*[3]; and Bucer confirmeth the same, writing upon the iv. to the Ephe.[4] If any be confirmed that lack discretion, that is the fault of the man, not of the thing. But you are much delighted with false and slanderous speeches.*][5] And arrogancy maketh you so peevish, that you can like nothing be it never so good.

Arrogancy dispraiseth good things.

T. C. Page 160, Sect. 2.

Tell me, M. Doctor, why there should be any such confirmation in the church, being brought in by the feigned decretal epistles of the popes, and no one tittle thereof being once found in the scripture; and, seeing that it hath been so horribly abused, and not necessary, why ought it not to be utterly abolished? Thirdly[6], *this confirmation hath very dangerous points in it. The first step of popery in this confirmation is the laying on of hands upon the head of the child; whereby the opinion of it, that it is a sacrament, is confirmed, especially when as the prayer doth say that it is done according to the example of the apostles; which is a manifest untruth, and taken indeed from the popish confirmation. The second is, for that the bishop (as he is called) must be the only minister of it; whereby the popish opinion which esteemeth it above baptism is confirmed; for, whilst baptism may be ministered of the minister, and not confirmation but only of the bishop, there is great cause of suspicion given to think, that baptism is*

[1] Instead of this last sentence Adm. has *As though baptism were not already perfect but needed confirmation, or as though the bishop could give the Holy Ghost.*]

[2] Confirmation of children, Answ. 2.]

[3] See below, note 10.]

[4] See below, page 361, note 2.]

[5] This is inserted from Answ. 2.]

[6] And thirdly, Repl. 2.]

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not so precious a thing as confirmation; seeing this was one of the principal reasons whereby that wicked opinion was established in popery. Confirmation. *I do not speak*[7] *of the inconvenience that men are constrained with charges to bring their children oftentimes half a score miles for that which (if it were needful) might be as well done at home in their own parishes. The third is, for that, in the allegation of the second cause of the using of the confirmation, the book saith that, "by the imposition of hands, and prayer," the children "may receive strength and defence against all temptations;" whereas there is no promise that by the laying on of hands upon children any such gift shall be given, and it maintaineth the popish distinction, that "the Spirit of God is given at baptism unto the remission of sins, and in confirmation unto strength*[8]*;" the which very word "strength" the book allegeth; and all this M. Doctor confuteth, by calling of the authors of the Admonition peevish and arrogant.*

Lomb. Lib. iv. Divis. 7.

Jo. Whitgift.

If that be a sufficient reason to abolish it, because "it hath been horribly abused," then what shall you retain either in the church or in the common life of man? But I have before, in talking of apparel, declared the vanity of this reason[9]; and yet the confirmation that is now used was never abused by the papists, for they had it not, neither any similitude of it, but only the name, which cannot contaminate the thing.

Tract. VII. cap. 5. the 4. division, &c.

It comes not from the pope's "decretal epistles;" except you will say that these epistles were counted authentical before Jerome's time; for he maketh mention of this confirmation, and alloweth of it, in his book *Adversus Lucifer*ianos. "I deny not," saith he, "this to be the custom of the churches, that the bishop at the invocation of the Holy Spirit go to lay his hand upon those which have been baptized as far off in lesser cities, by priests and deacons[10]."

Ierom. advers. Lucifer-ianos.

M. Bucer, likewise, writing upon the fourth to the Ephesians, testifieth that this confirmation is very ancient in the church, and well liketh and alloweth the same. Wherefore, except you will give too much authority to "the pope's

Bucer.

[7 Not here speak, Repl. 1 and 2.]

[8 Virtus autem hujus sacramenti est, donatio Spiritus sancti ad robur: qui in baptismo datus est ad remissionem.—P. Lombard. Libr. Sentent. Col. Agrip. 1576. Lib. IV. Dist. 7. fol. 346. 2.]

[9 See Vol. II. pages 35, &c.]

[10 Non quidem abnuo hanc esse ecclesiarum consuetudinem; ut ad eos qui longe in minoribus urbibus per presbyteros et diaconos baptizati sunt, episcopus ad invocationem sancti Spiritus manum impositurus excurrat.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Adv. Lucifer. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 295.]

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Confirmation.

decretal epistles," you cannot say that the confirming of children after baptism had the original in them.

"The first step of popery in this confirmation," as you say, "is laying on of hands, &c.;" and yet you see by the testimony of Jerome and Bucer, that laying on of hands hath long before Jerome's time been used in confirming of children. Neither can you say that "it confirmeth the opinion of it, that it is a sacrament," more than imposition of hands doth confirm the opinion of ordaining ministers that it is also a sacrament; for I think that you will not deny but that imposition of hands may be used in ordaining of ministers.

You say it is an "untruth" that the confirming of children by the imposition of hands came from the apostles; but you only say it, you prove it not. Shew the first institution of it since the apostles, and then you say something; else the words of the book will bear with them better credit than yours can do.

To your second point, the authors before named do sufficiently answer in the places that I have before named. The

Hiero. advers. Lucifer. Tom. II.

words of Jerome be these: "If you demand in this place wherefore he that is baptized in the church doth not receive the Holy Ghost but by the imposition of the hands of the bishop, seeing that we all affirm that the Holy Ghost is given in true baptism, learn this observation to come from this authority, that after the ascension of our Lord the Holy Ghost came down upon the apostles. And in many places we find the same thing to be done, rather for the honour of priesthood than necessity of the law. For, if the Holy Ghost should come only at the prayer of the bishop, those were to be lamented, which, in prison, or in castles, or in far places being baptized by priests and deacons, die before the bishop

Bucer in iv. Ephes.

can visit them[1]." The words of M. Bucer be these: "The sign of imposition of hands bishops only did give, and that not without reason; for, whether the covenant of the Lord is to be

[1 Quod si hoc loco quæris: quare in ecclesia baptizatus, nisi per manus episcopi, non accipiat Spiritum sanctum, quem nos asserimus in vero baptismate tribui: disce hanc observationem ex ea auctoritate descendere, quod post ascensum Domini Spiritus sanctus ad apostolos descendit. Et multis in locis idem factitatum reperimus, ad honorem potius sacerdotii quam ad legem necessitatis. Alioqui si ad episcopi tantum imprecationem Spiritus sanctus defluit, lugendi sunt, qui in lectulis, aut in castellis, aut in remotioribus locis per presbyteros et diaconos baptizati ante dormierunt, quam ab episcopis inviserentur.—Id. ibid.]

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confirmed to those that are baptized, or whether they are to be reconciled that have grievously offended, or whether the ministers of the church are to be ordained, all these ministries do best become those to whom the chief care of the church is committed[2]." Confirmation.

Your objection, of men's charges in bringing their children to be confirmed, is childish[3].

It cannot be denied but that by hearty and earnest prayers God doth work these effects in those children that be his; and hereof imposition of hands is a sign. The ground of this is that promise whereupon all our prayers do depend, that is, "that we shall obtain whatsoever we ask the Father in Christ's name;" neither can you more justly cavil, in this respect, at the imposition of hands at the confirmation of children, than you can do at the same in the ordaining of ministers.

The authors of the Admonition seem to allow of confirmation, but not as it is now used; for the which because they shew no reason, it is a confutation most meet for them to say that they be both arrogant and peevish.

Of burials, and matters thereunto appertaining.

Chapter vi. The First Division.

T. C. Page 160, Sect. ult.

Lest M. Doctor (as his common fashion is when the corruption of any thing is spoken against) say that we condemn burial, I would have him understand that we hold that the body must be honestly and comely buried, and that it is meet that for that cause some reasonable number of those which be the friends and neighbours about should accompany the corpse to the place of burial: we hold it also lawful to lament the dead; and, if the dignity of the person so require, we think it not unlawful to use some way about the burial whereby that may appear, but yet so that there be a Of burials.

[2 Signum impositionis manuum, etiam episcopi soli præbebant, et non absque ratione. Sive enim sit fœdus Domini baptizatis confirmandum: sive reconciliandi ii, qui gravius peccaverunt: sive ecclesiis ministri ordinandi: hæc omnia ministeria maxime decent eos, quibus summa ecclesiarum cura demandata est.—M. Bucer. Prælect. in Epist. ad Ephes. Basil. 1562. cap. iv. p. 122.]

[3 "...such is the compassion he hath of the people's travail; and especially of the necessity of the poor, which are compelled thus, beside extraordinary charges, to lese two or three days' work. That he thinketh it not worthy once to be considered belike is because they go not upon his legs, nor spend of his purse."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. pp. 233, 4.]

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Burials. *measure kept both in the weeping and in the charges, considering that, whereas immoderate either weeping or pomp was never, no, not in the time of the law, allowed, now in the time of the gospel all that is not lawful which was permitted in the time of the law. For unto the people of God under the law, weeping was by so much more permitted unto them than unto us, by how much they had not so clear a revelation and plain sight of the resurrection as we have; which was the cause also why it was lawful for them to use more cost in the embalming of the dead, thereby to nourish and to help their hope touching the resurrection; whereof we have a greater pledge by the resurrection of our Saviour Christ than they had.*

JO. WHITGIFT.

All this is needless; but you are disposed to stretch out your volume.

Chapter vi. The Second Division.

Admonition.

The eleventh.

They appoint a prescript kind of service to bury the dead; and that which is the duty of every Christian they tie alone to the minister; whereby prayer for the dead is maintained, and partly gathered out of some of the prayers, where they pray that "we, with this our brother, and all other departed in the true faith of thy holy name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and soul." We say nothing of the threefold peal, because that is rather licensed by injunction than commanded in the[1] *book; nor of their strange mourning, by changing their garments, which if it be not hypocritical, yet it is superstitious and heathenish, because it is used only of custom; nor of burial sermons, which are put in place of trentals, whereout spring many abuses, and therefore in the best-reformed churches are removed. As for the superstitions used both in country and city, for the place of burial, which way they must lie, how they must be fetched to church, the minister meeting them at church-stile with surplice, with a company of greedy clerks, that a cross, white or black, must be set upon the dead corpse, that bread must be given to the poor, and offerings in burial-time used, and cakes sent abroad to friends; because these are rather used of custom and superstition than by the authority of the book. Small commandment will serve for the accomplishing of such things. But great charge will hardly bring the least good thing to pass; and therefore all is let alone, and the people as blind and as ignorant as ever they were. God be merciful unto us*[2].

[1 Their, Adm.

[2 Adm. goes on, *and open our eyes that we may see what that good and acceptable will of God is, and be more earnest to provoke his glory.*]

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Answer to the Admonition, Page 198, Sect. 1. Burials.

It is true that we have "a prescript kind of service to bury the dead," and that we appoint "that office to the minister;" and what have you in the whole scripture against this? or who ever hath found fault with either of these two things (I mean prescript service to bury the dead, and the minister to execute that office) but you alone? or when was it ever heretofore reproved by any, but even by yourselves now of late?

T. C. Page 161, Line 5.

Now for the things which the Admonition findeth fault with, and thereof bringeth reason, M. Doctor, of his bare credit, without any reason or scripture, or anything else, commendeth them unto us, and saith they be good. And this you shall mark to be M. Doctor's simple shift throughout his book, that, when he hath no colour of scripture, nor of reason, no name nor title of doctor, then, to make up something, he varieth his affirmation by all the figures he can, as in saying simply that it is so, and then in asking whether it be not so, and after in asking whether there is any other man will think that it is not so; as if he would make us believe that he setteth us divers kinds of meats, because he bringeth the same in divers dishes. For, besides these reasons, he hath no reason, either to prove that it is meet to have prescript form of service for the dead, or that the minister should be drawn to this charge. Surely, if the order be so good and convenient, it hath met with a very barren patron, which can say nothing for it. And, although there be enough said by the Admonition, yet, because this bold and hardy speech is enough to lead the simpler away, and to make them think that M. Doctor hath a good cause, therefore I will also say something of these rites of burial.

Jo. Whitgift.

What one reason is there used in the Admonition, what one word of scripture, what authority of writer, to improve "a prescript kind of service to bury the dead, and the minister to execute that office?" If there be any, rehearse it: if there be none, why do you keep your old custom of speaking untruly? Forasmuch therefore as they only say it without proof, without reason, without ground, the thing being known to be good and godly, and practised in the primitive church (for we read in Tertullian, that the dead were wont to be buried by the ministers, and with prayer[3]), and, furthermore,

The dead buried by the minister, and with prayer, in the primitive church. Tertull. de Anima.

An order received in the

[3 Scio fœminam...cum in pace dormisset et morante adhuc sepultura, interim oratione presbyteri componeretur, &c.—Tertull. Op. Franek. 1597. Lib. De Anim. 51. p. 292. If, however, this be the passage intended, it is doubtful whether the minister's prayer was at a funeral service.]

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Burials. church needeth no proof, until by reason it be overthrown.

seeing it is established, and allowed by the church, what should I labour by reason or authority to confirm that which cannot by any reason or authority be overthrown? Wherefore I will only answer with[1] bare assertions, as M. Zuinglius answered (upon the like occasion) one Balthasar, an anabaptist:

Zuinglius ad Baltha. Resp.

"Whilst you require scripture and reason, you obtrude unto other that which you ought to perform yourselves; for you deny that this ought to be so; shew therefore some express testimony out of the scripture to confirm your opinion[2]." To this effect speaketh Zuinglius to Balthasar, who (without reason or scripture alleged to the contrary) required of Zuinglius the proof of those things which without controlment of any (but heretics) had continued in the church of long time, and then also allowed in the time of the gospel; even so the received order established by this church carrieth with it authority and credit sufficient, and needeth not to be further by reason confirmed, except it be first by reason overthrown; which because it is[3] not performed by the Admonition, my affirmation is sufficient reason against their denial.

If this be M. Doctor's "simple shift throughout his book," I trust M. Doctor that would have been hath not omitted to note it, where he may find it, seeing his eye-sight is so sharp, that he can imagine himself to espy it, where no man else can find it. But let words go.

Chapter vi. The Third Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 198, Sect. 2.

You say that "thereby prayer for the dead is maintained, as may partly be gathered out of some of the prayers, where we pray that 'we, with this our brother, and other departed in the true faith of thy holy name, &c.'"

Prayer for the dead not maintained.

You know full well what our doctrine is concerning prayer for the dead, and you ought not thus boldly to utter a manifest untruth; for in so doing you do but bewray your sinister affection. How prove you that "a prescript form of service for burying the dead, and the minister only to bury them," doth maintain

[1 Such, Def. A.]

[2 H. Zvingl. Op. Tigur. 1581. Ad Libell. Baltaz. Hvebm. Resp. Pars II. fol. 103. 2. See before, pages 331, 2.]

[3 Def. B. omits *is*.]

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prayer for the dead? when you have shewed your reason, you shall hear my answer. Burials.

In saying that these words gathered out of some of the prayers, "that we, with this our brother, &c.," import prayer for the dead, you do but quarrel: when we say that we, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, may reign in thy kingdom, do we pray for Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, or rather wish ourselves to be where they are? Pag. 199. Sect. 1, 2, 3.

In like manner when we say, "that we, with this our brother, and all other departed in the true faith of thy holy name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss both in body and soul," we pray not for our brother, and other that be departed in the true faith, but we pray for ourselves, "that we may have our perfect consummation and bliss," as we are sure those[4] shall have which die in the true faith. Exposition of a prayer at burial.

Now weigh this reason: There is a prescript form of burying the dead, and it is made a portion of the minister's office; therefore you will not subscribe to the communion-book.

T. C. Page 161, Sect. 1.

And, first of all, as this almost is a general fault in them all, that they maintain in the minds of the ignorant the opinion of praying for the dead; so is this also another general fault, that these ceremonies are taken up without any example either of the churches under the law, or of the purest churches under the gospel, that is, of the churches in the apostles' times. For, when the scripture describeth the ceremonies or rites of burial amongst the people of God so diligently, that it maketh mention of the smallest things, there is no doubt but the Holy Ghost doth thereby shew us a pattern, whereunto we should also frame our burials. And therefore, forsomuch as neither the church under the law, nor under the gospel, when it was in the greatest purity, did ever use any prescript form of service in the burial of their dead, it could not be but dangerous to take up any such custom. And in the time of the law it was not only not used, but utterly forbidden. For, when the law did forbid that the priest should not be at the burial, which ought to say or conceive the prayers there, it is clear that the Jews might not have any such prescript form; and yet they had most need of it, for the causes of obscure knowledge, and weaker faith, before alleged. Again, by this means a new charge is laid upon the minister, and a taking him away from his necessary duties of feeding and governing the flock; which, being so great as a marvellous diligence will

Levit. xxi. 1, 11.[5]

[4 Sure that those, Answ. 2.] [5 The verses are added from Repl. 2.]

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Burials.

scarcely overcome, ought not to be made greater by this, being a thing so unnecessary. The Admonition doth not say that the prayers which are said are for the dead, but that they maintain an opinion of prayer for the dead in the hearts of the simple; and that they declare manifestly enough, when they say that it may be "partly gathered, &c."

JO. WHITGIFT.

The prescript form of service maintaineth not prayer for the dead, but contrary.

Your first reason to prove that there ought to be no prescript form of service to bury the dead, and that the minister ought not to execute that office, is this: "It maintaineth in the minds of the ignorant an opinion of praying for the dead;" therefore there ought to be no prescript form of service to bury the dead; neither must the minister execute that office. Undoubtedly this is a very ignorant argument: if a man deny your antecedent, how will you prove it? do you think the people (whom you do so greatly in other places extol) to be so rude, that they understand not the English tongue? are they not able to discern what it is to pray for the dead? Surely I do not think any to be so simple, that, hearing the manner and form of burying our dead, can or will imagine that we pray for the dead. And I verily believe that the ignorantest person in a whole country will deride the babishness of the argument. The prescript form that is now used, and the minister pronouncing the same, will rather persuade them to the contrary; for, whereas in times past the minister used to say mass and dirige for the souls of the dead, and sundry times move standers by to pray for the dead, at the time of burial; now doth he read most wholesome scriptures, declaring the misery of the life of man, the shortness of his days, the happiness of those that die in the Lord, and the certainty of the resurrection. And who can hereof gather any prayer for the dead?

Your second reason is this: "These ceremonies (that is, a prescript form of burying the dead, &c.) are taken up without any example either of the churches under the law, or of the churches in the apostles' time. &c.;" therefore there may be no prescript form of service for burying the dead; and the minister may not make it a piece of his office to bury them. I deny this argument; for it is negative from authority: because you have neither warrant to say that there was no such order in the apostles' time; neither, if you had any such warrant, doth it follow that it may not be so in our time, seeing

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that, in ceremonies and divers other orders and external things, we are not bound to the form and manner of the apostolical church. And yet, if I should say that in the apostles' time the minister used to bury the dead, and ground my reason upon the place of St Augustine before alleged, *quod universa tenet ecclesia &c.*[1], I know not what you would be able by any reason to say to the contrary. Burials.

Another argument you conclude thus: "It was forbidden in the law that the priest should be at the burial of the dead;" therefore the Jews had no such prescript form. Be it so; but will you drive us to conform ourselves to the Jews' ceremonies? do you think that touching the dead, or being at burials, will now make the minister unclean? I understand not to what end you should allege any such proofs, unless you would have us to return again to Judaism. This kind of reasoning from the ceremonial law is not only of no force, but also very dangerous; as though Christians were bound to behave themselves according to that law. Surely it should seem that you could rather consent to the bringing in of Judaism, than to the christian orders now appointed in the church. There might be, and so there was, a prescript form of burying the dead among the Jews, although the priest was absent; therefore, if this kind of reasoning from the examples of the Jews were of any force, yet cannot this your argument prove that there ought to be no prescript form to bury the dead. The Replier had rather conform himself to the Jews than to this church.

In the fourth place you reason thus: "A new charge may not be laid upon the minister, nor he may not be taken from his necessary duties of feeding and governing his flock, &c.;" but by burying the dead a new charge is laid upon him, and he is taken from his necessary duties, &c.; therefore the minister may not bury the dead. Your minor is false; for it is no new charge laid upon him: is it not his duty to read the scriptures, to give thanks, to pray and to exhort in the public congregation[2]? doth he not feed when he so doth? nay, when is there a more apt time of feeding? will The duty of ministers not hindered by burying the dead.

[1 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Bapt. Contr. Donatist. Lib. IV. cap. XXIV. 31. Tom. IX. col. 140. See Vol. I. pages 232, 3, note 4.]

[2 "...although it be his duty to do both, yet it is not his duty to do them then: if it be, then he must of necessity do it; neither can this ceremony be abolished; and so the ministers in other reformed churches which do it not are thereby condemned."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 238.]

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Burials. Pag. 49. Sect. ult.

you give him time to be absent from his flock upon his own business, as before you have done[1]; and shall he have no time to bury their dead? Surely I cannot conceive how this function of burying the dead should one jot hinder the minister from any one part of his duty. And I think these reasons of yours too weak to allure any man into your opinion, or to pluck down anything that is already builded. If you seek for alteration, you must use profound and invincible proofs; for no wise man will be moved to a change without urgent and especial cause. I pass over this and such like matters the more lightly, because I take the lightness of your arguments to be such, as of themselves they be a sufficient discredit to your cause, and add (with such as be learned, and not led by affection) a greater strength and confirmation both to the doctrine, and also to the government of this church of England.

Chapter vi. The Fourth Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 199, Sect. 4.

"The three-fold peal, mourning apparel, burial sermons, the place of burial[2], which way they must lie, how they must be fetched to the church, a cross, white or black, set upon the dead corpse, bread given to the poor, offerings in burial-time used, cakes sent abroad to friends," you confess not to be contained within the book, and so you ease me of some labour. But yet

Of mourning apparel. Burial sermons[3].

of mourning apparel, and burial sermons, give me leave to speak a little. It is no good reason to say that, because mourning apparel is only used of custom, therefore it is superstitious and heathenish: many things be used of custom which be neither superstitious nor heathenish, as to receive the communion before dinner, to celebrate the Lord's day on the Sunday, not on the Saturday, to preach in pulpits, and such like. Mourning apparel is of great antiquity, as you know, and I think it is no matter of religion, but of civility and order. If any man put religion in it, then no doubt it is superstitious.

Mourning apparel ancient.

[1 See Vol. I. page 527.]
[2 Of the burial, Answ. 2.] [3 This note is inserted from Answ. 2.]

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T. C. Page 161, Sect. 2.

Mourning apparel.

Untruth; for their words be plain.

For the mourning apparel, the Admonition saith not simply it is evil, because it is done of custom, but proveth that it is hypocritical oftentimes, for that it proceedeth not from any sadness of mind, which it doth pretend, but worn only of custom, there being under a mourning gown oftentimes a merry heart. And, considering that, where there is sorrow indeed for the dead, there it is very hard for a man to keep a measure that he do not lament too much, we ought not to use these[4] *means whereby we might be further provoked to sorrow, and so go a great way beyond the measure which the apostle appointeth in mourning; no more than it was well done of the Jews in the gospel to provoke weeping and sorrow for their dead by some doleful noise or sound of instrument, or than it was lawful for Mary, Lazarus' sister, to go to her brother's grave, thereby to set the print of her sorrow deeper in her mind. Seeing therefore, if there be no sorrow, it is hypocritical to pretend it, and, if there be, it is very dangerous to provoke it, or to carry the notes of remembrance of it, it appeareth that this use of mourning apparel were much better laid away than kept. And here M. Doctor threaps*[6] *a little kindness of the authors of the Admonition, and saith that they know it is very ancient, whom before he denieth to have any knowledge of antiquity. Indeed it is very ancient; but M. Doctor is afraid to shew the anciency*[7] *of it; for Cyprian and Augustine inveigh vehemently against it, condemning it as unlawful and undecent*[9].

1 Thess. iv. 13.[5] Matt. ix. 23.[5] John xi. 31.[5] Cyp. 4. sermone de Mortalitate. Augu. Li. ii. de Consolat. Mortuorum, cap. 5.[8]

Jo. WHITGIFT.

The words of the Admonition be these: "Nor of their strange mourning by changing their garments, which if it be not hypocritical, yet is it superstitious and heathenish, because it is used only of custom." Let the reader now judge whether the Admonition doth conclude this apparel to be heathenish and superstitious only because it is used of custom or no. Truly in my simple judgment their words be plainer than that they can be excused.

Your reason of hypocrisy is no more sufficient to condemn mourning apparel, than it is to condemn any other civil and decent order. By the like reason I might improve your wearing of a turkey gown and a hat, because that kind of apparel, being a token of such persons as mislike the gown and the square cap, and pretend preciseness above the rest, is

[4] Those, Repl. 2.]

[5] The verses are added from Repl. 2.]

[6] Threaps: argues.]

[7] Ancienty, Repl. 1 and 2.]

[8] The list of "faults escaped," prefixed to Repl. 2, directs *cap.* 5, wanting in the other editions, to be added here.]

[9] See below, page 370, notes 1, 2.]

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Mourning apparel.

notwithstanding commonly worn of such as in other places than in London both wear and like the other, and be precise neither in life nor doctrine. And what is it that I cannot disprove, if this be a sufficient argument to say: Some men do abuse it, or some men do hypocritically use it; *ergo*, it is not to be used?

Your other reason, that it "provoketh more sorrow for the dead than is convenient," if it were true that it so did (as you are not able to prove that it is), yet must it receive the same answer with the former argument, being of the same nature; unless you will say that we must not come near unto our friend's grave or place where he is buried, we must not wear any of his apparel, come in or near the place where he died, behold anything that may put us in mind of him, with an infinite such like things; because all these move affections in a kind heart, and provoke it to weeping. But it is the affection of the mind that is to be moderated and bridled, and not the lawful use of decent and civil orders to be condemned. For, if we admit such causes and excuses, I see not how any orders, either ecclesiastical or civil, especially in indifferent things, can be maintained. If any man wear such apparel of purpose to provoke sorrow, he is not to be excused; if for order and civility, he is to be commended. And surely I see not why the wearing of mourning apparel should not be profitable to put a man in mind of his own mortality, seeing it carrieth a remembrance of death with it; and I think it rather worketh this effect in the wearer than the other that you speak of.

There is both a lawful and an unlawful use of mourning apparel.

The antiquity of this apparel appeareth in this, that (by your own confession) it was in Cyprian's time; as it appeareth in that *iv. Ser. de Mortalitate*, where he doth not so much speak against the mourning apparel, as he doth against mourning immoderately[1]; and surely, if the thing had been so greatly to be misliked, it should not still have had continuance in the church as it had; for Augustine likewise speaketh of it *Serm. ii. de Consolat. Mort.*[2], to the same effect that

[1 Nobis quoque...revelatum est,...ut contestarer...fratres nostros non esse lugendos accersitione dominica de seculo liberatos,...desiderari eos debere, non plangi: nec accipiendas esse hic atras vestes, quando illi ibi indumenta alba jam sumserint: occasionem dandam non esse gentilibus, ut nos merito ac jure reprehendant, quod quos vivere apud Deum dicimus, ut extinctos et perditos lugeamus; &c.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Mortal. pp. 163, 4.]

[2 Postremo etiam qua ratione vestes nigras tinguimus, nisi ut nos vere infi-

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Cyprian doth. But there is no such immoderate mourning for the dead in these days; the contrary rather appeareth.

Chapter vi. The Fifth Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 200, Sect. 1, 2.

But wherein have funeral sermons offended you? or with what face of brass dare you liken them to trentals? what similitude is there betwixt a godly sermon and the wicked mass? In what one point are they like? or how dare you condemn such sermons, being then most necessary and most profitable? What? is there a more fit time to entreat of the mortality of man, and shortness of his days, of the vanity of this world, of the uncertainty of riches, of the resurrection, of the judgment to come, of eternal life, and of everlasting death, and of infinite other most necessary points, than that wherein we have a present example before our eyes? When is there a more meet time to beat down trentals, sacrificing for the dead, prayers for the dead, purgatory, and such like, than that wherein they were accustomed to be most used? Surely there is as much difference betwixt our funeral sermons and the papistical masses and trentals, as there is betwixt cold and hot, black and white, light and darkness, truth and lies, heaven and hell. But belike there is some other private cause, which maketh you to reject funeral sermons.

Funeral sermons[3].

Sermons most necessary at burials.

Sermons wickedly compared to trentals.

You say that "in the best-reformed churches they are removed:" I think you say not truly; and I am sure that M. Calvin doth very well like and allow of them; as appeareth in the form of common prayers used of the English church in Geneva, and by him allowed[5]. But, if it be so, I tell you plainly, for my part I like not that

Funeral sermons allowed of M. Calvin[4].

deles et miseros non tantum fletibus, sed etiam vestibus approbemus? Aliena sunt ista, fratres, extranea sunt, non licent: et si licerent, non decerent.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Consol. Mort. Serm. ii. cap. v. Tom. VI. Append. col. 264. The two sermons De Consolatione Mortis appear to be Chrysostom's.—Conf. Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Tom. VI. p. 306, et Monit. ibid. p. 301.]

[3 This marginal note is not in Answ.]

[4 Burial sermons ancient and allowed by Calvin, Answ. 2.]

[5 The corpse is reverently brought to the grave, accompanied with the congregation without any further ceremonies; which being buried, the minister, if he be present and required, goeth to the church, if it be not far off, and maketh some comfortable exhortation to the people, touching death and resurrection.—

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Funeral sermons.

reformation, except there be weightier reasons than either you use, or I can perceive. I am sure that in ancient churches of long time they have been used, and the same you may see in the most ancient and best-learned fathers.

[* Master Fox, in the first part of Acts and Monuments, page 146, speaking of the manner of burials in the old church, saith thus: "In funerals &c."*] [1]

T. C. Page 162, Sect. 1.[2]

Now, touching the funeral sermons, M. Doctor taketh on, and triumpheth marvellously, as though he had already gotten the victory; but he "that girdeth his harness should not boast as he that putteth it off." There is more matter than peradventure M. Doctor is aware of; and that which is set down he answereth not, as that it nourisheth an opinion that the dead are the better for it; which doth appear in that there are none more desirous of funeral sermons than the papists, which although they cannot abide the doctrine which is preached, yet they will have such sermons, and those, which will very seldom, or not at all, be at other sermons, will not commonly miss one of these. Furthermore, forsomuch as the minister is driven oftentimes by this means to preach upon a sudden, the word of God thereby is negligently handled, especially of those whose gifts are not so great as that they can provide in so small time; and by this negligent handling of the word of God it is brought into contempt.

Jo. Whitgift.

Funeral sermons nourish not an opinion that the dead are the better for them.

Surely M. Doctor may well "triumph" that so good a cause hath no stronger adversaries. Your arguments are too too slender, and indeed very frivolous: the first is this, "that they nourish an opinion that the dead are better for them;" of the which argument because you are ashamed yourself, you father it upon the Admonition, wherein there is not one word spoken of any such reason. But why doth a funeral sermon nourish that opinion? forsooth, because "the papists be most desirous of them." First, it is very strange to say that sermons nourish an opinion that the dead are the better for them, when it is well known that both he that preacheth thinketh otherwise, and the end of preaching is to root out of men's hearts such persuasions; which kind of sermons be most meet at that time to be used, when such especial occasions be

The Form of Comm. Prayer used by the English at Geneva, in The Phenix, Lond. 1707-8. Vol. II. p. 257.]

[1 The portion between brackets is inserted from Answ. 2. It proceeds just as below, p. 375, except that we have *dirges* for *diriges*, and *gilded* instead of *golden*.] [2 2, Def. B.]

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offered. Secondly, it is as strange to think that papists should for any such cause desire them, who are persuaded the doctrine that is taught to be flat heresy, and the preacher to be none of the church; and surely it is a strange fancy that can imagine a papist to think that sermon to help the dead, which condemneth prayer for the dead, purgatory, masses, diriges, merits, and such like popish trash, wherein the papists place all their hope of help for the dead. Wherefore, if papists be so desirous of these sermons (which I cannot believe), and in many of them it is indeed untrue, it is rather to avoid the suspicion of papistry than to procure any help to the dead. Funeral sermons.

The second argument you will have this, "the minister is driven by this means to preach of a sudden, and thereby the word of God is negligently handled, &c." And is this so good a reason? Do you remember what you answered before for the defence of preaching twice in a day? you said it was a "very simple sermon that had not some goodness and edifying, and very slender meat which is not better being given every day, than the best and daintiest meat once only in a month[3]. &c.[4]" And how can he be taken so unprovided that is able to preach so often? or why should the word of God be more negligently handled by the minister preaching a funeral sermon upon sudden warning, than by the same minister preaching two sermons every day? your memory waxeth feeble towards the end of your book; else would you not have so reasoned against yourself. But why may not he that preacheth a funeral sermon have sufficient warning? or, if he have not, why may he not refuse to preach it? There is no order or law that doth of necessity bind him unto it. T. C. forgetteth himself. Pag. 123, sect. 1.

Chapter vi. The Sixth Division.

T. C. Page 162, Sect. 2.

Moreover, considering that these funeral sermons are at the request of rich men, and those which are in authority, and are very seldom at the burial of the poor, there is brought into the church (contrary to the word of God) an acceptation of persons, which ought not to be. For, although

[3 See before, page 2.]

[4 "...although I preferred it to the other, yet I approved not that one only minister (except he have rare gifts) should preach every day."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 239.]

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Funeral sermons.

the minister may give to one more honour than to another, according as the calling or degree requireth, yet in his ministry, and that which pertaineth unto his office, he ought to shew himself indifferent, and therefore preach as well at[1] *the death of the poor as of the rich; and, because he cannot well do both, it is most convenient to leave both.*

JO. WHITGIFT.

This is your third reason: but it toucheth only the person, and not the cause: for it reproveth the minister for not preaching as well at the burial of the poor as of the rich; which if it be a fault, it is the fault of the man, not of the thing; and therefore no good reason to condemn funeral sermons. But you say, "he cannot do both; and therefore it is most convenient that he leave both:" shall he at no time do good, because he cannot do it at all times? because he is not able to preach every day, shall he not therefore preach once in the week? or, if he be not able to preach once in the week, shall he not therefore (being able) preach once in a fortnight[2]? What kind of reasoning call you this? and yet, if your reason for preaching twice a day before mentioned be good and allowable, I know not why the minister may not be able to preach at the burial as well of the poor as of the rich; and yet there may be sometimes more occasion to preach at the burial of the rich than at the burial of the poor; neither is this that acceptation of persons which is in scripture prohibited; for there be degrees of persons and several dignities. Howbeit, funeral sermons be rather in the respect of the living than of the dead.

Chapter vi. The Seventh Division.

T. C. Page 162, Sect. 2.

If so be that M. Doctor will say that it is good that notable and famous men should have their commendation, to the end that both the goodness of God towards them might be the better known, and others the sooner drawn to follow their example, I grant it is so; and the scripture doth both approve it, and sheweth what mean is best to do that by. For we read that Jeremy the prophet commended that godly and zealous

[1 Def. B. omits *at*.]

[2 "Which is untrue, considering that his ordinary ministry is commanded of God, where this is but a device of men, and considering that in the ordinary preaching there is no acceptation of persons, whether it be done once or often in a week: &c."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 239.]

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2 Chron. xxxv. 25.[3] 2 Sam. i. 17, &c.[3] and iii. 33, &c.[3]

prince Josias in writing verses of his death. He could have as easily preached, but this he thought the best way. So did also David write verses at the death of Saul, and Jonathan, and Abner, in which he commendeth their gifts and graces which the Lord had bestowed upon them. There were indeed of ancient time funeral orations; as appeareth in Gregory Nazianzene; but they savoured of the manner of Athens, where he was brought up; where also this custom of funeral orations was used; as may be seen in the second book of Thucydides' story, by an oration of Pericles[4]. And, although this custom was not in Nazianzene's time so corrupt as afterwards, yet the departing from the examples of the purer churches gave occasion of further corruption which ensued. And, to say the truth, it was better used amongst the Athenians than amongst the Christians. For there it was merely civil, and the oration at the death of some notable personage made not by a minister, but by an orator appointed therefore; which I think may well be done.

Funeral sermons.

JO. WHITGIFT.

"Jeremy lamented Josias' death, and writ verses upon it: David also writ verses at the death of Saul:" "there were funeral orations in Nazianzene's time;" and it is lawful to have "orations at the death of noble personages, &c.;" therefore there may be no funeral sermons: this argument hath neither necessary nor probable conclusion; for they may both be used, and be so commonly at the burial of notable personages. M. Fox, reporting the use of the primitive church in this matter, saith thus: "In funerals priests then flocked not together, selling trentals and diriges, for sweeping of purgatory, but only a funeral concion was used, with psalms of praises and songs of their worthy deeds, and alleluia sounding on high, which did shake the golden ceilings of the temple; as witnesseth Nazianzene, Ambrose, and Jerome, &c.[5]"

The order of the primitive church in funerals. M. Fox, par. 1. pag. 146.

Chapter vi. The Eighth Division.

T. C. Page 162, Sect. 2.

And, if M. Doctor will say that there might be sermons, although they be not mentioned, neither in the old testament nor in the new, I have answered before that, seeing the Holy Ghost doth describe so diligently the

[3] The verses are inserted from Repl. 2.]

[4] Thucyd. De Bell. Pelop. Lib. II. capp. xxxv-xlvi.]

[5] Fox, Acts and Monuments, Lond. 1684. Vol. I. p. 118; where *the gilded ceilings*, and *with Hierome*, *&c.*—Conf. Gregor. Naz. Op. Paris. 1778-1840. Orat. vii. 15, 16. Tom. I. pp. 208, 9, &c.; Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Obit. Valent. Cons. 56. Tom. II. col. 1189; Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Ocean. de Mort. Fab. Epist. lxxxiv. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 662.]

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Funeral sermons.

least circumstances of burial, he would not have omitted that being the greatest. And let it be observed that this device of man's brain bringeth forth the same fruit that other do, that is, driveth quite away a necessary duty of the minister, which is to comfort with the word of God the parties which be grieved at the death of their friends, that, considering the sore is particular, he apply unto it a particular plaister, which is very seldom or never done, and yet a necessary duty, as of a good Christian, so especially of the minister, which can best do it, and to whom it most appertaineth.

JO. WHITGIFT.

No, I say not that[1], which you do not sufficiently improve, but this also, that, if there were none such then, yet may there be now, being a matter pertaining to edifying, and to the preaching of the gospel of Christ. And you can no more prove by this argument that there ought to be no funeral sermons, than you can prove that there ought to be no women at the receiving of the communion, or no baptism ministered in churches, with divers such like things, whereof there is no express mention that they were in the apostles' time.

Another of your weighty arguments is this: "The minister ought to comfort with the word of God the parties that be grieved at the death of their friends;" therefore he may not preach a funeral sermon. I must still deny your argument, being too too simple. For may he not do both, if need require? may he not before his sermon, in his sermon, and after his sermon, comfort the party grieved? That is one good use of funeral sermons, especially when there are a number so grieved, whom he cannot so well particularly comfort, because of the nnmber, as he may jointly in a godly and fruitful sermon; and I have not heard nor read but that God worketh as effectually in the hearts of the hearers by public sermons, as he doth by private exhortations, and that even in matters of salvation, and therefore much more in matters of lesser importance. But, as I said before, this preaching at the burial doth nothing hinder this private exhortation, if he be so disposed; and therefore of all other your arguments this is one of the worst.

Funeral sermons serve to comfort those that are grieved.

[1] Not only that, Def. A.]

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Chapter vi. The Ninth Division.

Funeral sermons.

T. C. Page 162, Sect. 2.

And, whereas M. Doctor asketh, "when there is a better time to speak of death and of mortality, than at burial," surely, if it had been so fit, the prophets and apostles would never have lost that opportunity, or let pass that occasion of advancing and making effectual their preaching. What if it be answered that, forasmuch as our life is a continual meditation of death, it is not safe to use this custom, for that it tieth our cogitation to so short a time, as the time of burial is, which ought to be extended to the whole course of our life? But I answer, that it may be well done without any such funeral sermons, when the minister taketh occasion of the death of any which is lately departed to speak of the vanity of the life of man.

It were very fondly answered.

JO. WHITGIFT.

"The prophets and apostles did not preach at burials;" therefore it is not a most convenient time to speak of death and of mortality. The antecedent is doubtful, and not proved; and, though it were true, the argument followeth not, for it is your usual kind of reasoning "negatively of authority." But why have you not made here any mention of the other things contained in my Answer to the Admonition, which be necessary points to be entreated of, and most fit for that time; as "purgatory," "trentals," &c.?

An absurd argument against funeral sermons.

Again, you reason thus: "Our life is a continual meditation of death, and by funeral sermons it is tied unto a short time, as the time of burial is;" therefore funeral sermons be not lawful. The putting of us in mind of our mortality by funeral sermons is no hinderance to our continual meditation of it, but an help rather and a means to stir it up and to revive it. We ought at all times to meditate of the death of Christ; but must we therefore refuse at some times to receive the sacrament of the supper, whereby we are put in mind thereof? or doth the receiving of this sacrament once in a month restrain our meditation of Christ's death to that time only? doth a sermon preached of the death of Christ, at some times appointed, bind our cogitation to that time only? surely then are we very unprofitable hearers. Wherefore although "our life be a continual meditation of death," yet can it not be but most profitable for us to be put in mind thereof at some one time more than at other sometime, and especially at that time when we see with our eyes that which we hear with our ears.

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Funeral sermons.

And what can this reason more prevail against sermons at burials, than it may do against sermons at the administration of the sacraments, or any other appointed or set time?

Pag. 190, lin. 12.

The like or the same kind of argument you used before against the feast of Easter, and other such like days; where I have in like manner answered the same[1]. I think verily that by this time you are ashamed of it.

At the length you say that "it may be well done without any such funeral sermons, &c.;" and therefore there may be no funeral sermons. And I say it may as well and better be done in and by funeral sermons; and therefore funeral sermons may be. &c.

Chapter vi. The Tenth Division.

T. C. Page 162, towards the end.

Whether M. Doctor liketh the reformation or no, so it is in the church where M. Calvin was pastor, and hath been for these many years. And, although the English church in Geneva had that in the book of common prayer, yet (as I have heard of those which were there present) it was not so used. And, if it had been, yet thereby it is not proved that M. Calvin allowed of it. For with things wherein there was no great and manifest disorder, M. Calvin did bear that which he liked not of. And, there being no papists in all the city, and all being well instructed, there was no such danger in a funeral sermon there, as is here amongst us, where there be many papists and more ignorant. I will say nothing of the great abuse of those which, having otherwise to live on of the church, take nobles for every such sermon, and sometime a mourning gown; which causeth the papists to open their mouths wide, and to say that the merchandise of sermons is much dearer than of the mass; for that they might have for a groat or six-pence, and the sermon they cannot have under a rounder sum.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

Tract. IX. cap. 1. divis. 13.

I have told you before how much M. Calvin himself misliketh this ambitious morosity[2], which would drive all churches to the example of one. It first brought Rome to that extreme pride and arrogancy wherewith it is now so greatly puffed up.

I must believe that book that is printed, published, and uncontrolled, before I believe your uncertain reports, although in such matters I do not depend upon the church of Geneva,

[1 See Vol. II. pages 567, &c.] [2 See Vol. II. pages 452, 3.]

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which will not, I am sure, condemn our use in these sermons, though it use them not itself. Funeral sermons.

I hear as yet no probable reason why funeral sermons should not be where there are papists, and such as be ignorant. I am fully persuaded that they be in those places most necessary where there are most papists, because they minister especial occasion to confute these errors wherein the papists be most blinded, and from the which they are with most difficulty drawn. But we must permit unto you your paradoxes, and your fancies; else all is marred. Funeral sermons do most good where there are most papists.

You say you will not speak of "the abuse of those that take nobles for such sermons, having otherwise to live;" neither will I defend them if they either exact it, or require it, or take it with offence. Yet, if it be given unto them by the will of the dead, or for the better solemnizing of the burials of such as be noble or worshipful, I see no cause why it should be unlawful for them to take that which by such means is given unto them; otherwise I think it not meet for preachers to make a common or usual gain of it.

Chapter vi. The Eleventh Division.

T. C. Page 163, Line 5.

That must be remembered (which I had almost forgotten) how untruly and slanderously M. Doctor saith that the authors of the Admonition do compare the sermon with a trental or a mass. For, when I say instead of the mass we have the holy communion, do I compare or liken the communion to the mass? and yet this is M. Doctor's charitable collection, which gathereth things which no man letteth fall. Yea, surely, if you speak to discredit it.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

If with that mind and sense you say, "the holy communion is instead of the mass," that they say "burial sermons are put in the place of trentals," you say wickedly and ungodly; for they speak it in the evil part, to the depraving of those sermons; therefore I slander them not; but they slanderously speak of the preaching of the word of God. And for my upright dealing with them in this point, I refuse not the judgment of any man that hath[3] judgment.

[3 Had, Def. B.]

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Chapter vi. The Twelfth Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 201, Sect. 1.

The place of burial.[1]

Touching the place of burial, I muse what you mean to mislike of it; seeing there hath always been an appointed place for the same, even from Abraham to this day.

[Other things that you mention be but trifles; and some of them I think both is and may be used without superstition, or any kind of religious opinion; but these be not in the book, and therefore no cause why you should disallow of the book for them.][2]

T. C. Page 163, Line 10.

Touching the place of burial, I have spoken before. Although[3] *it be not to be misliked that there should be a common place to bury in, yet the places which M. Doctor pointeth us unto prove the clean contrary. For by the story of Abraham's place of burial it appeareth that the manner was, that every one was buried in his own several ground; as may appear also by that that the evangelist saith, that there was a "field bought to bury the strangers in," which had no place of their own;* [4] *which was also used sometimes in the churches under the gospel; as appeareth by the story of Theodoret, which I have before recited*[5]*, and in the latter*[6] *end of a funeral oration which Gregory Nazianzene made of the death of his brother Cæsarius*[7]*. And so by this reason M. Doctor would have every one buried in his own possession.*

Matt. xxvii.

Jo. Whitgift.

There have been places always appointed to bury the dead in, dedicated to that use only; and therefore there may be so now; neither have you one word in any approved writer to the contrary. The convenience of the place, and the pointing of it out, is in the power of those that have authority, and be governors of the commonwealth and church; and with that place that by them is thought most convenient we ought to be contented. Neither do I hear any reason to prove that there ought to be any alteration of the places already appointed.

Tract. v. cap. 2. divis. 7.

Whatsoever you have spoken to the contrary in the other place I have there answered[8].

[1] This is not in Answ.] [2] This paragraph is inserted from Answ.]

[3] And although, Repl. 1, 2, and Def. A.]

[4] The verse is inserted from Repl. 2.]

[5] Perhaps the passage, Vol. I. page 535, is intended, where Cartwright cites Eusebius.] [6] Later, Repl. 1 and 2.]

[7] Gregor. Naz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Orat. vii. 24. Tom. I. p. 215.]

[8] See Vol. I. pages 535, &c.]

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¶ Other particular matters for the which they refuse to subscribe to the book.

Chapter vii. The First Division.

Admonition.

The fifth.

Half communion. *As for the half communion, which is yet appointed like to the commemoration of the mass, we say little of it, saving that we may note how near the translator bound himself to the mass-book, that would not omit it.*

Answer to the Admonition, Page 183, Sect. 1.

I know not what you mean by the "half communion;" I find no such word in the communion-book; if you mean the communion in one kind, you speak untruly and slanderously of the book, and of this whole church: if you mean the scriptures and prayers appointed to be read when there is no communion, then do you unjustly liken them to the "commemoration of the mass," being most fruitful scriptures and godly prayers.

Admonition.

The eighth.

The public baptism, that also is full of childish and superstitious toys. First, in their prayer they say that God, by the baptism of his Son Jesus Christ, did sanctify the flood Jordan, and all other[9] *waters, to the mystical washing away of sin, attributing that to the sign which is* [1] *proper to the work of God in the blood of Christ; as though virtue were in water to wash away sins.*

[1] 1 John i. 7. Acts xx. 28.[10] Rom. iii. 24.[11]

Answer to the Admonition, Page, 189, Sect. 6, 7, 8.

[The superstitious toys you find in public baptism be these.

First, that in our prayer we say that "God, by the baptism of his Son Jesus Christ, did sanctify the flood Jordan and all other waters to the mystical washing away of sin."

The second is, that we "require a promise of the godfathers and godmothers, which is not in their powers to perform."

[9 Others, Adm. Edit. 1.] [10 38, Def. B.] [11 14, Def. B.]

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The third, that "we ask questions of infants which cannot answer and speak, &c."

The fourth, that we "mark the child in the forehead with a cross, making thereby a new sacrament, &c."

The fifth, that we "make an evil choice of those that are to be admitted witnesses, &c."][1]

By the first you say that we "attribute to the sign that which is proper to the work of God in the blood of Christ; as though virtue were in water to wash away sin."

You know very well that we teach far otherwise, and that it is a certain and true doctrine of all such as profess the gospel, that the outward signs of the sacrament do not contain in them grace, neither yet that the grace of God is of necessity tied unto them, but only that they be seals of God's promises, notes of Christianity, testimonies and effectual signs of the grace of God, and of our redemption in Christ Jesus, by the which the Spirit of God doth invisibly work in us, not only the increase of faith, but confirmation also.

Outward sacraments do not give grace.

You understand likewise that this difference there is betwixt these external elements, being selected to be sacramental signs (that is, betwixt water in baptism and common water, bread and wine in the eucharist and usual bread and wine), that these now be sacraments sanctified to another use, to a spiritual use, to the nourishing of faith, and feeding of the soul, to be instruments of the Holy Ghost, by the which, as by instruments, we be fed to eternal life. Furthermore, you cannot be ignorant that whosoever contemneth these external signs, and refuseth them, cannot be a member of Christ, neither yet saved.

Sacramental signs.

NB

Last of all, you have learned that there is such a similitude betwixt the signs and the thing signified, that they are not only in scripture usually called by the names of those things whereof they be sacraments (as bread the body of Christ, and water regeneration), but also that the contumely or contempt done to the one

Pag. 190, sect 1, 2.

[1 The sentences between brackets are inserted from Answ. Several of the particulars referred to in them have been previously considered. See before, pages 118, 9; 114; 128, 9; 121.]

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doth redound to the other, that is, the contempt of the signs is the contempt of the things signified; and therefore St Paul saith, 1 Cor. xi.: "He that eateth and drinketh unworthily eateth and drinketh his own damnation," *non dijudicans corpus Domini.* And Christ, John iii.: "Except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven."

These things being considered, it is no "superstitious toy," but a godly and true saying, that Christ hath sanctified all waters (used in baptizing) to the mystical washing away of sin; not ascribing or attributing washing away of sin to the external element, any otherwise than instrumentally, or in any other respect than for the similitude that sacraments have with the things whereof they be sacraments; for we know that wicked men may receive these external signs, and yet remain the members of Satan.

It is certainly true that "the mystical washing away of sin is proper to the work of God in the blood of Christ;" and for that purpose you might have alleged much more plainer and directer places of scripture, than most of these which you have noted in your margent; but I think your meaning is not therefore to condemn the outward signs and sacraments; as the heretics called Messalians did[2].

Admonition.

They pray that all men may be saved.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 202, Sect. 3.

Prayer that all men may be saved[3] is good.

You say, we "pray that all men may be saved:" we do so indeed; and what can you allege why we should not so do? St Paul, 1 Tim. ii., saith, "I exhort, therefore, that first of all supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men, &c." And adding the reason he saith, "For this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour, who will that all men shall be saved, and come unto the knowledge of the truth." The apostle doth here will us in

[2 Theod. in Hist. Eccles. Hist. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. IV. cap. xi. pp. 163, &c., See Vol. II. page 561, note 3.]

[3 Prayer for all men to be saved, Answ. 2.]

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plain words to pray for all men, even that they may be saved; for thereunto tend the words following.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

To this is nothing answered.

Chapter vii. The Second Division.

Admonition.

The thirteenth.

In all their order of service [p] *there is no edification according to the rule of the apostle, but confusion. They toss the psalms in most places like tennis-balls*[1]. *The people, some standing, some walking, some talking, some reading, some praying by themselves, attend not to the minister. He again posteth it over as fast as he can gallop; for either he hath two places to serve; or else there are some *games to be played in the afternoon, as lying for the whetstone*[2], *heathenish dancing for the ring, a bear or a bull to be baited, or else jackanapes to ride on horseback, or an interlude to be played, and if no place else can be gotten it must be done in*[3] *the church, &c. Now the people sit, now*[4] *they stand up: when the old testament is read, or the lessons, they make no reverence; but when the gospel cometh then they *all stand up. For why? they think that to be of greatest authority, and are ignorant that the scriptures came from one Spirit. When Jesus is named, then off goeth the cap, and down goeth the knees, with such a scraping on the ground that they cannot hear a good while after; so that the word is hindered; but, when any other names of God are mentioned, they make no curtesy at all; as though the names of God were not equal, or as though all reverence ought to be given to the syllables. We speak not of ringing when mattens is done, and *other abuses incident; because we shall be answered that by the book they are not maintained, only we desire to have a book to reform it.*

[p] 1 Cor. xiv. 16.

* Games of Sodom.

* Standing at the gospel came from Anastatius the pope, in An. 404.[5]

* Accidental abuses.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 204, Sect. 1; and 205, Sect. 1, 2.

A slander of the communion-book.

This is a slanderous untruth. And the 1 Cor. xiv. abused to confirm it. Whatsoever St Paul requireth in that place is used in that book of service; for, first, the

[1] Here the clause in the preceding page, and the sentences, Vol. II. page 477, are introduced in Adm. But in the original edition these portions were part of another paragraph.]

[2] See Brand, Pop. Antiq. Lond. 1842. Vol. II. p. 6; III. pp. 212, &c.]

[3] Gotten this interlude must be played in, Adm.] [4] Sit and now, Adm.]

[5] Tunc autem Anastasius rei divinæ cavens, constituit ne sacerdotes ullo modo sederent, sed curvi et venerabundi starent, cum sacrum evangelium aut caneretur aut legeretur in ecclesia Dei.—Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Anastas. I. p. 50.]

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whole service is in a tongue known (as St Paul there requireth), that the people may understand, and say "Amen." Then are the scriptures read, the sacraments ministered according to Christ's own institution. Those that be godly-disposed persons know what a manifest untruth this is that you here utter.

Singing of psalms by course.

But madmen, women, and children, must have their words, &c.[6]

Madmen, &c. must have their words[7].

If by "tossing of psalms" you mean the singing of them *alternatim*, then do you disallow that which is both commendable and of great antiquity; as it appeareth in an epistle that Basilius Magnus did write to the ministers in Neocæsarea[8]; where he sheweth the self-same order of singing psalms to be then used in the church that we use at this day.

Singing of psalms by course[7].

If by "tossing the psalms like tennis-balls" you mean the over-hasty reading or singing of them, it is indeed to be misliked; but it is no part of the book, and therefore no cause why you should abstain from subscribing to it.

T. C. Page 163, Sect. 1.

To pass by the profane proverb here used, which matcheth madmen, and women, and children together, most unseemly for a D. of divinity, especially handling divine matters; for the singing of psalms by course, and side after side, although it be very ancient, yet it is not commendable, and so much the more to be suspected, for that the devil hath gone about to get it so great authority, partly by deriving it from Ignatius' time, and partly in making the world believe that this came from heaven, and that the angels were heard[9] *to sing after this sort*[10]*; which as it is a mere fable, so is it confuted by historiographers; whereof some ascribe the beginning of this to Damasus*[11],

Socrat. vi. 11. 8. cap.

Plat. cap. Damas.

[6] &c. is not in Answ.]

[7] These marginal notes are inserted from Answ. 2.]

[8] Καὶ νῦν μὲν διχῇ διανεμεθέντες, ἀντιψάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις,...ἔπειτα πάλιν ἐπιτρέψαντες ἑνὶ κατάρχειν τοῦ μέλους οἱ λοιποὶ ὑπηχοῦσι· κ.τ.λ.—Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Ad Cler. Neoc. Epist. ccvii. 3. Tom. III. p. 311.]

[9] Hard, Repl. 1.]

[10] ...λεκτέον δὲ καὶ ὅθεν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν ἡ κατὰ τοὺς ἀντιφώνους ὕμνους ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ συνήθεια· Ἰγνάτιος Ἀντιοχείας τῆς Συρίας, τρίτος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Πέτρου ἐπίσκοπος, ὃς καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῖς συνδιέτριψεν, ὁπτασίαν εἶδεν ἀγγέλων, διὰ τῶν ἀντιφώνων ὕμνων τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα ὑμνούντων, καὶ τὸν τρόπον τοῦ ὁράματος τῇ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρέδωκεν· ὅθεν καὶ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις αὕτη ἡ παράδοσις διεδόθη.—Socr. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. VI. cap. viii. p. 256.]

[11] ...ut psalmi quoque alternis vicibus in ecclesia canerentur, in fineque eorum

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Singing of psalms by course.

some other unto Flavianus and Diodorus[1]. *From whencesoever it came, it cannot be good, considering that, when it is granted that all the people may praise God (as it is in singing of psalms), there this ought not to be restrained unto a few, and, where it is lawful both with heart and voice to sing the whole psalm, there it is not meet that they should sing but the one half with their heart and voice, and the other with their heart only. For, where they may both with heart and voice sing, there the heart is not enough. Therefore, besides that*[3] *incommodity which cometh this way*[4], *in that, being tossed after this sort, men cannot understand what is sung, these other two inconveniences come of this form of singing, and therefore is banished in all reformed churches.*

Theod. ii. Lib. 24. cap.

This is flat contrary to that you affirm, page 109, sect. 2.[2]

Jo. Whitgift.

To the slanderous untruth of the Admonition, or to my Answer thereunto, you say nothing, but pass it over.

St Paul used a profane proverb in very serious and divine matters, when he said: *Cretenses semper mendaces, &c. ad Ti. i.*[5]; and therefore it well beseemed[6], "a doctor of divinity," aptly and fitly applying it. But why do you not find fault with the authors of the Admonition, who use a more profane proverb (that is, "tossing of tennis-balls") in as serious a matter?

Tit. i.

You confess that "singing of psalms by course, and side after side, is very ancient;" and therefore I shall not need to labour in proving that: the diversity of opinions touching the original of it cannot prejudice the thing; and yet, if Ignatius were the author of it, as Socrates, *Lib. vi. cap.* 8, saith[7], it is not the less to be esteemed; but I will examine your reasons. "When it is granted," you say, "that all the people may praise God, it ought not to be restrained to a few:" this is soon answered; for all the people may sing if they can and will; and those that sing not in voice may sing in heart; for the psalms are sung in a tongue that is known; and some there be that can neither read nor sing, such of necessity must

Socr. Li. vi. ca. 8.

verba hæ[c] ponerentur, Gloria Patri et Filio, et Spiritui sancto, instituit.—Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Damas. I. p. 48.]

[1 Οὗτοι πρῶτοι [Φλαβιανὸς καὶ Διόδωρος] διχῇ διελόντες τοὺς τῶν ψαλλόντων χορούς, ἐκ διαδοχῆς ᾄδειν τὴν Δανϊτικὴν ἐδίδαξαν μελῳδίαν. καὶ τοῦτο ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ πρῶτον ἀρξάμενον, πάντοσε διέδραμε, καὶ κατέλαβε τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ τέρματα.—Theod. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. II. cap. xxiv. p. 107.]

[2 See Vol. II. page 490.] [3 The, Repl. 2.] [4 Was, Def. B.]

[5 "...a shameful profanation of the scripture."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 215.]

[6 Beseemeth, Def. A.] [7 See above, page 385, note 10.]

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hearken to those that sing, and join with them in heart. You add that, "where they may sing the whole psalm both with voice and heart, it is not meet they should sing with heart only; for, where they may both with heart and voice sing, there the heart is not enough." Where learn you this in scripture? will you set down general and absolute rules, and not tell us upon what authority they be grounded? This is too too pope-like; whose words will stand for reason, whom none must ask why doth he so, or saith so. The prayer of the heart alone, when a man may also pray with voice, is of great force, and very effectual; as the example of Anna in the first of Samuel doth declare. I grant that in the public congregation God is to be called upon both in heart and voice; but yet, if a man at some times, either because of the order appointed by the church, or upon some other occasion, do hold his peace, and desire that in heart only, which other sing or pray in voice, no doubt he prayeth effectually. St Paul, 1 Cor. xiv., speaking of praying and thanksgiving in the public congregation, saith: "Else, when thou blessest with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he knoweth not what thou sayest?" Of the which words it may evidently be gathered, that one said the prayers, and the rest of the people joined with him in heart, and therefore said "Amen," when he had ended his prayers. And so doth M. Calvin interpret this place[8]. You see then how far your rule is wide from the rule of St Paul. For even in the public congregation he alloweth one to pray in heart and voice, and all the rest to pray in heart only. Wherefore, where they may both with heart and voice sing, there to sing with the heart is enough. But, Lord, how you forget yourself! before you found fault with the book, because the people repeated their prayers after the minister[9], and that because "the minister is the only mouth of the people unto the Lord, &c.;" now (as though you were not the same man, but played some other part) you find fault with the order of service, because they be not their own mouths

Singing of psalms by course.

Prayer by heart only effectual.

1 Cor. xiv.

Contrariety in the Replier. Page 109, sect. 2.

[8 Loquutio autem Pauli significat aliquem ex ministris clara voce dictasse preces vel nuncupasse, totum cœtum animo sequutum fuisse unius verba, usquedum ad clausulam ventum foret: tunc vero omnes dixisse, *Amen*: ut profiterentur sibi orationem ab uno habitam communem esse.—Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Comm. in Epist. 1. ad Cor. cap. xiv. 16. Tom. VII. p. 196.]

[9 See Vol. II. page 490.]

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Singing of psalms by course.

to the Lord: then to pray with heart was sufficient; now it is not enough. Whence this contrariety should spring I cannot imagine, except I should ascribe it to a froward and preposterous desire that you have to deface this church. But, because I have touched this more largely in the proper place[1], I will content myself with the only noting of it in this place.

Tract. IX. cap. II. division 21.

If you will say it was then the manner of the church, that one should pronounce the prayers, the rest hearkening unto him, and therefore could not without the breaking of order speak, the same I say unto you; that this hath been of long time the general order of the church, to sing by sides, and therefore may not without disorder be broken, so long as the church doth think it convenient to be kept as a lawful and convenient order.

The psalms being sung may as well be understanded as being said, and better too. If it be otherwise, the fault is not in singing, but in the manner of singing, which is the fault of the persons, not of the thing. And therefore that is but a very weak reason, and it is *a non causa*.

Chapter vii. The Third Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 205, Sect. 3, 4.

"Walking, talking, reading, private praying of the people in time of common prayers," "serving of two cures," "games played in the afternoon on the sabbath-day, as lying for the whetstone, &c.," be faults worthy of punishment, where they be used; but they are not within the contents of the book, and they are here recited out of place, and to no purpose.

Undiscreet dealing with the book of common prayer[2].

This is very malicious and undiscreet dealing, to burden the common order with such faults, which by the malice of men are grown in use, and are of all good men misliked. So you might have burdened St Paul, and other preachers, with the faults of the churches of Corinth and Galatians, and the residue of the apostles with the superstitions of the Jews converted in the primitive church, and all good rulers with such faults as corruption of time breedeth.

[1] See Vol. II. pages 491, &c.] [[2] Book of communion, Answ. 2.]

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Standing or sitting at this time or that time is indifferent, and therefore may both be well used and abused also.

"Kneeling at the name of Jesus" is of the like nature, "ringing when mattins is done," as you term it, "curious singing, organs, &c.:" all these be without the book, and therefore without discretion alleged as a reason why you will not subscribe to the book. Kneeling at the name of Jesus[3].

T. C. Page 163, past the midst.

Unto two very good reasons which the Admonition useth, to shew the inconvenience of making curtesy, and standing at the name of Jesus, and at the gospel, rather than at other names of God, and the rest of the scripture; whereof the one is that it is against decency and good order, which is broken by scraping of the feet, and the other that it may breed a dangerous opinion of the inequality either of the Son of God with the other Persons, or of the gospels with other scriptures; M. Doctor saith that it is an "indifferent" thing, and neither taketh away their reasons nor setteth down any of his own: this is a slender defence. And it is no malicious dealing to note those faults which are so general and so open, and yet notwithstanding uncorrected or unreformed by those by whom M. Doctor would make us believe that the church is best governed. But, I pray you, tell me why do you condemn the serving of two cures that allow the having of two benefices? If it be no fault to have two benefices, how is it one to have two cures? For the curate is better able to read his service in two places than the pastor to discharge his office in two churches.

Jo. Whitgift.

The first reason of hindering the word by the noise made with scraping the feet upon the ground, as it is used by them in derision, so is it of itself ridiculous, and not worthy to be answered: besides, it is untrue; for it hindereth no more the word being read, than hawking and spitting hindereth the same being preached[4]. But, Lord, how sparing are you of time, that will not spare so much as may serve a man to bow his knee in. Well, it is but a pretence, to help out with a merry argument; for I dare say neither they nor you are so undiscreet as to use it in good sadness.

[3 This note is not in Answ.]

[4 "...as if the case were like, the natural necessity requiring the one, and no necessity requiring the other. Neither is there any undecency 'in hawking,' if (as it is meet) every man do it severally as his need moveth; and not, as somewhere it is done, altogether."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 215.]

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Their second reason hath some more gravity in it, though not much more weight; and your addition, "that it may breed a dangerous opinion of the inequality either of the Son of God with the other Persons, or of the gospel with other scriptures," is but supposed; and a man may suppose the moon to be made of green cheese. That gesture at the name of Jesus hath hitherto continued in the church many hundred years[1]; and yet never any was heard tell of that fell into either of these opinions by the means thereof.

Why Christians bowed at the name of Jesus.

One reason, that moved Christians in the beginning the rather to bow at the name of Jesus than at any other name of God, was because this name was most hated and most contemned of the wicked Jews, and other persecutors of such as professed the name of Jesus; for the other names of God they had in reverence, but this they could not abide[2]; wherefore the Christians, to signify their faith in Jesus, and their obedience unto him, and to confute by open gesture the wicked opinion of the Jews and other infidels, used to do bodily reverence at all times when they heard the name of Jesus, but especially when the gospel was read, which contained that glad tidings of salvation which is procured unto man by Christ Jesus; whereupon also he is called Jesus, that is, a Saviour. Neither can it be against christianity to shew bodily reverence, when he is named, by whom not only all the spiritual enemies of mankind are subdued, but also the faithful be made partakers of the kingdom of heaven. Wherefore, as I bind no man of necessity to this reverence at the name of Jesus, so do I not judge any man that (having knowledge) useth the same; for I will not bolster and defend superstitious ignorance.

It must needs be "malicious dealing" to charge the common order and book of public prayer with particular faults of private men and places. If you know where these abuses be, and will complain of them either to the archbishop or bishop, I dare say they will reform them.

There is better reason why one pastor "may have two benefices than one curate serve in two cures;" for ministering of the sacraments and reading public prayers daily doth

[1 "...so hath popery."—Ibid.]

[2 "...it is nothing so; considering that the Jews have that name in great honour, although they have not him so to whom of right it belongeth."—Ibid.]

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require more bodily attendance than the preaching of the word. A man may better in one day preach at two churches, than he can at them both minister the sacraments, and celebrate public prayers. That pastor, that hath two benefices, and two good curates at them both, may with much more facility do his duty, both towards his churches particularly, and the whole church generally.

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Cathedral churches.

Of Cathedral Churches, &c.

Tract. XXII.

The First Division.

Admonition.

As for organs and curious singing, though they be proper to popish dens, I mean to cathedral churches, yet some others also must have them. The queen's chapel and these churches must be patterns and precedents to the people of all superstitions[1].

Answer to the Admonition, Page 206, Sect. 1.

Churches cathedral called popish dens, but falsely[2].

Here it pleaseth you to call "cathedral churches" "popish dens." As hap is, your words are no slander. But this brag I will make of cathedral churches, and such as be now in them: I will offer unto you a dozen cathedral churches in England (which I myself do know), the worst whereof in learning shall encounter with all papists, puritans, anabaptists, and what other sects soever in England, for the defence of religion now professed, either by word or writing. Without arrogancy be it spoken, I think there was never time wherein these churches were better furnished with wise, learned, and godly men, than they be at this day. I speak not this boastingly, but to God's glory, the honour of the prince, the comfort of the godly, and the shame of slanderous papists and disdainful schismatics.

Queen's chapel slandered[2].

Your slanderous speech of the queen's majesty's chapel, which you also say to be a "pattern and precedent to the people of all superstitions," is rather severely to be punished, than with words to be confuted.

T. C. Page 163, towards the end; and Page 164, Sect. 1.

As for the speech of the cathedral churches, either it is nothing, or else it is false. For, if he say that there is either in all those cathedral churches one, or in every of those 12. *churches one, which is able to confute papists, &c., what great thing saith he which saith no more of all these churches than is to be found in one poor house of the university whose rents are scarce* 300. *pound by year? Yea, what hath he said of them which*

[1] The queen's chapel and these churches (which should be spectacles of christian reformation) are rather patterns and precedents to the people of all superstitions, Adm.]

[2] These notes are inserted from Answ. 2.]

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was not to be found in them even in queen Mary's time, when there was yet some one almost in every church, which, for fear dissembling, was able notwithstanding to confute the papists, anabaptists, puritans? And, if he mean that in those twelve houses the worst of the prebendaries are able to defend the truth against all papists, &c., all men do know the untruth of it; so that, although this sentence be very doubtfully put forth, yet, howsoever it be taken, it is, as M. Doctor hath rightly termed it, a mere "brag." And yet I doubt not, and am well assured, that there be divers godly-learned men which have livings in those places, but for all that they cease not therefore to be dens of loiterers and idle persons, whilst there are nourished there some which serve for no profitable use in the church, their offices being such as bring no commodity, but rather hurt; of which number certain are which the Admonition speaketh of in the 224. page; some other which, having charges in other places, under the colour of their[3] prebends there, absent themselves from them; and, that which they spoil and ravin in other places, there they spend and make good cheer with, and therefore not without good cause called "dens." Finally, there being nothing there which might not be much better applied, and to the greater commodity of the church, whilst they might be turned into colleges, where young men might be brought up in good learning, and made fit for the service of the church and commonwealth; the universities being not able to receive that number of scholars wherewith their need may be supplied. Cathedral churches.

And, where M. D. saith that that which is spoken of the queen's majesty's chapel is worthy rather to be punished than confuted, if so be that these be abuses, the example of them in her majesty's chapel cannot be but most dangerous; which with all humble submission and reverence I beseech her majesty duly to consider.

JO. WHITGIFT.

My speech is very plain, and without all ambiguity: I say there is "a dozen cathedral churches in England, the worst of the which churches in learning shall encounter with all papists, &c." My meaning cannot be so dark as you would seem to make it; but, because your understanding is so dull, when any thing is spoken to the commendation of any other than of yourself, I will more plainly declare my meaning; which is this, that there is not one of these dozen churches but hath a sufficient number of learned men to perform whatsoever I have promised, howsoever boastingly, which I acknowledge to be my infirmity, but yet thereunto constrained by the arrogance of such, *qui cupiunt soli videri aliquid esse.* Your opprobrious speeches, spoken of those churches, as mere slanders, and proceeding from a mind overcome with envy and contempt of other, I pass over, affirming still the same that is contained

[3 The, Def. B.]

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Cathedral churches.

in mine Answer to the Admonition, the which you may well snap and bite at in words, but in deed you shall never be able to stain those places; and, whatsoever you pretend to the universities, yet your good-will is as much towards the one as it is towards the other, they both depending upon one thread.

But, if there be abuses in her majesty's chapel (as you suppose), why have you not sought the reformation thereof orderly? Why have you sought it tumultuously? Why have you libelled against it? Why have you sought[1] it with spiteful words, with disquieting the church, without all duty and order?

The Second Division.

Admonition.

The seventeenth.

We should be too long to tell your honours of cathedral churches, the dens aforesaid of all loitering lubbers, where Master dean, Master vice-dean, Master canons, or Master prebendaries[2] *the greater, Master petty canons, or canons the lesser, Master chancellor of the church, Master treasurer, or*[3] *otherwise called Judas the purse-bearer, the chief chanter, singing men special favourers of religion squeaking queristers, organ-players, gospellers, pistellers, pensioners, readers, vergers*[4]*, &c., live in great idleness, and have their abiding. If you would know whence all these came, we can easily answer you that they came from the pope, as out of the Trojan horse's belly, to the destruction of God's kingdom. The church of God never knew them; neither doth any reformed church in the world know them.*

Answer to the Admonition, Page 224, Sect. ult.; and Page 225, Sect. 1.

Here you speak both without the book of common prayer, and scriptures also; for neither are cathedral churches contained in that book; neither have you any scripture to prove that which you so impudently affirm.

Learned men in cathedral churches.

God be thanked, it is well known to those that be not with malice blinded, that cathedral churches be furnished with godly, zealous, and learned men. And that they be the chief and principal ornaments of this realm, and, next to the universities, chiefest main-

[1] Fought, Def. B.] [2] Or prebendaries, Adm.]
[3] *Or* is not in Adm. or Answ. 1.] [4] Vergeries, Adm.; vergerirs, Edit. 1.]

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tainers of godliness, religion, and learning: there be some desire the spoil of them, whose instruments you be; but I hope both their mouths and yours also shall be first stopped with earth. Master dean, Master vice-dean, Master canons, &c., as much as they loiter, may think themselves fit to be compared with such as you are, in any respects. [The rest of your railing words I leave to the author.][5] Cathedral churches.

T. C. Page 164, Sect. 2.

And as for the reasons which M. Doctor bringeth to establish them, in the 225. page, as that they are necessary (which he doth barely say), and that St Augustine alloweth of a dean, and that the authors of the Admonition are instruments of those which desire the spoil of them, and that a man may as well speak against universities and colleges as against them; I have answered before, saving that it is to be feared that colleges in universities (if M. Doctor may work that which he goeth about) will shortly be in little better case than those cathedral churches, which, not only by his own example, but with might and main and all endeavour possible, goeth about to fill and fraught with[6] *non-residences, and such as have charges of churches in other places, which do no good in the university, and partly are such as can do none, only are pernicious examples of riotous feasting, and making great cheer with the preys and spoils which they bring out of the country, to the great hurt of the university presently, and utter ruin of it hereafter, unless speedy remedy be therefore provided.* What will this slanderous tongue spare?

Jo. WHITGIFT.

If I may work that which (you say) I "go about," I trust it shall be nothing that derogateth either from the glory of God, the honour of the prince, the peace of the church, the commendation of the university, or the increase of godliness and learning. I thank God, I neither have gone about anything, nor intend to do, whereof I am either ashamed or afraid to make mine account. But who seeth not your grief? Indeed I may not suffer those with whom I have to do to disquiet the university or college with false doctrine and schismatical opinions: I may not suffer them openly to break and contemn those laws and statutes which they are sworn to observe, and I to execute: I may not suffer any man, against the express words of his oath, against all honesty and conscience, to live under me, lest I be partaker of his perjury. These be the things that I have done, and these be the things that I intend The cause of the Repliер's hot and bitter invective.

[5] This is inserted from Answ.] [6] Fraught them with, Repl. 2.]

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Cathedral churches.

to do; whereby, as hitherto I have kept the place where I am in some quiet and good order, so do I trust to continue it, both to the glory of God, the honour of the prince, the great increase of learning, the edifying of Christ's church, and the commendation both of the college and the whole university.

The college delivered from the slanderous Reply.

And, howsoever you have by word and writing sought to deface both me and the college, yea, the whole university for my sake (contrary to the express words of your oath[1], as I said in the beginning), yet are you in act and deed confuted, though I should not speak one word; for, contrary to your expectation and practice of your instruments, and earnest desire of all that be factious, the college was never in better quietness, never replenished with more toward scholars, never fuller of students of all degrees (I speak it to God's glory, and to deliver it from your slanders), than it is at this present. A great occasion of all these blessings of God (as instruments and means) is the gravity, the honesty, the wisdom, the learning, the discreet government of those whom you call *non residentes;* whom not I, but the noble founder's statutes, ratified by the queen's majesty's authority, and allowed of by the wisest of the realm, for most just consideration, even for the better government of the college, being otherwise full of youth, have licensed (being in the number of the twelve preachers chosen according to statute) to continue in their fellowships with one living besides, to a certain value. If there were the like provision in other places, and the same furnished with such kind of men, the state of divers colleges in Cambridge would not be so tumultuous as it is.

The fellows defended against the poisoned tongue.

Touching the parties themselves, against whom you so bitterly whet your tongue, upon the same causes and quarrels you do against me, this I will speak unfeignedly, as I shall answer before God and the world: they are sober, honest, wise, quiet men, faithful and learned preachers, and that time of absence which is given unto them by statute they do carefully bestow in their cures, and other places where there is need, according to their duty and conscience; except the necessary government of the college and public utility do constrain them to the contrary. The worst of them, and he that is most negligent, doth more good in the church and commonwealth than you do, or any of your adherents. I will not speak all

[1 See Vol. I. page 123, note 10.]

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that I might justly, lest I should seem to flatter, and in part to commend myself; but this is the sum: none of us refuse trial, either of life, government, learning, living, or whatsoever is to be required in the ministers of God and dutiful subjects towards their prince. Cathedral churches.

It is an egregious slander when you say, "they be pernicious examples of riotous feastings, &c." I know the contrary; and think not you but God will take due punishment of this your notorious malice, uttered upon private quarrel; as it is well known to all this society. Indeed they love one another, agree among themselves, obey laws, keep order, labour to suppress schisms; and this is that that whetteth your tongue, and the tongues of other disordered persons against them. I could requite all these your hard speeches, if I were disposed to deal so maliciously. But I will temper myself, desiring God not to impute these things unto you: the reader I shall desire either to judge the best, or to suspend his judgment until he have the trial.

The Third Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 225, Sect. 2, 3.

You say, "all these come from the pope, &c." It is not material from whence they come; so they be good, profitable, and necessary, for the maintaining of religion, learning, wise and learned men; but, I pray you, from what pope came they, or in what time did the pope invent them? I told you before that such places and colleges were in Augustine's time[2], and that he both hath the name of M. dean, and alloweth of his office. If you had read any ancient learned authors (as your writings declare you have not), then should you find that collegiate churches be of great antiquity, even since the year of our Lord 235. But what can you speak against cathedral churches, which you may not as well speak against the colleges in the universities? They were not in the apostles' time, neither yet in the primitive church; must they therefore now be dissolved? your meaning is belike to bring all to confusion and barbarism. Dean allowed by St Augustine. Barbarism and confusion secretly intended.

[2 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Mor. Eccles. Cathol. Lib. I. cap. xxxi. 67. Tom. I. col. 710. See Vol. II. page 180, notes 1, 3.]

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Cathedral churches.

You say, "no reformed church in the world knoweth them;" wherein I think you speak more than you know. Can you name any reformed church that hath plucked them down? Peradventure in divers places where the gospel is now preached they had never such rewards for learning. But what have we to do in such cases with other reformed churches? we have to consider what is most meet for this church and state, and not to follow other, as though we were children: I see no cause why other reformed churches should not rather follow us, than we them, seeing in no respect we be inferior to them.

[* Well saith Master Calvin in his argument upon the Epi. to the Gal.: *Talis morositas deterrima est pestis, cum morem unius ecclesiæ volumus pro universali lege valere:* "Such morosity is pestiferous, when we will have the custom of some one church taken for a general law." *Nascitur autem ex præpostero zelo, cum erga magistrum aliquem vel locum ita sumus affecti, ut sine judicio loca omnia et omnes homines velimus ad unius hominis sensum, ad unius loci instituta, tanquam ad commune præscriptum adigere. Quanquam semper admixta est ambitio, imo semper nimia morositas est ambitiosa*[1]: "It springeth of preposterous zeal, when we be so affected towards one master or one place, that without discretion we would have all other places and men bound to one man's judgment, and to the laws of one place, as to a common prescript rule: this cannot be without ambition; yea, too much morosity is always ambitious." *][2]

Well, to conclude, your words be but vain, and your proofs none at all; and therefore I doubt not but cathedral churches shall be able to withstand both your opprobrious speeches, and the greediness of all their adversaries, so long as it shall please God to bless this land with so virtuous and learned a queen, and so wise and discreet counsellors.

[1 Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Arg. in Epist. ad Galat. Tom. VII. p. 278; where *ecclesiæ unius.*]

[2 This paragraph is introduced from Answ. 2.]

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T. C. Page 164, Sect. 2.

Cathedral churches.

And, where he saith it is not material, although these deans, vice-deans, canons, petty canons, prebendaries, &c., come from the pope, it is as if he should say that it skilleth not although they come out of the bottomless pit. For whatsoever cometh from the pope, which is antichrist, cometh first from the devil; and, where he addeth this condition, "if it be good, &c.," indeed, if of the eggs of a cockatrice can be made wholesome meat to feed with, or of a spider's web any cloth to cover withal, then also may the things that come from the pope and the devil be good, profitable, and necessary unto the church. And, where he saith that collegiate churches are of great anciency[3], he proveth not the anciency[3] of the cathedral churches, unless he prove that cathedral and collegiate be all one. But I will not stick with him in[4] so small a matter; and, if our controversy were of the names of these churches, and not of the matter, I could be content to grant his cause in this point as good as antiquity without the word of God (which is nothing but rottenness) could make it.

Jo. Whitgift.

This reply neither answereth directly nor truly to anything that I have set down. For, first, it is untrue that all things "coming from an antichristian pope cometh first from the devil." I have sufficiently proved the contrary in that portion where I speak of apparel of ministers[5]: an evil man may do something that is good, even as a good man may do something that is evil; and, as God doth work the good by the one, so doth the devil work the evil by the other. Ethnics have made good laws; they have appointed stipends and rewards for learning, and such other like good things, which are profitable and not to be rejected for the authors' sakes, though they were members of Satan.

Tract. VII.

Good things may come from evil men.

Secondly, it is untrue that cathedral churches came from the antichristian pope; for I told you that they were in the year of our Lord 235, at what time the bishops of Rome were godly men and martyrs.

Cathedral churches before the antichristian popes.

Thirdly, you have not answered my question; for I demanded "from what pope they came," or "in what time they were first invented;" and to this you say not one word; wherefore in effect you have answered nothing. If they be of so late a foundation, it must needs appear who was the first inventor of them; but, if that cannot be found (as belike it cannot), then must their antiquity be very great.

The Replier answereth not that which is demanded.

[3 Ancienty, Repl. 1 and 2.] [4 For, Repl. 1 and 2.]
[5 See Vol. II. pages 30, &c.]

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Cathedral churches.

"Collegiate and cathedral churches" be all one, for anything that I can read to the contrary; if it be not so, shew the difference.

The Fourth Division.

T. C. Page 164, Sect. 2.

But, forsomuch as those ancient collegiate churches were no more like unto those[1] *which we have now, than things most unlike, our cathedral churches have not so much as this old worn cloak of antiquity to hide their nakedness, and to keep out the shower. For the collegiate churches in times past were a senate ecclesiastical, standing of godly-learned ministers and elders, which governed and watched over that flock which was in the city or town where such churches were; and, for that in such great cities and towns commonly there were the most learned pastors and ancients, therefore the towns and villages round about, in hard and difficult causes, came and had their resolutions of their doubts at their hands; even as also the Lord commanded in Deuteronomy, that, when there was any great matter in the country, which the Levites in matters pertaining to God,* Deut. xvii. 8, 9.[2] *and the judges in matters pertaining to the commonwealth, could not discuss, that then they should come to Hierusalem, where there was a great number of priests, Levites, and learned judges, of whom they should have their questions dissolved; and this was the first use of collegiate churches.*

Jo. Whitgift.

In every city a college of ministers.

True it is that in times past there was in every city *collegium presbyterorum cui præerat episcopus*[3]: "a college of ministers over whom the bishop bare rule;" the which Jerome calleth *senatum ecclesiæ*[4]: "the senate of the church;" and the same is now called a collegiate or cathedral church. It is also evident that these *presbyteri* were all priests, and that they with the bishop had the deciding of all controversies in doctrine or ceremonies, and the direction of divers other matters in all those place that were under that city, that is, in all that shire or diocese; and therefore saith M. Calvin, speaking of the primitive church, "Every city had a college of seniors, which were pastors and doctors; for they all had the office of preaching to the people, of exhorting, and of

Institut. cap. viii. sect. 8.

[1 These, Repl. 1 and 2.] [2 The verses are added from Repl. 2.]

[3 F. Duaren. De Sacr. Eccles. Minist. ac Benefic. Libri VIII. Lond. 1585. Lib. I. cap. vii. fol. 9. 2. See before, page 202, note 1.]

[4 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. II. in Isai. Proph. cap. iii. Tom. III. col. 34. See before, page 201.]

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correcting; the which office St Paul doth commit to bishops[5];" and this is that seigniory whereof the ancient writers speak so much, and which you, untruly and without consideration, say to have been in every parish, and to consist as well of other as of priests and ministers of the word; and, although that kind of government, which these churches had, is transferred to the civil magistrate, to whom it is due, and to such as by him are appointed, yet is it not so clean blotted out as you would make us believe. For the bishop, who was then, and is now, the chief of that college or church, keepeth his authority still, and may, if he please, call together those ministers or priests of the cathedral church to consult of such things as are expedient, and in divers points he can do nothing without them. Moreover, divers of the same churches, some by office, and some appointed by election, are bound to attend upon provincial synods, so oft as the archbishop, at the commandment of the prince, doth call the same. Likewise they be places wherein are nourished, for the most part, the best, the wisest, the learnedest men of the clergy in the land, which, not only in the respect of their soundness in religion, profoundness in learning, diligence in preaching, but wisdom also, experience and dexterity in governing, are not only an ornament to the realm, profitable to the church, honour to the prince, but also a stay from barbarism, a bridle to sects and heresies, and a bulwark against confusion. Wherefore, as the use of them then for those times and states was good and godly, so is the use of them now in this age and state no less convenient, godly, and necessary; which you nor all your fautors shall ever be able to disprove.

Cathedral churches.

Our cathedral churches not much differing from those of ancient time.

The use of cathedral churches as necessary now as aforetime.

The Fifth Division.

T. C. Page 164, in the end.

Afterward the honour, which the smaller churches gave unto them in asking them counsel, they took unto themselves, and that, which they had by the courtesy and good-will preceding of a reverent estimation of them, they did not only take unto them of right, but also dispossessed them of all authority of hearing and determining any matters at all. And in the end they came to this which they are now, which is a company that have strange names and strange offices, unheard-of of all the purer churches; of whom

[5 Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Inst. Lib. IV. cap. iv. 2. Tom. IX. p. 286. See before, page 205, note 6.]

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Cathedral churches.

the greatest good that we can hope of is, that they do no harm. For, although there be divers which do good, yet, in respect that they be deans, prebendaries, canons, petty canons, &c., for my part I see no profit, but hurt, come to the church by them.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

All this is untrue, and your own only imagination; for these churches have not increased their authority, but diminished it rather, as it is evident. The names and offices used in them I have proved before, in the title of archbishops, &c., to be neither strange nor unheard-of in the purer and ancient churches[1]. And, though you see no profit that cometh to the church by them, yet those, that be quietly disposed in the church, those that have a care for the good government of the church, those that have not by any schism divided themselves from the church, see great profit and singular commodity.

Tract. VIII. ca. 2.

The Sixth Division.

T. C. Page 165, Sect. 1, 2.

And, where he saith they are "rewards of learning," indeed then they should be if they were converted unto the maintenance and bringing up of scholars, where now for the most part they serve for fat morsels to fill (if might[2] be) the greedy appetites of those which otherwise have enough to live with, and for holes and dens to keep them in, which either are unworthy to be kept at the charge of the church, or else whose presence is necessary and dutiful in other places, and for the most part unprofitable there.

Last of all, whereas M. Doctor saith that "we have not to follow other churches, but rather other churches to follow us," I have answered before: this only I add, that they were not counted only false prophets which taught corrupt doctrine, but those which made the people of God believe that they were happy when they were not, and that their estate was very good when it was corrupt. Of the which kind of false prophecy Isay and[3] Jeremy especially do[4] complain. And therefore, unless Jer. vi. 14.[5] Jer. viii. 11.[5] *M. Doctor amend his speech, and leave this crying, "peace, peace," all is well, when there are so many things out of order, and that not by the judgment of the Admonition and favourers thereof only, but even of all which are not willingly blind; I say, if he do not amend these speeches, the crime of false prophecy will sit closer unto him than he shall be ever able to shake off in the terrible day of the Lord.*

[1 See Vol. II. pages 118, &c., 173, &c.]
[2 If it might, Repl. 1 and 2.] [3 Repl. 2 omits *Isay and.*]
[4 Doth, Repl. 2.] [5 These references are inserted from Repl. 2.]

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Jo. Whitgift.

Cathedral churches.

There must be as well rewards for those that have spent much time in getting learning, and be learned, as there must be means to maintain men whiles they be in learning. Grammar-schools and the universities serve for the one; and cathedral churches, with such other preferments, serve for the other: spoil the one; and the other cannot possibly stand. Your immodest and uncharitable speeches work most discredit to yourself.

There must be rewards for learning already attained.

That which I speak of other churches by way of comparison, I speak for the truth of the doctrine, sincere administration of the sacraments, and all other points of religion, by public authority established in this realm; wherein I say again that there is no cause why it should give place to any church that now is. And yet I do not defend the faults of men, or other corruptions, from the which no church is free. But for "the crime of false prophecy," wherewith you charge me, I trust it be far from me; I would proneness to contention and uncharitable judging were as far from you. Howbeit we both must stand or fall to our own Lord; and therefore it is no good judging before the time.

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Civil offices in ministers.

¶ Of Civil Offices in ecclesiastical persons. Tract. XXIII.

A trial of the places alleged by the Admonition against such civil offices as are exercised by ecclesiastical persons in this realm.

Chapter i. The First Division.

T. C. Page 165, Sect. 3.

The places alleged by the Admonition to prove that ministers of the church may not intermeddle with civil functions (one only excepted) are well and fitly alleged; and most of them used to that end of writers, which if I should name, all would confess that they are such as with whom M. Doctor is not worthy to be so much as spoken of the same day.

Lord, how low would you throw him down.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

This is more than modesty would suffer, and too too outrageous; for, whatsoever the worthiness of these men is otherwise, yet am I a minister of the word, as well as they; I am a member of the church of Christ, as well as they; I am bought with his blood, as well as they; and therefore to say that I am "not worthy to be so much as spoken of the same day wherein they are named" is but extreme immodesty, and passing contempt. There is not so much attributed to Jesus Christ; nor the pope's flatterers did never so excessively extol him. Are they so worthy that a man "may not be spoken of the same day that they are named?" who be they, trow we, or what is their names? But belike you are afraid to name them, lest by speaking of me the same day you should do unto them some great dishonour: in your judgment they are better than God himself; for the simplest that is may be named the same day that God is[1]. Indeed a pretty cloak to cover your vain bragging; for I think you would have named them if you had known them. But to the matter.

[1 "... beside that it is a kind of speech used of the best authors, to note a great inequality, he is less worth than I prized him at, if he think that he is worthy to be named the same day that God himself is. For, if he will so servilely cleave unto words, yet the question is whether he be 'worthy to be named,' not (as he writeth) whether he 'may be named.'"—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 1.]

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Chapter i. The Second Division.

Civil offices in ministers.

Admonition.

[The fifteenth.

[1] *Matt. xxiii. 8, &c. John xiii. 15, 16. John v. 44. 2 Cor. x. 16, 17, 18.*

Again, in that they are honoured with the [1]titles of kings and great[2] rulers, as lord, lord's grace, metropolitan, primate of all England, honour, &c., it is against the word of God.][3]

[4] *Luke ix. 60, 61. Luke xii. 14. Rom. xii. 7. 1 Tim. vi. 11. 2 Tim. ii. 3, 4.*

Moreover, in that they have [4]civil offices joined to the ecclesiastical, it is against the word of God. As for an archbishop to be a lord president, a lord bishop to be a county palatine, a prelate of the garter, who hath much to do at St George's feast, when the bible is carried before the procession in the cross's place, a justice of peace, or justice of quorum, an high commissioner, &c. And therefore they have their prisons, as clinks, gate-houses, coal-houses, towers, and castles, which is also against the[5] scriptures. This is not to have keys but swords, and plain tokens they are that they exercise that which they would so fain seem to want, I mean dominion over their brethren.

Bishops' prisons popish; Eugenius the first bringer of them in[4].

[☞ *And which of them have not preached against the pope's two swords; now whether they use them not themselves?*][6]

Answer to the Admonition, Page 214,[7] Sect. 2.

[All this is without the book; and therefore I need not to answer it, no more than you need to abstain from subscribing to the book for things not contained in the book.

But I mean a little to examine your places of scripture, to see if you have any better luck in applying of them, than hitherto you have had in others.

To prove that it is against the word of God to honour bishops with titles of "great rulers, as lord, lord's grace, metropolitan, primate of all England, honour, &c." (for I do not remember that we call them "kings"), you first quote Matt. xxiii.; which place is very oft by you iterated, and sufficiently by me answered before.

In the xiii. of John, which you use also for the same

[1] Titles of great, Adm.] [2] This is introduced from Adm. and Answ.]

[4] Eugenius primus,... Ille tamen jussit, ut episcopi carceres haberent pro puniendis, non idololatris,...sed hæreticis, ut Christum pure confitentes appellare so ent.—J. Balei Act. Rom. Pont. 1560. Eugen. I. p. 69. Conf. H. Pantaleon. Chronogr. Christ. Eccles. Basil. 1561. p. 54, et Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. lxxxi. can. 7. col. 386.]

[5] Against all the, Def. B.] [6] This is inserted from Adm.]

[7] 114, Def. B.]

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Civil offices in ministers.

Scriptures wrested.

purpose, Christ, after he had washed his disciples' feet, took an occasion thereupon to exhort them to humility; which virtue is very necessary in all degrees of men, as well in rulers and magistrates, as in inferiors. And therefore that place requireth humility in all, especially in the ministers of the word; but it disalloweth superiority in none. When Christ addeth and saith: "The servant is not greater than his master; &c.," he armeth them against persecutions, and willeth them to look for afflictions; for in the xv. chapter he addeth to the same words: "If they have persecuted me, they will persecute you also." And to this are archbishops and lord bishops as well subject as other men; examples whereof we have of our own, as Cranmer, Ridley, Hooper, &c.

Vain-glory forbidden, not true honour.

That in the v. chapter of St John is not spoken to the apostles, but to the whole company of Jews, in reproof of their vain-glory; for so is that place to be understood; else it were altogether unlawful for any man to receive honour, yea, even for princes themselves.

To the like purpose tend the words of the apostle, 2 Cor. x. vers. 16, 17, 18.

Surely both the names of archbishops, lord bishops, &c., and their offices, may as well stand with these places of the scripture, as the names and offices of kings, nobles, and any other persons in estimation or dignity. Indeed the mother of all heresies and sects, that is vain-glory and arrogancy, in all these places is utterly condemned.

Arroganey mother of all sects.

But, I pray you, doth Christ condemn superiority in all those whom he exhorteth to humility? is not humility as well required in princes and great rulers, as it is in meaner persons? yes, surely, and a great deal more. Wherefore Christ, in suppressing ambition, pride, and arrogancy, and exhorting to humility, doth not condemn superiority, neither yet titles of reverence, but requireth humbleness of spirit, and lowliness of mind in all degrees of persons, especially in superiors, whom this virtue doth more[1] adorn; the mightiest and noblest prince in the

Humility taketh not away authority.

[1] Most, Answ. 1.]

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world may come nearer this admonition of Christ than the poorest slave. It is therefore the affection of the mind that Christ here condemneth, not superiority, not titles of honour and dignity; yea, he reproveth in this place such haughty and proud stomachs as yours be, which contemn and disdain those whom they ought both in words and deeds, both in titles and subjection[2], to reverence.][3]

Civil offices in ministers.

Pride of the mind condemned, not superiority.

To prove that "civil offices joined to the ecclesiastical is against the word of God," first you note Luke ix. vers. 60, 61; where it is thus written: "And Jesus said unto him, Let the dead bury the[4] dead, but go thou and preach the kingdom of God. Then another said, I will follow thee, Lord; but let me first go bid them farewell which are at my house." How conclude you anything of these places against civil offices in ecclesiastical persons? Christ's meaning in this place is to teach us (I mean all Christians) that, when he calleth us, we ought not to be hindered from following (and that forthwith) by any excuse of doing duty towards our friends, or respect of worldly commodity, or for fear of any pain or trouble; and this is spoken generally to all Christians, and not alone to any one kind of men.

Civil offices in ecclesiastical persons[5].

T. C. Page 165, Sect. 4.

For the first place, if so be that the minister ought rather to leave necessary duties of burying his father, and saluting his friends undone, than that he should not accomplish his ministry to the full, much more he ought not to take upon him those things which are not only not necessary duties, but, as it shall appear, do in no case belong unto him. And, although it may be applied to all Christians, yet it doth most properly belong unto the ministers.

ix. Luke, 60, 61.[6]

Jo. Whitgift.

This is no answer to that which I have said; for I say that the meaning of Christ in this place is that, when we are called to eternal life by him, we ought not to protract the time, nor to seek any delays, but leave all and follow him: this is the meaning of Christ, and this is the sum of my

[2] Subjections, Answ. 1.] [3] These paragraphs are inserted from Answ.]
[4] Their, Answ.] [5] This note is added from Answ. 2.]
[6] The verses are added from Repl. 2.]

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Civil offices in ministers.

answer; and to this you say nothing, but make a new collection, "that the minister ought rather to leave necessary duties of burying his father, &c.," which (though it be not the direct sense of this place) yet I grant it to be true; for such civil offices as I allow in ecclesiastical persons are helps for them to do their duties. Wherefore, as this place is unaptly applied by the Admonition, so is it unanswered by you; and it may as well be used to debar any other Christians from civil functions as ministers of the word.

Chapter i. The Third Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 215, Sect. 1.

Secondly, for the same purpose you use Luke xii. vers. 14; where Christ, speaking to him that said unto him, "Master, bid my brother divide the inheritance with me," answereth on this sort, "Man, who made me a judge or divider[1] over you?" Christ came indeed to be judged, and not to judge; he came to work the work of our redemption, not to decide controversies touching lands and possessions. But will you therefore take from christian men authority to judge? for this example of Christ can no more be applied to bishops than it may be to kings, because the doings of Christ is a pattern for all Christians; and yet Christians may judge matters, and decide controversies amongst their brethren.

Argument of the anabaptists confuted.

Look 1 Cor. vi. The anabaptists use this text for one of their reasons to condemn magistracy among Christians; and therefore a very learned and late writer, in his exposition on this place, writeth thus: *Hinc colligitur quantopere insaniant, qui ex hoc loco magistratum inter Christianos damnant; nam Christus non argumentatur a re ipsa, tanquam profana sit, sed a vocatione sua, quod missus sit in alium finem, tametsi res erat per se satis sancta et pia*[2]: "Hereof may it[3] be gathered, how greatly they dote which condemn magistrates amongst Christians by this place; for Christ doth not reason of the thing itself,

[1 Or a divider, Answ. and Def. A.]

[2 The editor is uncertain as to the writer intended. Calvin's words on the place nearly resemble those here cited. See Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Comm. in Harm. Euang. Tom. VI. p. 157.]

[3 It may, Answ.]

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as though it were profane, but of his own vocation, because he was sent to another end, although the thing of itself is[4] holy and good." Civil offices in ministers.

T. C. Page 155, Sect. 4, and ult.

And as for the other place of Luke touching our Saviour Christ's refusal to divide the inheritance between the brethren, it is most aptly alleged to this purpose. For, although our Saviour Christ doth not there take away from men authority to judge, yet he sheweth thereby sufficiently that it belongeth not unto the ministers of the word to intermeddle in the judgment of civil causes. For our Saviour Christ framed that answer, having respect to the bounds of his calling.

xii. Luke 14.[5]

For, as he being minister[6] of the gospel did all those things which were pertaining to his ministry, so, by refusing this office of judgment in civil causes, he gave to understand that it did not appertain unto the compass of that office which he exercised, which was the ministry. And therefore it is altogether out of season that M. Doctor here allegeth, that the anabaptists use this reason to prove that Christians may not have magistrates. For how doth this follow, that, because this place of St Luke proveth not that we ought to have no christian magistrates, that therefore it proveth not that the minister should be no magistrate, as if there could be no civil magistrates unless ministers of the word were? And the place which he allegeth out of the learned man doth not only not make anything for him, but doth quite overthrow his cause. For he saith that our Saviour Christ did not refuse this as a thing in itself unlawful, but because it did not agree with his vocation. Now, the vocation of our Saviour Christ was to be a minister of the gospel; therefore it doth not agree with the vocation of a minister of the gospel to judge or to intermeddle in civil government. And, if M. Doctor had been so studious of M. Calvin's works, as by his often allegation of him he would make the world believe, he might have read in him this sentence cited for this purpose, to prove that the ministers have not to do in[7] civil things[8].

iv. Lib. Instit. 11. cap.

Jo. Whitgift.

Neither do you here reply to my Answer; for I told you that Christ came to be judged, not to judge in matters of lands and possessions: I told you likewise that this example of Christ pertaineth no more to bishops than it doth to kings, and therefore can no fitlier be by you applied against bishops than by the anabaptists against christian magistrates. To all this in effect you have said nothing. Your own collection is soon answered. First, no man giveth to bishops authority to judge in matters of inheritance; for such controversies are to

[4] Were, Answ. 2.] [5] The verse is added from Repl. 2.]
[6] Being a minister, Repl. 1 and 2.] [7] With, Repl. 1 and 2.]
[8] Calvin. Op. Inst. Lib. IV. cap. xi. 9, 11. Tom. IX. pp. 326, 7.]

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Civil offices in ministers.

be decided by law, which hath other judges appointed for it. Secondly, Christ spake this to declare that his kingdom was not of this world, but of the world to come; not earthly, but heavenly; not temporal, but eternal; and therefore he spake it touching his own person only, and not as a rule pertaining to other Christians, as the anabaptists feign. Thirdly, the authority in civil matters, that is committed to ministers in this church, is committed unto them by the prince, for the better government of the church, and the fuller satisfying of their duty, consisting for the most part only in punishing and correcting sin. And, lastly, it is not made a thing incident to the ministry, or as part of that office, but it is added as profitable, convenient, and necessary for the present state of the church, and fuller accomplishing of the minister's duty.

Civil offices in our ministers tend to the government of the church.

I have told you, in my Answer to the Admonition, that this example of Christ doth no more pertain unto bishops than to other Christians, which being true and unconfuted by you, then doth it follow that the anabaptists may as well allege it against other[1] Christians as you may do against bishops or ministers.

The "learned man's" interpretation doth well agree with my cause; for Christ refused it because he came to be judged, and to suffer death for the redemption of the world; which is the vocation that this learned man speaketh of, and is only proper to Christ. I deny not but that M. Calvin may apply this text to that purpose; but M. Calvin doth expound himself, writing upon this same place, when he saith that "every man must respect his own vocation," *et quid illi sit aptum*: "and what is meet for it." Now the civil authority that ecclesiastical persons have in this church "is meet for their vocation." And therefore M. Calvin speaketh nothing against it. In the same book and chapter he allegeth these words of Bernard, which he writeth to pope Eugenius of this matter: *Ergo in criminibus non in possessionibus potestas vestra. &c.*[2]: "Wherefore your power is in offences, not in possessions." And this conclusion he bringeth in upon the words of St Luke, chapter xii.[3]

[1 Others, Def. B.]

[2 Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Inst. Lib. IV. cap. xi. 11. Tom. IX. p. 327. Conf. Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. De Consid. ad Eugen. Lib. I. cap. vi. 7. Vol. I. Tom. II. col. 412.]

[3 "... it is a shameful abusing of both Calvin and Bernard. For they speak

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I would not, as I said before, have bishops judges in controversies of inheritance: I do not affirm that they may in the right of their ministry challenge any civil authority, as the bishop of Rome doth. But, forasmuch as the authority is *in criminibus:* "in offences," as Bernard saith; therefore, if it please the prince to give it them, they may lawfully execute so much authority civil as shall further and help them in suppressing sin. And this is against nothing that M. Calvin hath said. For M. Calvin and other learned writers of this age do use this place of St Luke and such like against the usurpation of Romish bishops, challenging such authority in civil matters as due unto them, *jure divino;* and so, placing themselves in princes' offices, did esteem all their duty towards the church to consist therein, and did nothing else pertaining to the office of a bishop. As for the authority that our bishops have in such matters, I think that neither M. Calvin, nor any other godly man, can disallow of it.

Civil offices in ministers.

Wherein the bishops' authority consisteth.

Chapter i. The Fourth Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 215, Sect. 2.

In the third place you allege Rom. xii. vers. 7: "He that hath an office, let him wait on his office; or he that teacheth, on teaching." What is this to the purpose: "He that hath an office must attend upon his office; and he that teacheth on teaching;" therefore bishops may not have civil offices? The office of a bishop is as well to govern by discipline as by preaching: this is a very simple argument.

The bishop governeth as well by discipline as by preaching.

T. C. Page 166, Line 9.

xii. Rom. 7.[4] *Furthermore, M. Doctor asketh what St Paul's place to the Romans (where he willeth that he which hath an office must wait of that office, he that teacheth of his teaching) maketh to this purpose. Surely, M. Doctor, very much. Neither can there be a place more properly alleged, both for the very plainness of the words, and also for the circumstance of the place. For St Paul speaketh there against those which would overreach their callings, and, having certain callings, con-*

It is certain that divers of these gifts mentioned Rom. xii. (as teaching and exhort-

there of rebuking and punishing sin, by ecclesiastical censures; which is manifest in that they convey the title of this power to the minister by the keys delivered unto St Peter."—The Rest of Sec. Reply, p. 3.]

[4 The verse is added from Repl. 2.]

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Civil offices in ministers.

tented not themselves with them, but would have an oar in every man's boat, and would take more upon them than they were able to do, or the measure of their gifts would stretch unto; and therefore sheweth that, as the body is best preserved when every member thereof doth his office, and destroyed when one member will take upon it to do the office of another, so the church is then best governed when every ecclesiastical person keepeth himself within the limits of his calling, not meddling with that which pertaineth unto another. But M. Doctor saith that the bishop governeth as well by discipline as by preaching: so he doth. But, I pray you, by what discipline? What a reason is this: he governeth by discipline; ergo, by civil discipline! You say in the next sentence, that the authors of the Admonition either doat or dream. But, if these be your sharp disputations when you are awake, surely they are very blunt when you dream. But I had rather judge the best, that M. Doctor was overwatched.

ing) may concur in one man; so that he may be apt for divers functions; neither doth the apostle there tie one man to one gift or function only.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

Surely, M. T. C., it maketh nothing at all to that purpose; neither doth St Paul speak it to that end; but he speaketh it to move every one diligently and truly to walk in his vocation and calling, and therefore in the same place he saith, *qui præest in diligentia;* and, as I have told you, this civil authority that I speak of is not claimed, but committed, is no hinderance, but an help to the ecclesiastical function. Neither is this to usurp any other man's vocation, but dutifully to use that office that is given unto us by the prince, to help us forward in our own vocation and calling.

Civil authority not claimed, but committed to our bishops.

An ecclesiastical pastor must use that discipline that is appointed unto him by the magistrate and orders of that church whereof he is minister, be it civil or ecclesiastical; so that, if the kind of discipline used in that church be "civil," as it is in this church for divers crimes, then doth he govern by "civil discipline[1];" and the argument is good; neither will you be able to answer it when you are best awake, howsoever I made it in my dream or being overwatched.

Chapter i. The Fifth Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 216, Sect. 1.

A place alleged to no purpose[2].

Fourthly, you cite 1 Tim. vi. vers. 11: "But thou, O man of God, flee these things, and follow after righte-

[1 Cartwright calls this an "idle distinction," and says that it "maketh nothing to the question."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 4.]

[2 This note is not in Answ.]

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ousness, godliness, faith, love, patience, and meekness." Truly I think you doat or else dream, your applications of scripture be so strange. What speaketh Paul here against civil offices in ecclesiastical persons? he only willeth them in the person of Timothy to "flee covetousness, and to follow righteousness, &c." Civil offices in ministers.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

This is that place that T. C. confesseth to be alleged to no purpose; and therefore here they are left to answer for themselves, as they be in the most of their quotations.

Chapter i. The Sixth Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 216, Sect. 2, 3.

The last text he requoted is the 2 Tim. ii.[3] vers. 3, 4: "Thou therefore suffer affliction as a good soldier of Jesus Christ. No man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life, because he would please him that hath chosen him to be a soldier." This latter sentence is general, and pertaineth to all men. The meaning is this, whosoever would be a soldier under Christ must leave all worldly things, and follow him. It speaketh nothing either of civil or ecclesiastical offices. For, if you will know what he there meaneth by the affairs of this life, hear what M. Calvin saith, writing upon that place: *Per negotia vitæ intelligit familiæ administrandæ curam, et ordinarias occupationes*[5]: "By the affairs of this life he understandeth the care of governing his family, and other ordinary business." Exposition of 2 Tim. ii. 3, 4. Calvin[4].

If you will learn how this place is to be applied, the same M. Calvin teacheth you likewise in these words following: *Nunc applicanda est comparatio ad rem præsentem, quod quisquis vult sub Christo militare, debet, relictis omnibus mundi tricis et avocamentis, se illi totum suaque studia addicere*[6]: "Now this comparation[7] is to be applied to the present purpose, that whosoever will Calvin[4].

[3] The second to Timo. ii, Answ.]

[4] These two words are not in Answ.]

[5] Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Comm. in Epist. II. ad Timoth. cap. ii. 4. Tom. VII. p. 479.]

[6] Id. ibid.]

[7] Comparison, Answ.]

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Civil offices in ministers.

play the warrior under Christ, leaving all worldly matters and impediments, must give himself wholly unto him." This therefore is general, and pertaineth to all Christians, but chiefly and especially to the ministers of the word, who may not occupy themselves in worldly business, as other men do; that is, they must not be merchants, husbandmen, craftsmen, or hinder their vocation with such like worldly affairs. As for such civil offices as be committed to them, they be rather helps to their vocation, than impediments; for the office of a justice of peace, of an high commissioner, and such like, is to punish vice and iniquity, to see good order kept in the commonwealth, as well in matters touching religion, as other common and public business. Wherefore, as these offices be not mere civil, but partly ecclesiastical, and be for discipline and correction of sins, so in my opinion they be most meet to be committed to some of the wisest and best of the clergy, to the end that such as by the word will not by convenient discipline may be compelled to do their duties. Neither are such offices to be accounted worldly affairs, but rather heavenly and spiritual; forasmuch as they serve to the maintenance of religion and godliness, and to the suppressing of sin and wickedness. If it be true that Augustine saith: *Serviunt reges Christo, leges ferendo pro Christo*[3]*:* ["Kings do truly serve Christ by making laws in defence of Christ"][4]; it is also true: *Serviunt episcopi Christo, leges exequendo pro Christo:* ["Bishops truly do serve and obey Christ by executing laws made concerning Christ and his religion."][4]

Some civil offices rather helps than hinderances to the office of a bishop[1].

Augustine[2].

T. C. Page 166, in the midst.

The last place which is alleged by the Admonition is out of the epistle to Timothy, where it sheweth that, forsomuch as the state[6] *of a minister is as that of a soldier, and therefore, as the soldier, to the end he might the better please his captain, and do his service*

2. Epist. ii. 4.[5]

[1] Civil offices rather helps unto bishops than impediment of their vocation, Answ. 2.]

[2] This word is inserted from Answ. 2.]

[3] ...quia vero...rex est, servit leges justa præcipientes...sanciendo.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. ad Bonifac. seu Epist. clxxxv. cap. v. 19. Tom. II. col. 651. Conf. Contr. Litt. Petil. Lib. II. cap. xcii. 210. Tom. IX. col. 282.]

[4] These translations are introduced from Answ. 2.]

[5] The verse is added from Repl. 2.]

[6] Estate, Repl. 1 and 2.]

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of warfare, quitteth all those things which he loveth, and whereof otherwise he might have care, and might enjoy; even so the minister ought to dispatch himself of all those things which may be any let to the office of his ministry, although he might otherwise lawfully use them. And, if so be for the performing of the ministry to the full he must quit those things which he may lawfully use, how much more might the Admonition conclude that he ought not to entangle himself with those things which (out of the places of St Luke, and to the Romans) it had shewed to be unlawful for him to meddle with. And, although M. Doctor say the sentence be general, yet it is particularly meant, and most properly of the ministers, which M. Calvin teacheth M. Doctor in the same place[7], *where he hath cited his authority twice to no purpose. For what although M. Calvin do not there apply in prescript words this sentence to prove that ministers ought not to meddle with civil offices, doth it follow therefore that this place cannot be used thereto? In saying that he ought to abstain from all lets which may hinder his vocation and ministry, he doth consequently say that he ought to abstain from all civil offices; and if so be M. Doctor had been so well read in the ancient doctors (as he would seem) he might have known that this place is used of Cyprian to the same purpose that it is alleged here. For Cyprian, speaking against an elder which had taken upon him to be executor to one which was dead, allegeth this place*[8].

Civil offices in ministers.

9. *Epist. i. Lib. c.*

JO. WHITGIFT.

That which is spoken of a soldier pertaineth to all Christians as well as to a minister; for every christian man is a soldier: these civil functions be helps to the ministry, and may be lawfully used; as I have said before. M. Calvin truly interpreteth the place; and his interpretation maketh fully for my purpose, and directly against you, as the reader may easily perceive; so that your many words are soon with this brevity answered[9].

Cyprian allegeth the place to good purpose; for to be an

[7 Generalis quidem est sententia: sed quæ peculiariter verbi ministris competit. Videant ergo hi primum quæ sint a sua functione aliena, ut soluti Christum sequantur. &c.—Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Comm. in Epist. II. ad Timoth. cap. ii. 2. Tom. VII. p. 479.]

[8 Graviter commoti sumus...cum cognovissemus quod Geminius Victor frater noster de seculo excedens, Geminium Faustinum presbyterum tutorem testamento suo nominaverit: cum jam pridem in concilio episcoporum statutum sit, ne quis de clericis, et Dei ministris tutorem vel curatorem testamento suo constituat,... Scriptum est enim: Nemo militans Deo obligat se molestiis secularibus, ut possit placere ei cui se probavit. &c.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cler. et Pleb. Furnit. Epist. i. pp. 1, 2.]

[9 "The answer to the place of Timothy 'that it is spoken of all Christians indifferently,' merely faced out with the name of Calvin, is Pighius' answer to the protestants. And it is confuted in that St Paul instructeth Timothy there not as a simple Christian, but as a minister of the gospel."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 6.]

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Civil offices in ministers.

executor is a troublesome matter, and doth oftentimes hinder men from their other callings; so that sometimes even temporal men (as we call them) do avoid the same, for the trouble that thereupon commonly ensueth; and yet I doubt whether you would refuse to be an executor, or no, if it were offered unto you by some; neither do I think it unlawful, so that the troublesomeness of it be not too much, and an hinderance indeed to weightier matters.

Chapter i. The Seventh Division.

T. C. Page 166, towards the end.

To these reasons of the Admonition may be added that which the Admonition hath in the 230. *page, that the regiment of the church is spiritual, and respecteth the conscience, and therefore hath not to do with civil offices, which respect properly the commonwealth, and the outward godly, honest, and quiet behaviour. And therefore their meaning is that, as the civil governor doth use such kind of punishment as may bridle the outward man, and hold him that he dare not offend in the open breach of that "godliness, honesty, and quietness" which St Paul commendeth* [1 Tim. ii. 2.] *unto us; so the ecclesiastical regiment doth use that kind of discipline whereby the conscience and inward man may be kept in that willing obedience unto God's commandment, touching "a godly, honest, and quiet life."*

JO. WHITGIFT.

The government of the church in the respect of Christ, which by his Holy Spirit ruleth in the heart and conscience of man, is only spiritual; but it is not so in the respect of the visible church, and earthly members, and ministers of the same; for then must you of necessity shut out the civil magistrate from all kind of government in the church; which is the matter you shoot at, cloak it as much as you can. But of the regiment of the church, and of the untruth of this your assertion, I have spoken before[2], and speak of it also in that which followeth.

Chapter i. The Eighth Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 230, Sect. 1, 3.

You bid us in the margent (to prove that the regiment of the church should be spiritual) read Ephe. i.

[1 The verse is added from Repl. 2.] [2 See before, pages 164, &c.]

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vers. 23; 1 Thess. v. vers. 13; 1 Tim. v. vers. 2; Heb. x. vers. 30. Civil offices in ministers.

In the 1 Thess. v. the apostle "beseecheth them to love such for their work's sake as labour among them, are over them in the Lord, and admonish them." What argument call you this: St Paul moves the Thess. to love their pastors; *ergo*, the government of the church is only spiritual?

T. C. Page 166, in the end.

And, to note the distinction of these regiments civil and spiritual, the place unto the Thessa. is well alleged; for by the words, "such as rule over you in the Lord," the apostle doth put a difference between the civil and ecclesiastical regiment. For, albeit that godly civil magistrates do rule over us in the Lord, yet St Paul, κατ' ἐξοχήν, that is, "by excellency," ascribeth that unto the ecclesiastical governors, because that, whereas the civil magistrate, beside his care for the salvation of the souls of his people, is occupied in procuring also the wealth and quietness of this life, the ecclesiastical governors have all their whole care set upon that only which pertaineth to the life to come.

1 Thess. v. 12.[3]

Jo. WHITGIFT.

True it is that the civil government is distinguished from the ecclesiastical; but there is something common to them both, as these civil offices whereof we speak.

The place to the Thess. which the authors of the Admonition use, page 227, to prove that the government of the church ought to be spiritual, cannot be used to make any distinction betwixt civil and ecclesiastical government. For by your own confession this portion, "are over you in the Lord," which you would have to make this distinction, is as well spoken of the civil magistrate as it is of the pastor; and so it is indeed; and therefore this text is abused both by them and you. The apostle useth the same manner of speech, speaking of the obedience of wives towards their husbands: *Uxores, subditæ estote propriis viris, sicuti decet in Domino:* "Wives, be subject unto your own husbands, as it behoveth you in the Lord." And yet you will not say that the government of the husband over his wife is only spiritual. And therefore, howsoever you dally out the matter with saying that St Paul here, κατ' ἐξοχήν, ascribeth this unto the ecclesiastical governors, yet it will not serve your turn; for he ascribeth it also Col. iii.

[3] The verse is added from Repl. 2.]

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Civil offices in ministers.

to those that be civil. "The ecclesiastical governors have all their whole care set upon that only which pertaineth to the life to come:" true it is, and to the same end tendeth the civil government which they do exercise; as I have told you before.

Chapter i. The Ninth Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 230, Sect. 4.

In the 1 Tim. v. vers. 2, he willeth Timothy to "exhort the elder women as mothers, the younger as sisters;" whereupon you conclude thus: Elder women must be exhorted as mothers, the younger as sisters, with all pureness; *ergo*, the government of the church must be spiritual.

T. C. Page 167, Line 5.

And to this end also is alleged by the Admonition the place of Timothy, wherein the apostle teacheth part of the ecclesiastical discipline, 1 Tim. v.[1] *which the minister may use, to consist in reprehensions and rebukes, which must be tempered according as the estate and age of every one doth require. Their meaning is not (as M. Doctor doth untruly surmise) to shut out the civil magistrate, or to debar him of punishing the wicked, but that it appertaineth not unto the ministers to deal that ways; whose correction of faults lieth partly in reprehensions and admonitions, which he speaketh of there, partly in excommunication, whereof is spoken before.*

Jo. WHITGIFT.

But how aptly this place is alleged to this end, every child may understand. For what a collection call you this: St Paul willeth Timothy to "exhort the elder women as mothers, the younger as sisters;" therefore the regiment of the church is only spiritual, and an ecclesiastical person may not intermeddle with any kind of civil affairs? One christian man must exhort another, and reprove another also, as occasion requireth; therefore he may not execute any civil office: the reason is all one. Your defence of this place is very slender, and you might with as much credit to them have passed it over, as you have done divers other.

[1] This reference is not in Repl. 2.]

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Civil offices in ministers.

Chapter i. The Tenth Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 230, Sect. 2.

In the place to the Ephes. the apostle saith that "God hath appointed Christ to be the head of the church, which is his body, even the fulness of him that filleth all in all things." Here we learn that Christ is the head of the church; but how proves this that the government of the church is only spiritual? will you hereby take away civil magistrates, and other governors that God hath placed in his church? It is subtilly done of you to quote the places only, and not to apply them, nor to conclude of them; for surely, if you had laid down the words, and applied them to your purpose, not wise and learned only, but very children, would have laughed you to scorn.

Spiritual government taketh not away civil magistracy.

T. C. Page 167, Line 12.

Further, touching the place of the Ephes., forsomuch as our Saviour Christ, as he is head of his church, is the spiritual governor thereof, it is meet that their government which are appointed underneath him, as he is head, should be likewise spiritual, as his is. For, as for the civil magistrate, although he be appointed of Christ (as he is God), in which respect there is none above Christ, yet he is not appointed of him in respect that he is head of the church, in regard whereof God is above Christ, and as the apostle saith, "the head" of him.

1 Cor. xi. 3.[2]

Jo. Whitgift.

Christ is the head of the church, and spiritually governeth the same in the conscience; but, because it hath also an outward and visible form, therefore it requireth an outward and visible government, which Christ doth execute as well by the civil magistrate, as he doth by the ecclesiastical minister; and therefore the government of the church, in the respect of the external and visible form of it, is not only spiritual. Christ governeth by himself spiritually only, and by his ministers both spiritually and externally; and therefore your reason is nothing. But why do you not answer in this place to that which I charge them with touching the civil magistrate? In the former place where I spake no such thing, you said that I untruly surmised that they "shut out the civil magistrate

The government of the church is not only spiritual.

T. C. content to pass by the abridging of civil authority.

[2] The verse is added from Repl. 2.]

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Civil offices in ministers.

from punishing the wicked;" but here, when I charge them that by their application of this place "they take away civil magistrates, and other governors that God hath placed in his church," you answer not one word. Indeed both you and they, by your false interpretations of this and such like places, do altogether seclude the civil magistrate from any government of the church, and in effect say with the papists, that he doth govern as he is man, and not as he is a Christian, and that he governeth men in that they be men, and not in that they be christian men; which may well be spoken of the Turk, having Christians subject under him; but it is wickedness to think it of a christian magistrate, and it doth not much differ from the opinion of the anabaptists.

Chapter i. The Eleventh Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 230, Sect. 5, 6; and Page 231, Sect. 1.

In the x. Hebr. vers. 30, it is thus written: "For we know him that hath said, Vengeance belongeth unto me: I will recompense, saith the Lord. And again: The Lord shall judge his people."

Fond arguments[1], and to no purpose.

Vengeance belongeth to God, and he shall judge his people; *ergo*, the government of the church must be spiritual. [Indeed the anabaptists use this place to overthrow all civil government among christian men, and to take away christian magistrates.][2]

I am ashamed of these reasons; and so will you be likewise, if you be not past shame. If you mean that the government of the church is spiritual, because God, by his Spirit, gifts, and ministry of his word, doth govern it, you say truly, although these places be unaptly alleged; but, if you mean that therefore there need no civil magistrates, no civil and politic laws, no external discipline, no outward ceremonies and orders, you are greatly deceived, and join with the anabaptists, whose error in that point is sufficiently by divers learned men confuted. And therefore I will not as yet intermeddle therewith, until I understand further of your meaning.

[1 Arguments fond, Answ. 2.]

[2 This sentence is introduced from Answ. 2.]

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JO. WHITGIFT.

Civil offices in ministers.

This is left unanswered.

¶ The reasons which T. C. useth against civil offices in ecclesiastical persons examined.

Chapter ii. The First Division.

T. C. Page 167, Sect. 1.

Now that I have shewed that the places quoted by the Admonition are for the most part to the purpose of that they be quoted for, I will add a reason or two to this purpose, before I come to answer to those reasons which are brought by M. Doctor. Here I must desire the reader to remember (which I said before, when I spake against non-residency) the multitude and difficulty of those things which are required of the minister of the word of God. And withal I will leave to the consideration of every one the great infirmity and weakness which is in men; both the which considerations set together, it will easily appear how unmeet a thing it is that the minister should have any other charge laid upon him, seeing that, it being so weighty an office as will require all the gifts he hath, be they never so great, it must needs fall out, that, so much as he doth in another calling, so much he leaveth undone in this.

JO. WHITGIFT.

The reader may easily judge how fitly they were alleged, in that they needed your commentary to teach the application of them, which otherwise would have asked some cunning to make them to serve the turn. But, as the places be unfitly quoted by them, so are they indeed as slenderly defended by you; as may appear in your Replies and my Answers.

Your first argument why ecclesiastical persons may not exercise civil offices is this: "The multitude and difficulty of those things which are required of the minister are such, and the weakness and infirmity of man so great, that the minister cannot execute any other offices, &c." This had some likelihood in it, if the minister should execute any office contrary or repugnant to his ecclesiastical function. But, seeing I have before declared that such civil offices as be now committed to bishops and other of the clergy be necessary helps to their other callings, and most profitable for the good and quiet government of the church, this argument of itself falleth to the ground. But why may you not as well

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reason thus: The multitude and greatness of those things that are required of a Christian be such, and the infirmity and frailty of man so great, that, if he did nothing but give himself to spiritual meditation, and never meddle with worldly affairs, he were not able to do his full duty; therefore no christian man may practise any such thing, or meddle in worldly and civil matters? This argument is the root of anabaptism[1].

Chapter ii. The Second Division.

T. C. Page 167, in the midst.

And what the hand of man is able to reach herein, it is to be considered in the apostles, whom if the office of the ministry did so wholly occupy and set a-work, that they could admit no other charge with it, yea, and were fain to cast off that which they had, it is clear that none of those which live now can beside that function admit any other public calling. The story is known in the Acts, that the apostles, even during the time Acts vi. 2.[2] *that they kept together at Jerusalem, and taught the church there, were fain, that they might the better attend unto preaching and praying (by which two things St Luke summarily setteth forth the office of the ministry), to give over the charge of providing for the poor unto others, because they were not able to do both. Now, forsomuch as the apostles, endued with such gifts as none have been since, or shall be hereafter, could not discharge together with the office of the minister that also of the deacon, how should any man be found that together with that office can discharge the office of a civil magistrate? And, if the apostles would not have the office of a deacon, which was ecclesiastical, and therefore of the same kind with the ministry, joined unto it, how much less will they suffer that the ministry should be joined with a civil office, and therefore of another kind? for reason teacheth that there is an easier mingling of those which are of one kind than of those which are of divers kinds,*

Jo. Whitgift.

Why the apostles left off the deaconship.

It is evident that the apostles from the ascension of Christ into heaven until this time did execute both the office of the apostles and the office of deacons also. Whereby it is manifest that these offices may at sometimes meet together in one and the self-same person. And M. Calvin, upon the vi. of the Acts, saith that "they did not altogether cast off this care for the poor," *sed levationem quæsiisse ut suo muneri*

Calvin.

[1 "... the D. answer leadeth to plain monkery, whilst he placeth 'the whole duty of a christian man in spiritual meditation.'"—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 9.]

[2 The verse is added from Repl. 2.]

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intenti esse possent[3]: "but that they sought an easing thereof, that they might be intentive unto their office." The causes therefore, that moved the apostles to leave off from executing the one, that is, the deaconship, is to be considered. One cause was the great increase of the number of Christians, which was now grown to such a multitude, that the apostles could not well both make provision for the poor, and give themselves also both to preaching and praying. Civil offices in ministers.

Another cause was the murmuring and grudging of the Grecians, who thought that the apostles had more regard to provide for their own countrymen the Jews, than for the Grecians being strangers unto them. Wherefore the apostles, being willing to eschew this grudging and repining, did, for avoiding the suspicion of partiality, will the whole multitude to choose them deacons; and both those causes be expressed in the beginning of the vi. chapter of the Acts.

The third cause was, for that the apostles knew that they should shortly be dispersed, and that their office was to go from place to place, to plant churches, and preach the gospel, so that they could not now execute the office of deacons, as they did whilst they remained together.

This being so (as it cannot be denied), there can be no likely argument gathered of this place, that ecclesiastical persons may not have some kind of civil functio-, And, if a man well consider how busy and troublesome an . ice the deaconship was at that time (the church being in persecution, and the number of poor great), he shall easily perceive that there is no comparison betwixt the troublesomeness of that office then, and the civil offices now committed to ecclesiastical persons; which be so far from hindering their ecclesiastical functions, that they work the clean contrary effect. And yet it is certain that the apostle St Paul, and Titus, with Luke, or, as some think, Barnabas, did, together with the office of preaching, make collections for the poor, 2 Corinth. viii.

[3 Neque tamen intelligamus eos penitus abjecisse pauperum curam, sed levationem &c.—Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Comm. in Act. Apost. cap. vi. Tom. VI. p. 48.]

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Civil offices in ministers.

Chapter ii. The Third Division.

T. C. Page 167, somewhat towards the end.

Again, how can we justly reprove the papists for the use of both the swords, spiritual and material, when as we are found in the same fault ourselves? And surely, howsoever long custom hath caused it to seem, yet indeed it is a very great and untolerable confusion, which may be the easilier understanded, if so be we set before our eyes how uncomely and disordered it is in the like, or rather in the very same case. For let us imagine the mayor or bailiff of a town, or the king or emperor of the land, to come into the pulpit and make a sermon, afterward to minister the sacraments, and from the church to go with the sceptre in his hand unto the place of judgment; who would not be amazed to see this, and wonder at it, as at a strange and monstrous sight? Assuredly the self-same deformity it is, when as the minister of the word is made a justice of peace, of quorum, a commissioner, an earl, or any such like, to whom the judgment of matters pertaining to the court of the civil magistrate is committed, especially seeing there are (God be praised) of the nobility and gentry of this[1] *realm that are able to discharge these offices much better than those ecclesiastical persons to whom they are committed.*

Jo. Whitgift.

The civil jurisdiction that the pope claimeth, not like to that in use in this church.

The bishop of Rome doth challenge unto himself the whole power and authority of the civil magistrate, and that (as he saith) by the word of God. He boasteth that temporal princes have their authority from him, and that it is in his power both to displace and place them. This we utterly and most justly condemn; but that jurisdiction civil that we allow in ecclesiastical persons is not the whole power of the civil magistrate, but only so much as may help to the good government of the church, and the suppression of vice. Neither do we challenge it as due, but receive it from the civil magistrate as convenient, and execute it by his authority, not by our own. This you could not but understand, if you had not been disposed to quarrel.

You say, "it is an untolerable confusion, &c.;" but this is a popish surmise, and the example used craftily to verify the same; for the papists do imagine (or at the least they do maliciously spread abroad) that, by giving to the prince chief authority in ecclesiastical matters, we also give unto her power to minister the sacraments, and to preach the word: in like manner, you would insinuate unto the reader, that, by allowing

[1 The, Repl. 1 and 2.]

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civil functions in ecclesiastical persons, we also allow them to execute all kind of civil functions; which is spoken of you as well to deface the authority of the civil magistrate in matters ecclesiastical, as it is to improve civil offices in ecclesiastical persons. It is neither, "confusion" nor uncomeliness "to come from the pulpit, and administration of the sacraments," to the punishment and correction of vice and wickedness. Neither is it "any monstrous or strange sight" for an ecclesiastical person to execute that kind of discipline against offenders which by lawful authority is established in the church, whether it be by being "justice of peace and quorum, or a commissioner," or any other such like office and function[2].

Civil offices in ministers.

But remember, I pray you, what you said before in the treatise of seniors: you there set it down that they are ecclesiastical persons; and yet M. Beza (as I have there declared[3]) saith that noblemen and princes may be of the seigniory; wherefore either may civil and ecclesiastical offices meet together in ecclesiastical persons (which you deny); or else cannot noblemen and princes be of your seigniory, as M. Beza affirmeth; or, if they be of your seigniory, they must cast off their baronies, earldoms, and civil dominions (which I am sure they will not); or else, to conclude, your assertion is strange, and your seigniory confused.

T. C. must needs either dissent from Beza, or grant the controversy. Tract. XVII. cap. divis.

I doubt not but that many of the nobility and gentry of this realm are more fit for these things than ecclesiastical men are; neither can I be persuaded but that they consider how expedient it is, notwithstanding, that such functions be committed to some of the clergy; and I am well assured that they cannot but easily espy the deformity and confusion that your platform would bring to this monarchy.

Chapter ii. The Fourth Division.

T. C. Page 168, Line 2.

And, if so be that there fall out any question at any time which is to be decided by the word of God, and wherein the advice of the minister is need-

[2 Cartwright calls Whitgift's answer here "a mere mockery of his reader;" and repeats more than once that "he is afraid...to affirm it comely that the lord mayor should preach and minister the sacraments."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 11.]

[3 See before, page 205, note 5.]

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Civil offices in ministers.

This place maketh against yourself.

ful, there the minister's help may and ought to be required. For thereof we have not only an example in Ezra, where the princes, in a matter of difficulty, came and asked the counsel of Ezra, but we have a plain commandment in Moses by the Lord, who commanded that the cause of perjury should be heard before the Lord in the sanctuary, at the hearing whereof the high priest should be present; by which commandment the Lord doth not by bringing this cause into the sanctuary declare that the judgment thereof did appertain unto the ecclesiastical court; but because, it being a matter which touched the glory of God very expressly, he would have the princes which were judges there to be the nearer touched, and the deeplier affected with the glory of God, whereof they saw the sacrament before their eyes; neither is the high priest commanded to be present to this end, that he should sit as judge of that matter, but that he might dissolve the difficulties, if any rose of the understanding of the law, and that he might prick forward, and stir up by admonition, the princes to whom the judgment appertained, if so be he should see them cold and slack to revenge the injury done unto the Lord; which thing may the better appear, in that the handling of the matter is there appointed, not unto the priests, but unto the judges or princes only; and so likewise of matrimony and divorce, although the judgment thereof appertain unto the civil magistrate, yet the minister, if there be any difficulty in knowing when it is a lawful contract, and when the divorce is lawful, may and ought to be consulted with. Thus may the commonwealth and church enjoy both the wisdom and learning which is in the minister; and things may be done in that order which God hath appointed, without such confounding and jumbling of offices and jurisdictions together.

Ezra ix. 1.[1]

Deut. xvii. 17, 18.[1]

JO. WHITGIFT.

A greater jurisdiction sought in disproving the less.

You would not have a minister to enjoy any civil office, and yet would you not have the civil magistrate to determine anything in matters of weight without the advice and counsel of the minister; that is, the minister must prescribe unto the civil magistrate what he should do in all weighty and doubtful causes. This is your drift in this place[2], so far as I can gather; else I know not to what purpose you should spend so many words; for they conclude nothing against the cause, but with it rather. Indeed I have heard say that, in some churches which some of you have gone about to reform, the minister was all in all, and in all affairs his advice and consent was had; else nothing could be done. Which authority surely passeth all the civil jurisdiction that I know any man hath or desireth in this church. But you may intermeddle in the

[1 The verses are added from Repl. 2.]

[2 "... it appeareth that there is no untruth so open, which findeth not (as in a common inn) lodging in the D. tongue."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 13.]

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offices of mayors, bailiffs, justices of peace, and indeed have an oar in every man's boat, and yet nothing hinder your pastoral office; such is the excellency of your wit and gifts above other men, that the same thing may be lawful in you, a little portion whereof may not be permitted to others. Civil offices in ministers.

You make a fair gloss upon the xix. of Deuteronomy; but how aptly, the reader may consider if he mark the place well: the words of the text be these: "If a false witness rise up against a man to accuse him of trespass, then both the men that strive together shall stand before the Lord, even before the priests and the judges which shall be in those days; and the judges shall make diligent inquisition, &c." First, here is no word of the sanctuary; for this that is said, "before the Lord," M. Calvin in his Harmony doth interpret on this sort: *Coram Jehova, i. coram sacerdotibus et judicibus qui fuerunt in diebus illis*[a]: "Before Jehovah, that is, before the priests and judges which were in those days." And indeed God is said to be there present where his true ministers are assembled; wherefore your descanting of the sanctuary is without any ground. Moreover, it doth not appear, by anything in this place, but that the priest had as much to do in the matter as the judge had; wherefore this place cannot serve your turn in any respect. Deut. xix.

The place in the ix. of Esdras maketh altogether against you; for the rulers came to complain unto Esdras that the people had married with the gentiles; and Esdras took upon him, as one having authority, to reform it, and to separate them from their wives; as it evidently appeareth in the tenth chapter, and 4. and 5. verse. For certain of them came unto Esdras, and spake unto him in this manner: "Arise, for the matter belongeth unto thee, &c." It appeareth that you have very small care what you allege, so it may seem to be something. The Replier overthroweth his own cause.

You add in the end, and say, "and so likewise of matrimony and divorce." But the reader must take heed that he imagine not this assertion of yours to be contained in any

[a ... coram Jehova, id est, coram sacerdotibus et judicibus qui fuerint in diebus illis.... Quod autem examen fieri mandat non tantum a judicibus, sed etiam a sacerdotibus, tanquam Deo præsente: hac circumstantia diligentiam requirit solito majorem, &c.—Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Harm. in Quat. Libr. Mos. Præcept. Non. Tom. I. p. 542.]

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Civil offices in ministers.

of these two places quoted by you. It is but your own bare affirmation: you allege no authority for it.

Chapter ii. The Fifth Division.

T. C. Page 168, in the midst.

For, although Aristotle's ὀβελισκολύχνιον[1] *and Plato's* δοριδρέπανον[2], *that is, instruments serving to two purposes, be lawful in offices of the commonwealth, where things are more free, and left in greater liberty to be ordered at the judgment and advice of men, especially considering that upon the diversity of the forms of commonwealths variety of regiment may spring, yet in the church of God, where things are brought to a straiter rule, and which is but one and uniform, the same may not be suffered. And yet even those commonwealth philosophers, which do license upon occasion that two offices may meet in one man, hold that it is best, and convenientest, that every one should have a particular charge. For Aristotle saith, it is most agreeable to nature that ἓν should be πρὸς ἕν, that is, one instrument to one use. And Plato useth the proverb, μηδ' Ἡρακλῆς πρὸς δύο[2], against those which will take upon them divers vocations, and not content themselves with one; and they make[3] the meeting of many functions in one man to be a remedy only in extreme need, and poverty of able men.*

Not Hercules himself against two.

Jo. Whitgift.

These be but words only, containing no sound proofs, and require but a short answer, which is, that these civil and ecclesiastical offices, which we join together in one person, tend to one and the same end, and serve for the same purpose, that is, the quiet and good government of the church, and the suppression of vice and sin. I have proved before, that the external form and kind of government in the church is not one and uniform (as you here affirm), but variable, according to place, person, and time[4].

Tract. XVII. cap. ult.

Divers offices may be committed to one man in a commonwealth, though there be more fit for the same; except you will make the state popular, and restrain the prince from the liberty of bestowing such offices upon such as she thinketh most meet for them; which, if it be well marked, is part of

[1 Aristot. Op. Lut. Par. 1629. De Part. Animal. Lib. IV. cap. VI. Tom. I. p. 1028.]

[2 Platon. Op. Franc. 1602. Laches, p. 483; Phæd. p. 67.]

[3 With one so that they make, Repl. 2.]

[4 See before, pages 176, &c.]

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your drift. Belike you or some of your friends lack offices, and therefore you would gladly have a new distribution. Civil offices in ministers.

Chapter ii. The Sixth Division.

T. C. Page 168, somewhat past the midst.

And, although both be unlawful, yet, as the case standeth in our realm, it is more tolerable that the civil magistrate should do the office of a minister, than that the minister should intermeddle with the function of the magistrate. For, when the accounts shall be cast, it will fall out that there are more sufficient and able men to serve in the commonwealth of this realm than in the church, and greater want in the one than in the other.

JO. WHITGIFT.

This reason of yours, if it were true, doth but accuse the prince and her council of lack of due consideration of the state of this realm; for this is a reason of policy, and not of divinity[5]. Undoubtedly you are set up in the chair of controlment; and your gifts are so great, that you dare presume to prescribe both new divinity and new policy. I do nothing doubt but that the state of this commonwealth is better known and considered, than that there shall need any of your advertisements for the government of it; and therefore I pass over these words of yours as void of reason, and full of presumption, and such whereby of stomach only you seek to discredit and to disable the state of the church, and ecclesiastical persons, against whom you have conceived displeasure.

Chapter ii. The Seventh Division.

T. C. Page 168, somewhat towards the end.

And, if, beside this both authority of the word of God and light of reason, we will look unto the practice of the church many years after the time of the apostles, we shall find that the church hath been very careful from time to time that this order should be kept, that the ministers should not entangle themselves with anything beside their ministry, and those things which the word of God doth necessarily put upon them, lest, the strength of

[5 "... his reason why he 'will not answer, for that it is a matter of policy and not of divinity,' doth as it were with one stroke of a pen cross out almost his whole book; where he hangeth all these church matters of the circumstance of time, place, person, and of the form of the commonwealth."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 14.]

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Civil offices in ministers.

their mind and of their body being distracted unto many things, they should be the less able to accomplish their ministry unto the full. Which may also partly appear by that which I have alleged out of Cyprian[1]*, which will not permit them so much as to be executors of a testament. And in the* 80. *canon of those which*[2] *are ascribed unto the apostles,* Can. Apost. 80.[3] *it is enjoined that they should not entangle themselves with worldly offices, but attend upon their ecclesiastical affairs*[4].

Jo. WHITGIFT.

If you compare the state of the church before the time of christian kings, with the state of it under christian kings, you make an unequal comparison. For how could ecclesiastical persons enjoy any civil function, when there was no civil magistrate christian to commit the same unto them? How could by this means the government of the church be thought to be helped by the civil magistrate, when as it had no greater enemies than civil magistrates, who sought by all means to suppress and destroy it? But now to your reasons.

To Cyprian's authority I have answered before.

The canons of the apostles have now been alleged by you at the least 4. or 5. times; and yet is not their credit and authority so firm. But that canon meaneth only such worldly causes as be impediments to their vocation; and I have told you often that civil functions be necessary helps to the doing and full accomplishing of their ecclesiastical office. I have expressed in my Answer to the Admonition what worldly affairs a minister of the word may not entangle himself with.

Chapter ii. The Eighth Division.

T. C. Page 168, Sect. ult.

Further, in the council of Calcedon it was decreed that none of the clerks and[6] *clergy (as it termeth them) should receive any charge of those which are under age, unless they were such as the laws did necessarily cast upon him, which it calleth inexcusable charges,* Tom. 4.[5] can. 3.

[1 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cler. et Pleb. Furnit. Epist. i. pp. 1, 2. See before, page 415, note 8.]

[2 And in one of the canons which, Repl. 2.]

[3 This marginal reference is inserted from Repl. 2.]

[4 Εἴπομεν, ὅτι οὐ χρὴ ἐπίσκοπον, ἢ πρεσβύτερον καθιέναι ἑαυτὸν εἰς δημοσίας διοικήσεις, ἀλλὰ προσευκαιρεῖν ταῖς ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς χρείαις. ἢ πειθέσθω οὖν τοῦτο μὴ ποιεῖν, ἢ καθαιρείσθω.—Can. Apost. can. 80. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 44.]

[5 Tom. ii. Conc. Calced., Repl. 1 and 2.] [6 Or, Repl. 1 and 2.]

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meaning, by all likelihood, the wardship of his brother's children, or some such thing. Where is also declared the cause of that decree to have been, for that there were certain ministers which were stewards to noblemen. And in the 7. canon of the same council it is decreed that none of the clergy should either go to warfare as soldiers or captains, or should receive any secular honours, and, if they did, they should be excommunicated, or accursed.

Civil offices in ministers.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

The words of the third canon be these: "Relation is made unto this holy synod, that certain among the clergy, for filthy lucre's sake, hire other men's possessions, and take upon them the causes of secular business, and through slothfulness separate themselves from divine functions, and run to the houses of secular persons, and for covetousness take upon them the government of their substance; therefore this holy universal and great synod hath decreed that none of these hereafter, that is, bishop, or clerk, or monk, shall hire possessions, or intermeddle with secular possessions, except those that by law are driven to take the tuition and care of such as be under age; or those to whom the bishop of the city hath committed the government of ecclesiastical things, and of orphans and widows, which are without succour, or of such persons which need the help of the church for the fear of God. &c.[7]"

Conc. Calced. can. 3.

This canon containeth nothing contrary to my assertion: the words of the canon be plain: I shall not need to use any exposition of it. Only I would have the reader mark the weight of your argument, which is this: The council of Chalcedon saith that "clerks may not for filthy lucre's sake hire other men's possessions, or take upon them for covetousness' sake the government of other men's possessions, &c.;" therefore there may be no civil office committed unto them.

[7 Ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν σύνοδον, ὅτι τῶν ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ κατειλεγμένων τινὲς δι' οἰκείαν αἰσχροκέρδειαν ἀλλοτρίων κτημάτων γίνονται μισθωταί, καὶ πράγματα κοσμικὰ ἐργολαβοῦσι, τῆς μὲν τοῦ Θεοῦ λειτουργίας καταῤῥᾳθυμοῦντες, τοὺς δὲ τῶν κοσμικῶν ὑποτρέχοντες οἴκους, καὶ οὐσιῶν χειρισμοὺς ἀναδεχόμενοι διὰ φιλαργυρίαν, ὥρισε τοίνυν ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος, μηδένα τοῦ λοιποῦ, μὴ ἐπίσκοπον, μὴ κληρικόν, μὴ μονάζοντα, ἢ μισθοῦσθαι κτήματα, ἢ πράγματα, ἢ ἐπεισάγειν ἑαυτὸν κοσμικαῖς διοικήσεσι· πλὴν εἰ μή που ἐκ νόμων καλοῖτο εἰς ἀφηλίκων ἀπαραίτητον ἐπιτροπὴν, ἢ ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἐπίσκοπος ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἐπιτρέψοι φροντίζειν πραγμάτων, ἢ ὀρφανῶν καὶ χηρῶν ἀπρονοήτων, καὶ τῶν προσώπων τῶν μάλιστα τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς δεομένων βοηθείας, διὰ τὸν φόβον τοῦ Κυρίου. κ.τ.λ.—Concil. Calched. Act. xv. can. 3. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. IV. cols. 755, 8.]

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Civil offices in ministers.

I will ask no better commentaries to the canon of the apostles before alleged, or any other such like, than this very canon of the council of Chalcedon.

To what purpose do you allege the 7. canon of that council[1]? Did you ever hear me say that I would have a minister to be a soldier or a captain in war? or enjoy any such secular honour or offices? wherefore you lack probation when you are constrained to use this.

¶ The reasons used in the Answer justified.

Chapter iii. The First Division.

T. C. Page 169, Line 4, and Sect. 1, 2.

Now I come to M. Doctor's arguments which he bringeth to establish this disorder.

And, first, he saith "ministers of the word may not occupy themselves in worldly business, as to be merchants, husbandmen, craftsmen, and such like," but they may exercise civil offices. Where first of all I perceive M. Doctor is of this mind, that the order of God is not to be broken for small gain, or when a man must take great toil of the body to break it; but, if it[2] *may be broken with getting of honour, and doing of those things which may be done without toil*[3]*, and with great commendation, then*[4] *it is lawful to break it. Indeed so the poet (but in the person of an unjust and ambitious man) said, εἰ χρὴ ἀδικεῖν, τυραννίδος ἕνεκα χρή*[5]*, that is: "If a man must do unjustly, he must do it to bear rule."*

Secondarily, I do see that M. Doctor will not be shackled and hindered from his ministry by a pair of iron fetters; but, if he can get a pair of golden fetters, he is contented to be hampered and entangled from doing the office of ministry committed unto him. For, unless these should be the causes which should move him to take the one and refuse the other, verily I see none.

Jo. Whitgift.

This is to deride and not to answer[6]. M. Bucer, writing upon the iv. to the Ephes., rehearsing such worldly business as withdraw the minister from his function, and therefore be not meet for him to exercise, saith thus: "Such business as

Bucer.

[1 Τοὺς ἅπαξ ἐν κλήρῳ κατειλεγμένους ἢ καὶ μονάσαντας, ὡρίσαμεν, μήτε ἐπὶ στρατείαν, μήτε ἐπὶ ἀξίαν κοσμικὴν ἔρχεσθαι.—Ibid. can. 7. col. 759.]

[2 But it, Repl. 2.] [3 Soil, Repl. 1 and 2.] [4 There, Repl. 2.]

[5 Εἴπερ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν χρή, τυραννίδος πέρι
κάλλιστον ἀδικεῖν, τἄλλα δ' εὐσεβεῖν χρεών.
Eurip. Phœn. 524, 5.]

[6 "Here I leave it to the reader to consider whether by this which he calleth 'derision' I have broken the head of his cause; so that, if it could, it would weep."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 15.]

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warfare, market affairs, merchandise, huckster's craft, the oversight of inns, taverns, and baths; to exercise unliberal crafts, as to dig metals and stones, to burn lime, to carry sand, to be scavengers, and such like[7]." You have not yet proved that God's order is broken if the civil offices which I speak of be committed to ecclesiastical persons. Your jesting taunts I leave to those that profess that cunning. Civil offices in ministers.

Chapter iii. The Second Division.

T. C. Page 169, Sect. 2.

For, whereas he saith it is a help, and maintaineth religion, indeed that is the reason of the papists, which M. Calvin confuteth in his Institution[8].

Lib. iv. cap. 11.

And, although it be good and necessary to punish vice and iniquity by corporal punishments and by civil corrections, yet it doth no more follow that that should be done by the ministers, than it followeth that for that preaching, and ministering the sacraments, and excommunication, are good and necessary, therefore the same is fit to be executed by the civil magistrate. I grant the ministers have also to punish vice; for, as the civil magistrates punish lighter faults with some penalty of money or loss of member, so the church, and the minister especially with the church, hath to punish faults by reprehensions and rebukes. And, as the civil magistrate punisheth greater faults by death, so the minister, with other which have interest, hath with the sword of excommunication power to kill those which be rebellious, and to cut them from the church, as the other doth from the commonwealth. And, if it be a help to the minister's office, that he should meddle with civil punishments, why should it not be a help unto the magistrate's office that he should excommunicate, and do other things pertaining to the ecclesiastical discipline?

JO. WHITGIFT.

In what words doth M. Calvin "confute it," or by what reason? You cut off the matter very short: in that book and chapt. of his *Instit.* which you have quoted in the margent, there is no such reason either alleged or confuted. Only in the 9. section he speaketh against the temporal dominion of

[7 Altera pars est, Rejectio omnium eorum vitæ præsentis negotiorum, quæ impedimentum adferant sacris ministeriis legitime obeundis, &c....Ejusmodi negotia sunt, militia, occupationes fori, mercatura, institoria negotia, præesse cauponis, œnopoliis, balneis, vacare operibus sordidis, ut fodiendis metallis, lapidibus, coquendæ calci, conferendæ arenæ, purgandis viis, et similibus operibus.—M. Bucer. Prælect. in Epist. ad Ephes. Basil. 1562. cap. iv. p. 129.]

[8 Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Inst. Lib. iv. cap. xi. Tom. IX. pp. 324, &c. Through the greater part of this chapter Calvin is arguing against papal abuses.]

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Civil offices in ministers.

the popish bishops, which derive their excessive power not from the civil magistrate, but from the pope, cloaking it with this pretence, that it is an "ornament and beauty to the kingdom of Christ[1];" which is far from anything alleged by me, why it is convenient that our bishops have civil authority committed unto them.

It is not so lawful for the prince to preach, &c., as for a minister to use corporal punishment.

I would gladly hear a reason, either of the scripture or any other authentical writer, why it should be as lawful for a civil magistrate to preach, minister the sacraments, and excommunicate, as for the ecclesiastical minister to use corporal punishment: it was lawful for Samuel to kill Agag, being the office of Saul; but it was not lawful for Saul to offer up sacrifices, that being the office of Samuel. The office and function of a minister is not in his own power to commit to whom he list; but the office of the civil magistrate may be committed to whomsoever it shall please him best to like of, and to think most fit for government[2].

1 Sam. xv.

1 Sam. [x.] iii.

Excommunication not the only punishment used in the church.

True it is that excommunication is an ecclesiastical censure which the minister may exercise if the state of the church will bear it (for reprehension is a discipline lawful for every Christian to use), but it is not the only censure; for the civil magistrate may appoint other, as shall be to the state of the church most convenient. You know what M. Gualter saith,

Gualter.

1 Cor. v.: "As the Roman bishops, upon this place, and such like, have grounded their excommunication, which is the most effectual instrument of their tyranny, whereby they have cruelly vexed not only private men, but also kings and emperors, and have been the causes of civil wars and sedition; even so the anabaptists, whilst they persuade themselves that there can be no discipline without excommunication, they trouble the churches everywhere, and make themselves laughing-stocks to all the world, &c. Let every church follow that kind of discipline which is most meet for the country wherein they live, and which may be most commodious in respect of time and place; and let no man here rashly prescribe unto another, or seek to bind all men to one and the same form[3]."

[1 At vero, qua sunt pervicacia, jactare non dubitant, sic pro dignitate florere gloriam regni Christi, nec se interim nimium abstrahi a vocationis suæ partibus. &c.—Id. ibid. 9. p. 326.]

[2 "... an endeavour of too open flattery, at the least it is too loosely spoken."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 18.]

[3 Ut enim Romani pontifices ex hoc loco et similibus excommunicationem

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Of old time there hath been other kind of punishments than either reprehensions or excommunication; as it may appear even in that canon attributed to the apostles which you have before rehearsed[4]; where the punishment appointed is deprivation; as it is also in the most of the other canons, and in divers other councils. Civil offices in ministers.

You say that, "if it be a help to the minister's office that he should meddle with the civil punishments, why should it not be a help to the magistrate's office that he should excommunicate? &c." The answer is soon made. The magistrate may do that by corporal punishment that the minister cannot do by ecclesiastical discipline; neither is there any man so desperate whom the magistrate by his authority may not bridle; but such is the time now that few regard the greatest censures of the church.

Chapter iii. The Third Division.

T. C. Page 169, Sect. 2.

And, whereas M. Doctor saith they may not be husbandmen, craftsmen, &c., and yet may have civil offices, I think far otherwise, that, although neither be lawful, yet the one were more tolerable than the other. For, seeing, after the ministry of the word, there is no calling under the sun weightier, and which requireth greater exercise of the mind, than the office of the magistrate, it is against all reason to lay this heavy burden upon a man that is already loaden, and hath as much as he is able to bear. It were more equal, if they will needs add unto the weight of this burden, to lay some lighter charge of exercising a handicraft, than to break his back with the charge of a civil magistrate.

Jo. Whitgift.

These worldly affairs of husbandry, occupations, &c., must needs withdraw him from his book, and so make him more unapt to do his duty; and they be not at all incident to his

suam instituerunt, quæ tyrannidis ipsorum organum fuit efficacissimum, quo non privatos modo homines, verumetiam reges et imperatores crudeliter vexarunt, bellorum denique civilium et seditionum fuerunt auctores: ita anabaptistæ dum disciplinam absque excommunicatione consistere non posse sibi persuadent, ecclesias passim turbant, et seipsos toti mundo ridiculos præbent, &c. Eam vero disciplinæ rationem &c.—R. Gualther. Hom. in prior. ad Corinth. Epist. Tigur. 1588. Hom. xxiv. fol. 65. 2. See Vol. I. page 187, note 5.]

[4 Can. Apost. can. 80. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 44. See before, page 430, note 4.]

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Civil offices in ministers.

office, nor meet for his calling; but the civil offices that I speak of be both meet for his calling, pertaining to discipline, and helps to his office and function, as I have said; wherefore they be so far from "breaking his back," that they make the rest of his burden a great deal the easier.

Chapter iii. The Fourth Division.

T. C. Page 169, Sect. 3.

And, whereas in the policy of M. Doctor it seemeth a furtherance to the gospel to join these together, which was also the policy of the idolaters (as I have before declared), in the wisdom of God it hath seemed far otherwise; which I doubt not did therefore separate the ministry from this pomp, which is commendable in the civil magistrate, lest the efficacy and power of the simplicity of the word of God, and of the ministry, should be obscured, whilst men would attribute the conversion of souls unto the gospel (due unto the word and to the Spirit of God) to these glorious shews; and lest, whilst the minister have the word in one hand and the sword in the other, men should not be able to judge so well in their consciences of the mighty operation of the word of God in them. For they might doubt with themselves whether the fear and outward shew of the minister carried some stroke with them in believing the word.

JO. WHITGIFT.

One of your reasons contained in this place in effect is this: If ministers should enjoy civil functions, "men would attribute the conversion of souls unto these shews;" but that ought they not to do; therefore, &c. I deny your major as a fond and vain imagination. Another reason you frame on this sort: "If the minister have both civil and ecclesiastical power, men should not be able to judge in their consciences of the mighty operation of the word of God in them; for they might doubt whether the fear of the outward shew of the minister carried some stroke with them &c." This is as vain an imagination as is the other; and they both may as aptly be applied against the authority of the civil magistrate, as against the civil jurisdiction of the minister; yea, indeed they serve to the overthrow of all kind of civil punishment. For, if the magistrate make sharp laws for coming to the church, hearing the word of God, contemning religion, and such like, men that by such means are driven to hear the word of God, &c., and so at the length converted, may doubt whether the word hath wrought this in them, or the fear of outward

The Replier's argument smiteth as well at the civil magistrate as at the ecclesiastical.

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punishment. Do you not mark how he still smiteth at the magistrate? Perceive you not how near he approacheth to the opinion of the anabaptists, who would have no kind of discipline in the church but only excommunication? Civil offices in ministers.

But to answer you briefly, God useth corporal punishments as a means to drive even the elect to the hearing of the word of God, and to honesty of life. He useth it also to bridle the wicked, that by their examples other men might learn to beware, and that they themselves also may be kept in order. And no man that is truly converted by the preaching of the word can doubt but that God, by the working of his Spirit, through the ministry of his word, hath wrought that good in him, though by external means (as fear of punishment, and such like) he was first, as it were, enforced to hear the word, and to keep himself in order. Indeed, if these reasons of yours were of any force, the magistrate might put up his sword, especially in ecclesiastical matters; and so might the minister lay aside his authority also, lest anything be ascribed thereunto. Your glance, that "this was also the policy of the idolaters," though you have nowhere proved it, yet have I answered it before. God useth corporal punishment as a means to salvation.

Chapter iii. The Fifth Division.

T. C. Page 169, Sect. ult.

But M. Doctor saith that "civil offices are not to be counted worldly affairs, but heavenly and spiritual:" it is so; and yet, when they are compared with the ecclesiastical offices, they may be called secular offices, forsomuch as they, together with the care of religion, procure and provide for the things whereby we may quietly and commodiously live here, where the ecclesiastical offices are immediately and only bent to procure the glory of God and the salvation of men; and, in that signification of heavenly and spiritual which you take, merchandise, husbandry, and the handicraft be heavenly, and spiritual, although not in the same degree. All lawful callings came from God, and return to him again, that is, he is both author of them, and they ought to be referred to his glory, so that, if the minister may exercise all things which be heavenly and spiritual, you may as well bring him down to the plough as promote him to the court.

Jo. Whitgift.

I call them ecclesiastical, because they pertain to the inward man, to the reformation of manners, to the punishment The civil jurisdiction now used is

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Civil offices in ministers.

In some respect ecclesiastical.

of sin, to the maintenance of religion, to the quietness of the church, and good order in the same: so do not all civil offices, much less "husbandry, merchandise, handicrafts, going to the plough, and such like," which only pertain to the body and to this life, not being referred to the ends that I have before named. Wherefore here your wits failed you; and I look for a better answer.

Chapter iii. The Sixth Division.

T. C. Page 170, Line 6.

And, whereas M. Doctor saith that "the office of a commissioner is ecclesiastical, because it handleth ecclesiastical causes," I marvel that he is so ignorant, that he cannot put a difference between giving judicial sentences, and appointing bodily punishments (which are mere civil), and between the understanding the truth of every such cause according as the word of God defineth of it; which is a thing common as well unto the magistrate as unto the minister, and wherein the minister, because he ought to be most ready, ought (if need be) consulted with.

JO. WHITGIFT.

Surely I think you scarce understand yourself; for, if the causes be ecclesiastical, why may not the punishment by the magistrate appointed unto them be executed by ecclesiastical persons having authority from the prince by commission so to do? and, if the ecclesiastical person may give sentence and judgment in these ecclesiastical causes, why may he not consent also to the punishments appointed for the same? I do not mean he should be the jailor or tormentor himself, but to judge the person offending worthy of this or that kind of punishment, and to give sentence of the crime that he hath committed, and to determine of the cause that is called into judgment.

Chapter iii. The Seventh Division.

T. C. Page 170, Sect. 1.

Another of M. Doctor's reasons is that, "as kings do serve Christ by making laws for him, so bishops do serve Christ by executing laws for him;" as though it pertained not unto the magistrates to execute laws as well as to make them, and as if the magistrate were not therefore called a speaking law, because by executing them he doth cause the laws after a fashion to

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speak. This is to divide the stake of the magistrate between him and the bishop, yea, to give the bishop the best part of it. For we know that with us the people be at making of the laws, which may not meddle with the execution of them. And, if M. Doctor say that he meaneth not hereby to shut the prince from executing the laws, then as his similitude (when it is at the best) proveth nothing, so by this means it halts downright, and is no similitude.

Civil offices in ministers.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

The prince executeth his laws by himself; and he also executeth them by other, to whom he hath given that authority for the fuller and better execution of them: in this number are the bishops; for the authority they have in such matters they have from the prince; and therefore their executing of it is not "to divide stake with the civil magistrate," but to do good service both to God and the magistrate.

Chapter iii. The Eighth Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 217, Sect. 1, 2.

What say you to Eli and Samuel? were they not both priests and judges? what office did the prophet Elias execute when he killed the false prophets of Baal, 1 *Reg. xviii.*, or Christ, when he whipped the buyers and sellers out of the temple? what office did Paul commit to Timothy, when he said, *Adversus presbyterum &c.?*

Samuel priest and judge.

Timothy a judge [1].

I would not have a minister to be a warrior, or a farmer, or a merchant, or have any such like office, which consisteth in gain or bodily labour only. But why he may not have such an office as is profitable to increase godliness and punish ungodliness, I hear as yet no reason. As for the office of an high commissioner, it is ecclesiastical, for they have to do only in causes ecclesiastical.

[* But, to the intent you may understand your folly in this assertion, I purpose to prove, by good authority of the scriptures and other ancient fathers, that both civil and ecclesiastical offices may well concur in one and the self-same person.

And first I will begin with the old testament; for I remember that Zuinglius, in his book *De Seditionum*

[1 This note is inserted from Answ. 2.]

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Civil offices in ministers.

Auctoribus, among other necessary and profitable rules, doth give this for one: "If there be any controversy about external ceremonies, which have been from time to time continued, and there is no evident testimony in the new testament to determine the same, according to our Saviour Christ's saying, we must search the writings of Moses and the prophets, lest he say unto us as he did to the unlearned Sadducees, 'Ye err, not knowing the scriptures.' Matt. xxii. Wherefore we must gather out of the word of God what we ought to do; and yet so that the circumstances of the matter be well considered; as we have elsewhere declared touching the differences of meats. But these things may be made more manifest by examples. The use of matrimony as it is perpetual, so is it necessary; but by what means it is to be contracted the new testament doth nowhere declare; therefore we must resort to the xviii. of Leviticus, &c.[1]" Hitherto Zuinglius.

But I have authority sufficient for my purpose out of both the testaments. And, first, my testimonies out of the old testament be these. Melchisedech, which was a priest, was also king of Salem; as appeareth in the xiv. of Genesis, and therefore had both jurisdictions in his own hand. Aaron, being priest, did judge the whole people in temporal matters, even in causes of inheritance. Numb. xxvii. In the xvii. of Deut. it is thus written: "If there rise a matter too hard for thee in judgment, between blood and blood, between plea and plea, between plague and plague, in the matters of controversy within thy gates; then shalt thou arise, and go up unto

[1 Tertio, si quando de externis ceremoniis, quas nulla temporis vetustas abolere potest, controversia sit, nec ullum aliquod in novo testamento expressum et evidens Dei oraculum invenire liceat, quod de illis diserte pronuntiet, juxta Christi Salvatoris sententiam Mosis et prophetarum scripta scrutari convenit, ne forte idem ille cum imperita Sadducæorum turba nos quoque increpet dicens, Erratis non intelligentes scripturas, Matth. 22. Quapropter ex divini verbi oraculis, quidnam nobis faciendum sit, colligere decet, sic tamen ut omnes rei circumstantiæ probe expendantur: quemadmodum de ciborum delectu alibi a nobis disputatum est. Sed ut evidentiora sint omnia, etiam hoc loco exemplum adducere libet. Matrimonii usus ut perpetuus sic etiam necessarius est. Quibus rationibus autem idem hoc contrahi debeat, novi testamenti oracula nusquam exprimunt. Levitici ergo cap. 18. adeundum est, &c.—H. Zvingl. Op. Tigur. 1581. De Sedit. Auth. Lib. Pars II. fol. 134.]

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the place which the Lord thy God shall choose; and thou shalt come to the priests of the Levites, and unto the judge that shall be in those days, and ask; and they shall shew thee the sentence of judgment. &c." Samuel, which was both prophet and priest, did of long time judge the people in matters temporal. So did Hely likewise; as it is before declared. The people of Israel in their captivity were altogether ruled by the priests and prophets, as by Esdras, and Nehemias, Mathatia. &c. I omit many other places and examples. These may sufficiently prove that in the old testament it was no strange thing for ecclesiastical persons to have civil jurisdiction. The same may appear also in the new testament, by the example of Christ, before of me noted, and the words of Paul to Timothy, 1 Tim. v. *Adversus presbyterum accusationem &c.* For these words, "accusation," "witnesses," &c., pertain to civil jurisdiction. There be many other places to the same effect, that I omit for brevity's sake. It is manifest that a bishop may exercise the same in the church that he doth in his private family. For St Paul saith: *Qui propriæ domui præesse non novit &c.* But in his house he doth exercise civil jurisdiction; *ergo*, he may do the same in the church. Civil offices in ministers.

St Augustine, in his book *De Opere Monachorum, ca. xxix.*, sheweth that it was the custom of the church where he was, that the bishop should have the hearing of secular causes; where also he declareth his pains taken in the same, and how troublesome a thing it was unto him, adding these words: *Quibus nos molestiis idem affixit apostolus, non utique suo, sed ejus qui in eo loquebatur arbitrio, &c.*[2]: "To the which affairs the apostle hath bound us, not after his own judgment, but according to his will that did speak in him, &c.;" and so declareth that, although the apostles themselves were not troubled with such business, because they did not remain in one place, yet they committed them to such pastors as remained in one certain place. The words of Augustine be plain, and, although he seem to com-

[2 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Op. Monach. cap. xxix. 37. Tom. VI. col. 499. See below, page 451, note 5.]

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Civil offices in ministers.

plain of the multitude of such business in the respect of himself, yet doth he acknowledge the same to be lawful, just, and convenient. And therefore he addeth and saith: *Quem tamen laborem non sine consolatione Domini suscipimus pro spe vitæ æternæ, ut fructum feramus cum tolerantia. Servi enim sumus ejus ecclesiæ, &c.*[1]: "The which labour we take in hand not without the comfort of the Lord, for the hope of eternal life, that we may bring forth fruit with patience; for we are servants unto that church, &c." And a little after he saith that he "could not omit those business without the omitting of his duty[2]." And in his ex. epistle it appeareth how he was occupied in the like matters[3].

Certain it is that such civil offices as appertain to the correction of sin, to the maintenance of peace, and the credit of the ministry, and the building of the church, be also incident to ecclesiastical persons, and in all well-ordered churches ever have been. As for warlike matters, servile or worldly occupations, and such like, be not meet for bishops; as I have said before.*][4]

T. C. Page 170, Sect. 1.

As for Eli and Samuel, they are extraordinary examples, which may thereby appear, for that both these offices first meeting in Melchisedech, and afterward in Moses, were by the commandment of God severed, when as the Lord took from Moses (being so wise and godly a man) the priesthood, and gave it to Aaron, and to his successors. And so, forsomuch as, when the Lord would polish his church and make it famous and renowned in the world, he gave this order, it appeareth that he would have this to be a perpetual rule unto his church. And by so much it is the clearer, for that the Lord did not tarry until Moses' death, but took the priesthood away from Moses; which was a man as able to execute both as either Eli or Samuel.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

It is doubtful whether Moses were priest.

It is not certain whether Moses were ever priest or no;

[1 Quem &c. ecclesiæ, et maxime infirmioribus membris, qualialibet in eodem corpore membra simus.—Id. ibid. cols. 499, 500.]

[2 ... quando quidem si officii nostri salva ratione possemus,...mallemus hæc agere, quæ ut agatis hortamur, quam ea quæ nos agere cogimur.—Id. ibid. col. 500.]

[3 Id. Act. Ecclesiast. seu Epist. ccxiii. 5. Tom. II. col. 790. See below, page 452, note 4.]

[4 The paragraphs between brackets are introduced from Answ. 2.]

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for, where it is said in the xcix. psalm, *Moses et Aaron in sacerdotibus ejus*, the Hebrew word is doubtful, and signifieth as well a prince as a priest; and therefore upon this place it cannot necessarily be concluded that Moses was a priest[5]. Moreover, at that time the chief rulers and men of greatest authority were called priests; but you never read that Moses offered up any sacrifices for sin, which was the proper office of the priest; neither can you tell us where he was ever consecrated priest. Indeed, Harding against the Apology doth allege this example of Moses, being, as he saith, both a civil magistrate and a priest, to prove that the pope may be both king and priest[6]. Civil offices in ministers.

But be it as you say, that these two offices were distinguished in Moses and Aaron, and that the priest's office, which consisteth in offering oblations and sacrifices, was taken from him, yet did he keep still his former authority in governing the church, and in prescribing to Aaron what he should do, even in matters pertaining to the worship of God; so that these two offices (I mean civil and ecclesiastical) are not so distinct, but that they may both aptly and well meet and join together. Furthermore, you know that, howsoever the priesthood and civil magistracy were divided in Moses and Aaron, yet met they both together again not only in Eli and Samuel, but in Esdras, Nehemias[7], Mattathias, and some other; which examples prove that upon occasion these offices may meet together in one person, and they quite overthrow your allegation of Moses. Civil and ecclesiastical offices met in one.

Chapter iii. The Ninth Division.

T. C. Page 170, Sect. 1.

And this may be also easily seen, for that in a manner always, where there was any good and staid estate of the church, these offices were ministered by several persons, and then met and were mingled when the estates were very ruinous and miserable. And, if this be a good reason to prove that ministers may exercise civil offices, it is as good a reason to

[5 Cartwright rejoins, "that Moses did the office of the sacrificer is certain;" and cites for proof Exod. xxiv. 6, 8; and Exod. xxix. 13.—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 21.]

[6 Bp Jewel's Works, Park. Soc. Edit. Vol. IV. pp. 981, 2.]

[7 "... Nehemias, of whom there is not a step of likelihood that he 'exercised both the offices.'"—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 21.]

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Civil offices in ministers.

prove that princes may preach and minister the sacraments. For, if the ministers may exercise civil offices, because Eli and Samuel (being ministers) did so, the princes and judges may preach the word and minister the sacraments, because Eli and Samuel (being princes and judges) did so. And so we see how M. Doctor, going about to defend one confusion, bringeth in another.

JO. WHITGIFT.

T. C. confesseth the ground of all these controversies.

Here you confess that which hitherto in your whole book you have denied, and that which is indeed the whole ground of the chief matters in controversy, that is, that the government of the church may be diverse according to the diversity of the time and state of the same; as in the time of persecution it may be otherwise governed than in time of peace, otherwise when the state is established than when it is ruinous and in decay; for say you: "In a manner always, where there was any good and staid estate of the church, these offices were ministered by several persons, and then met and were mingled when the estates were very ruinous."

Thus have you granted of your own accord that which hitherto you have so stiffly and stoutly denied; such is the might and force of the truth. And yet the church was in good state all Samuel's time, and the most part of Eli's also, for anything that I can read to the contrary.

The state of the controversy altered by the Replier.

I brought in those examples to prove that these offices have met together, and therefore be not so diverse as you would make them. I do not use them to this end, that I would have a priest to be a king: you know the state of our question is only whether bishops may exercise those civil functions of justiceship of peace, and such like, which the prince committeth unto them, or no; and not whether they may sit in the prince's throne, and take her sceptre out of her hand, whether she will or no; as the pope doth. And therefore, whereas you say that, by these examples of Eli and Samuel, I may as well conclude that "princes may preach the word and minister the sacraments, as priests and ministers execute civil offices," I think you do not consider that these civil offices be but accidents to the priesthood, and therefore may well be removed, as they were from Samuel when Saul was chosen king; for Samuel kept his priesthood though he lost his civil authority; but the priesthood is not so to the civil magistrate, except he will be ordinarily and lawfully

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admitted thereunto[1]. I think that there is no degree of dignity that maketh a man unmeet for the ministry, if he be thereunto lawfully called, and have other gifts meet for the same; wherefore, as it followeth not that a minister in the respect that he is a minister ought to have a civil office, but that he may have one if he be by the civil magistrate thereunto appointed, so it doth not follow that a civil magistrate ought to be a minister of the word, but that he may be if he be meet and thereunto ordinarily and lawfully called and admitted. The priest may not take upon him the office of the civil magistrate, unless he be called lawfully unto it; nor the civil magistrate may not take upon him the office of a priest, unless he be ordinarily thereunto admitted. And this is no "confusion" at all.

Civil offices in ministers.

Chapter iii. The Tenth Division.

T. C. Page 170, Sect. 2.

As for Elias killing the false prophets, and our Saviour Christ's whipping out of the temple, it is strange that M. Doctor will allege them as things to be followed, when he may as well teach that we may call for fire from heaven, as Elias did, and being demanded answer nothing, as our Saviour did, as to follow these actions; which are most singular and extraordinary. And, if these one or two examples be enough to break the order that God hath set, by this a man may prove that the ministers John xxi. 3. Acts xviii. 3. *may be fishers and tent-makers, because Peter and Paul (being ministers) did fish and make tents. And truly these are not so extraordinary, and from the general rule, as the other be. And it was* Tom. iii. Conc. Nicæ. ca. 15. *permitted in a council, that, rather than a minister should have two benefices, he might labour with his hands to supply his want withal*[3].

JO. WHITGIFT.

Yet by these examples, and especially by the examples of Christ, it may appear that ecclesiastical persons have used corporal punishments, which you call civil. I know examples make no rule; and therefore all your arguments out of the

[1 "...than which what can be more confusedly spoken?"—Ibid. p. 22.]

[2 These references are introduced from Repl. 2.]

[3 Κληρικὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ παρόντος μὴ καταστασσέσθω ἐν δυσὶν ἐκκλησίαις·... πρὸς δὲ τὴν τοῦ βίου τούτου χρείαν ἐπιτηδεύματά εἰσι διάφορα· ἐξ αὐτῶν εἴ τις βούλοιτο, τὰ χρειώδη τοῦ σώματος πορίζέσθω.—Concil. Nic. II. Act. VIII. can. 15. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VII. col. 609.]

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Civil offices in ministers.

scriptures, alleged before to prove that the election of ministers ought to be popular, receive the same answer that you give to me in this place; and yet examples, if they be not against any commandment, or good order established, declare what hath been, and what upon the like occasions may be done, but not what of necessity ought to be done. If you can prove any order of God set down, that an ecclesiastical person may by no means exercise any civil offices, I yield unto you: if you cannot do it, then do I allege no examples tending "to the breaking of any order that God hath set." I know not why the ministers of the gospel may not do as Peter and Paul did upon the like occasion. And therefore your alleging of that corrupt council of Nice (which notwithstanding you have not truly alleged) is not necessary. I have spoken of that canon before, and therefore will not trouble the reader with it now, being from this purpose.

Chapter iii. The Eleventh Division.

T. C. Page 170, Sect. 2, 3.

When St Paul willed Timothy that he should not receive an accusation against an elder, under two or three[1] *witnesses, he did commit nothing less than any civil office unto him. And M. Doctor himself hath alleged it before, as a thing incident to the office of a bishop; and therefore he doth forget himself marvellously now, that maketh this a civil office.*

And doth M. Doctor think that St Paul made magistrates? Or is he of that judgment that the church, in the time of persecution, may make civil officers? But it is true that he, that is once over the shoes, sticketh not to run over his boots.

Jo. Whitgift.

The jurisdiction of Timothy in some respect civil.

I alleged it before to prove the superiority of bishops over other ministers: now I do allege it to prove that the same bishops may exercise that jurisdiction which you call civil; for, in that the judgment of such causes were committed unto him, it argueth his superiority: in that there is named accusers and witnesses, it declareth a kind of civil jurisdiction, to the which those words do pertain. So that Timothy being an ecclesiastical person had prescribed unto him that kind of proceeding to judgment that may be called civil[2].

[1 Thee, Def. B.]

[2 Cartwright on this accuses Whitgift of contradicting what he had said before, "that the 'ministers could not exercise any civil jurisdiction in time of

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Civil offices in ministers.

Chapter iii. The Twelfth Division.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 218, Sect. 1.

It pleaseth you to say that it is against God's word for bishops to have prisons; but your margent is very barren of proofs; for you have not quoted one place of scripture to prove it: only you say that popish Eugenius did first bring them in; which is a very slender argument to prove them to be against the word of God. Did not Peter punish Ananias and Saphira very straitly for their dissimulation? Surely far more grievously than if he had put them in prison; and yet their offence was not against any ordinary law made in the church or commonweal. But where read you that Eugenius did first invent them[3]?

T. C. Page 170, Sect. ult.

And, last of all, to prove that bishops may have prisons, he citeth Peter which punished Ananias and Saphira with death. M. Doctor must understand that this was ecclesiastical power, and was done by virtue of that function which St Paul calleth δύναμιν, which is one of those functions that the Lord placeth[5] in his church for a time. But is this a good argument: Because St Peter punished with the word, therefore the minister may punish with the sword? And, because St Peter did so once, therefore the bishop may do so alway? And, because St Peter did that which appertaineth to no civil magistrate, and which no civil magistrate by any means may or can do, therefore the minister may do that which appertaineth unto the civil magistrate? For, if there had been a civil magistrate, the same could not have punished this fault of dissimulation, which was not known, nor declared itself by any outward action. So that, if this example prove anything, it proveth that the minister may do that no man may do, but the Lord only, which is to punish faults that are hid and unknown. If this be ignorance, it is very gross; and, if it be against knowledge, it is more dangerous. I have determined with myself to leave unto M. Doctor his outcries and declamations; and, if I should have used them as often as he giveth occasion, there would be no end of writing. The Lord give M. Doctor either better knowledge or better conscience.

1 Cor. xii. 28.[4]

persecution'" (see before, page 430); and adds: "Thus, like a wind-shaken reed, he never standeth in one sentence."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 24.]

[3 This sentence is placed, in Answ. 2, before that beginning, *Did not Peter.*]

[4 The verse is added from Repl. 2: Repl. 1 has 1 *Cor. xi.*]

[5 Placed, Repl. 1 and 2.]

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Jo. Whitgift.

Ministers may use temporal punishment.

I use this example of Peter, to shew that it is not against God's word for the ministers of the gospel to punish any by imprisonment; for Peter being a minister of the gospel did punish with death, which is much more than to imprison; and, as Peter did this lawfully by an extraordinary power, so may the ministers of the word punish by imprisonment, which is far[1] less kind of punishment, being lawfully thereunto authorized by the civil magistrate, according to the orders of the commonwealth and state of the church. Therefore my reason is this: Peter punished with temporal punishment, being a minister of the word, and he did nothing repugnant to his vocation; therefore it is not repugnant to the office of a minister of the word to punish with temporal punishment. Again: Peter punished with death; therefore the minister may punish with imprisonment: I speak *de facto:* "of the deed done," not *de modo:* "of the manner of doing it." And I doubt not but that, seeing it was lawful for Peter to kill by an especial and extraordinary power, so it may be lawful for the minister of the word to imprison by an usual and ordinary power[2]. And so are all your collections made in vain, and framed according to your own pleasure, not to my meaning. If you have done it of ignorance, you are to be excused; if of set purpose, you are to be blamed.

Peter's punishing of Ananias was by civil jurisdiction.

And, whereas you say that "M. Doctor must understand that this was ecclesiastical power," I say, on the other side, that you must understand that this was not ecclesiastical but mere civil; which you might have learned of M. Beza, in divers places of his book *De Hæreticis a Magistratu pun.* For

Beza de Hæret. a Magist. puniendis.

thus he writeth: *Cedo igitur, Christus quo jure flagellum bis corripuit? quo jure Petrus Ananiam et Saphiram occidit? quo jure Paulus Elymam excœcavit? Num ecclesiastici ministerii? minime profecto; nisi jurisdictiones confundas. Ergo civilis magistratus jure: Nihil enim est tertium*[3]*:* "Tell me therefore by what law did Christ take the whip in hand twice? by what law did Peter kill Ananias

[1 Is a far, Def. A.]

[2 Cartwright accuses Whitgift of borrowing from Pighius, and says that "he answereth nothing, but, taking up the carcase of his argument, instead of burying of it, assayeth to blow life into it, &c."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. pp. 24, &c.)

[3 Th. Bezæ De Hæret. a civil. Magist. pun. Libell. Par. 1554. p. 123. pp. 102, 245, &c.]

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and Saphira? by what right did Paul strike Elymas with blindness? did they those things by the right of the ecclesiastical ministry? no truly, except you will confound jurisdictions. They did it therefore by the right of civil magistracy; for there is no mean." And to the same purpose doth he speak sundry times in that book. Civil offices in ministers.

What "outcries" I have used, or "declamations" which you have not in ample manner requited, adding to the same all opprobrious kind of speeches and jesting taunts that you could devise, let the indifferent reader judge; wherefore I heartily wish unto you both better knowledge and better conscience.

Chapter iii. The Thirteenth Division.

T. C. Page 171, Sect. 1.

Unto M. Doctor asking where it appeareth that pope Eugenius brought in prisons into the church, as also unto the three[4] *or four such like demands which he maketh in this book, the authors of the Admonition answer at once, that this and the other are found in Pantaleon, and M. Bale's Chronicles*[5].

Jo. WHITGIFT.

What authors do they allege for them? for both these be but very late writers; and this is a matter of history, and therefore requireth some great antiquity nearer unto the time of Eugenius, who lived *anno* 650. But you know very well that our bishops claim not this authority by any constitution or canon of the pope; neither do they exercise it in their own name, but they have it from the prince, and in her name and by her authority do they use it[6].

[4 Unto three, Repl. 1 and 2.]

[5 J. Balei Act. Rom. Pont. 1560. Eugen. I. p. 69; H. Pantaleon. Chronogr. Christ. Eccles. Basil. 1561. p. 54. See before, page 405, note 4.]

[6 "Here Pantaleon and M. Bale are rejected as insufficient to make report of Eugenius' doings, which was 'so long before their time;' and yet Erasmus is stoutly upholden for reporting Titus to have been an archbishop (see Vol. II. pages 132, &c.), albeit Titus was 600 years before Eugenius."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 26.]

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Civil offices in ministers.

Chapter iii. The Fourteenth Division.

Bishop of Sarum[1].

Ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction confounded in Moses.

Augustine heareth civil causes.

Both these governments were confounded in Moses; therefore they may be confounded. And the priests of Israel had the judgment and government of the people. And St Augustine was troubled with hearing and determining of causes; as it appeareth by Possidonius[2]. And, where you say "to be a chief or a ruler is a civil government;" nay, in ecclesiastical causes it is ecclesiastical government, and not civil. And these differences of government may not so unadvisedly be confounded. This is the key of ecclesiastical correction, and belongeth only to the ecclesiastical officer, and to none other. Hereof St Paul saith: *Seniorem ne corripueris nisi sub &c. Tradidi illum Satanæ, &c.* This jurisdiction is not civil, but ecclesiastical, and therefore may be exercised by an ecclesiastical person.

T. C. Page 171, Sect. 1, 2.

Here I will take in that which the bishop of Sarisbury hath in the last page of his half-sheet touching this matter.

And first of all I well agree that he saith, that to give unto Satan (which is to excommunicate and to correct an ecclesiastical person by reprehension, or putting him out of the ministry, if the cause[3] so require) is mere ecclesiastical, and not civil; and that those things ought to be done of the officers of the church. This only I deny, that the ministers ought to meddle with civil offices. For proof whereof, the bishop allegeth the example of Augustine, which, as Possidonius writeth, was troubled with the hearing and determining of causes. Wherein Possidonius saith nothing but that I willingly agree unto. For the minister with the elders ought both to hear and determine of causes, but of such causes as pertain unto their knowledge; whereof I have spoken before. And that Possidonius meant such causes as belonged unto Augustine, as he was a minister, and not of civil affairs, it appeareth by that which he writeth immediately after, where he saith: "Being also consulted of by certain in their worldly affairs, he wrote epistles to divers, but he accounted of this, as of compulsion, and restraint from his better businesses[4]." Whereby it appeareth that St Augustine

[1 See Vol. II. page 358; where this has appeared before, without the marginal notes found here.]

[2 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. August. Vit. auct. Possid. cap. xix. Tom. X. Post-Append. cols. 270, 1.]

[3 Case, Repl. 1 and 2.]

[4 Rogatus quoque a nonnullis in eorum temporalibus caussis, epistolas ad diversos dabat. Sed hanc suam a melioribus rebus occupationem tamquam angariam deputabat, &c.—Ibid. col. 271.]

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meddled not with those worldly affairs, further than by way of giving counsel; which is not unlawful for a minister to do, as one friend unto another, so that his ministry be not thereby hindered.

Civil offices in ministers.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

What St Augustine did in such matters, and whether he were occupied in worldly matters or no, and that he was not a counsel-giver only, but also a judge, it shall best appear by his own words spoken of himself, which are so plain and evident that, after you have heard them, you will be ashamed of this answer to Possidonius, and of your former assertion also. Augustine therefore, in his book *De Opere Monachorum*, of this matter writeth thus: "Who feedeth a flock, and doth not receive of the milk of the flock? And yet I call to witness upon my soul the Lord Jesus, in whose name I do boldly speak these things, that, touching mine own commodity, I had rather every day (as it is appointed in well-ordered monasteries) to work something with my hands, and to have the other hours free, to read, and to pray, or to do something in the holy scriptures, than to suffer the tumultuous perplexities of other men's causes touching secular business, either in determining them by judging, or in cutting them off by entreating; to the which troubles the apostle hath bound us, not by his own judgment, but by the judgment of him which did speak in him; and yet he himself did not suffer these troubles; for the discourse of his apostleship was otherwise[5]." Here in plain words he declareth that it was secular business about the which he was occupied; and, although he seem to complain of the multitude of such business, yet doth he acknowledge the same to be lawful, just, and convenient, and therefore he addeth and saith: "Which labour, notwithstanding, we suffer not without the consolation of the Lord, for the hope of eternal life, that we may bring forth fruit with

Augustine judge in worldly matters.

Aug. Lib. de Opere Monac.

Augustine thinketh that the Holy Ghost hath bound bishops to civil causes.

[5 *Quis pascit gregem, et de lacte gregis non percipit?* Tamen Dominum Jesum, in cujus nomine securus hæc dico, testem invoco super animam meam, quoniam quantum adtinet ad meum commodum, multo mallem per singulos dies certis horis, quantum in bene moderatis monasteriis constitutum est, aliquid manibus operari, et ceteras horas habere ad legendum et orandum, aut aliquid de divinis litteris agendum liberas, quam tumultuosissimas perplexitates caussarum alienarum pati de negotiis sæcularibus vel judicando dirimendis vel interveniendo præcidendis: quibus nos molestiis idem affixit apostolus, non utique suo, sed ejus qui per eum loquebatur arbitrio, quas tamen ipsum perpessum fuisse non legimus. Alter enim se habebat apostolatus ejus discursus.—Id. De Op. Monach. cap. xxix. 37. Tom. VI. col. 499.]

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Civil offices in ministers.

patience; for we are servants of that church, and especially to the weaker members, what members soever we are in the same body[1]." And a little after he saith that he "could not omit those businesses[2] without the omitting of his duty[1]." To the same effect doth he speak in that treatise that is among his epistles in number an hundred and ten, where he desireth the people that they would not molest him for the space of five days with their worldly matters, by reason of certain business committed unto him; as it appeareth in these words:

Aug. epi. 110.

"It pleaseth me and you, for the care of the scriptures, which the brethren and fathers, my fellow-bishops, did vouchsafe to lay upon me in the councils of Numidia and Carthage, for the space of five days no man should trouble me. These things were propounded: you were content, your decree and consent was rehearsed: it was kept but a small time; and afterwards you did violently burst[3] in unto me; neither could I be suffered to do that which I would: in the forenoon and in the afternoon I am troubled with men's business: I desire you for Christ's sake to suffer me to commit the care of my troubles to Eradius, this young man and priest, whom this day in the name of Christ I appoint to be your bishop and my successor[4]."

Possidonius nameth no "elders," but speaketh only of Augustine; and whosoever shall with diligence peruse the nineteenth chapter of Possidonius shall be enforced to confess that he meaneth Augustine was occupied as well in civil as ecclesiastical matters, and in determining of them, as in writing of letters for them, or in giving of counsel. Wherefore this example of Augustine is most fitly alleged of the bishop of Sarum, and manifestly declareth what was the use in his days touching such matters.

[1 Id. ibid. cols. 499, 500. See before, page 442, notes 1, 2.]

[2 Businesse, Def. A.]

[3 Brust, Def. A. and B.]

[4 Placuit mihi et vobis propter curam scripturarum, quam mihi fratres et patres mei coëpiscopi duobus conciliis Numidiæ et Carthaginis imponere dignati sunt, ut per quinque dies nemo mihi molestus esset. Gesta confecta sunt, placuit, acclamastis. Recitatur placitum vestrum, et acclamationes vestræ. Parvo tempore servatum est circa me, et postea violenter irruptum est, et non permittor ad quod volo vacare. Ante meridiem et post meridiem occupationibus hominum implicor. Obsecro vos et obstringo per Christum, ut huic juveni, hoc est Eraclio presbytero, quem hodie in nomine Christi designo episcopum successorem mihi, patiamini me refundere onera occupationum mearum.—Id. Act. Ecclesiast. seu Epist. cxiii. 5. Tom. II. col. 790.]

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Chapter iii. The Fifteenth Division.

Civil offices in ministers.

T. C. Page 171, Sect. 2.

The bishop of Sarum in the Defence of the Apol. in the 5. part, 4. chap. 2. sect.[5]

And for the truth of this matter, that ministers ought not to meddle with civil affairs, I will appeal to no other than to the bishop himself, who doth affirm plainly the same that the Admonition here affirmeth.

But you shall not find him contrary to himself, as you surmise.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

In that place the bishop of Sarisbury speaketh only of the pope[6], who usurpeth the whole and full authority of a secular prince, and doth challenge the same *jure divino*: "by the authority of God's word." He speaketh not of such bishops, to whom so much civil authority is committed by the prince as may serve to the correction of vice, and good and quiet government of the church; forsomuch as he did himself exercise the same. And surely it is not well done of you, thus to charge that worthy man with contrarieties unjustly. For doth he, that confuteth the pope's unjust claim, and ungodly usurpation of both the swords in that manner that he claimeth and useth them, condemn all manner and kind of civil jurisdiction by christian princes committed to bishops, being helps unto them in doing their duty, and tending to the good and quiet government of the church? Surely you are good in confounding, but too bad in distinguishing; wherefore you have untruly reported of that worthy bishop.

M. Jewel speaketh not against civil offices in ministers simply, but allowed them by his own practice.

Chapter iii. The Sixteenth Division.

T. C. Page 171, Sect. 3.

And therefore I conclude that, forsomuch as both the holy scriptures do teach that ministers ought not to meddle with civil offices, and reason, and the practice of the church do confirm it, that they ought to keep themselves within the limits of the ministry and ecclesiastical functions, lest, whilst they break forth into the calling of a magistrate, instead of shewing themselves ἐπισκόπους, that is, "overseers," they be found to declare themselves ἀλλοτριοεπισκόπους, that is, "busy-bodies," meddling in things which belong not unto them. And thus, putting them in remembrance of that which they know well enough, that they

1 Pet. iv. 15.[7]

Where? are you not ashamed of untruth?

[5 4 chap. and 2 section, Repl. 1 and 2.]

[6 Bp. Jewel's Works, Park. Soc. Edit. Vol. IV. pp. 819, 20.]

[7 This reference is added from Repl. 1 and 2: Repl. 1 does not give the verse.]

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Civil offices in ministers. κοσμεῖν.

ought, κοσμᾶν Σπάρτην ἣν ἔλαχον, that is to say, study to adorn that charge which they take in hand, and do profess, I leave to speak any further of this matter.

JO. WHITGIFT.

The scriptures teach that ecclesiastical persons may have civil jurisdiction. Gen. xiv. Num. xxvii. Deut. xvii. 1 Sam.

Melchisedech, being a priest, did exercise civil jurisdiction, for he was king of Salem, Gen. xiv. Aaron, being a priest, did judge the whole people in temporal matters even in causes of inheritance, Numb. xxvii.[1] In the xvii. of Deuteronomy there is a commandment that civil matters of difficulty shall be referred to the priests and to the judge. Eli and Samuel, priests, did judge the people in matters temporal. The people of Israel after their captivity were governed by priests and prophets, as by Esdras, Nehemias, Mattathias. &c. The scripture in no place commandeth the contrary, nor moveth unto it; and yet you are not ashamed to say that "the holy scriptures do teach that ministers ought not to meddle with civil offices."

The practice of the church concerning civil offices in ministers.

Likewise in Augustine's time it is evident by the words before recited, that it was not strange, but usual, and counted a piece of duty, for bishops to deal in civil causes, and that as judges. The authors of the Centuries, in the fourth Centur. chap. vii., say that bishops in that age "did give sentence in civil causes, if any did appeal from the civil courts to their authority[2]." Sozomen, *Lib. i. cap.* 9, writeth thus of Constantine the emperor: "This was a great argument of his good affection towards christian religion, that he made a law for the freedom of clerks in all places, and also he gave liberty for those that were called into judgment to appeal to the bishops, if they were disposed to refuse the civil magistrates; and he commanded that their sentence should stand, and be of more force than the sentence of the other judges, even as though it had proceeded from the emperor himself. And that the magistrates and their ministers should see that accomplished that was determined and judged in such causes by the bishops[3]."

Bishops gave sentence in civil causes. Cent. iv. cap. 7.

Sozom. Lib. i. cap. 9.

Appeal granted from civil magistrates to bishops.

[1 "...it was not Aaron which was taken into that consultation, but Eleazar; unless you will have 'Aaron decide controversies' after his death."—The Rest of Sec. Repl. p. 28.]

[2 Iidem [episcopi] et in causis civilibus sententias pronunciabant, si qui a judiciis civilibus ad eorum auctoritatem appellassent.—Centur. Eccles. Basil. 1560, &c. Cent. iv. cap. vii. col. 498.]

[3 ...τεκμήριον δὲ κἀκεῖνο μέγιστον τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως περὶ τὴν θρησκείαν

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Civil offices in ministers.

Nicephorus, *Lib. vii. cap.* 9, maketh mention of one Philæas, a bishop, that was greatly commended for his wisdom and dexterity in determining civil matters committed unto him[4]. Sozomen, *Lib. vi. cap.* 32, testifieth of Epiphanius, bishop of Salamine, that together with his pastoral office he was occupied, and that with great commendation, in civil and politic affairs[5].

Niceph. Lib. VII. cap. 9. Soz. Lib. VI. c. 32. Epiphanius busied with civil causes.

Eusebius, *Lib. vii. cap.* 32., testifieth that Dorotheus, being a priest of the church of Antioch, and well learned, did serve the emperor in civil business[6].

Euseb. Lib. VII. c. 32. Dorotheus.

"Theodosius the emperor made a law, wherein it was decreed that all civil strifes and controversies should be referred to the judgment of the church, if either of the parties did desire it. And the same place did Carolus Magnus afterwards renew and confirm[7];" and yet do you say that "the practice of the church doth confirm" that bishops may "not meddle with civil offices."

Duaren. Lib. I.

If you flee to reason, is it not good reason that a bishop should have that office and that authority that may help him in doing his duty, in correcting vice, in procuring peace, in maintaining good order, in cutting off sects, schisms, and such

Some civil jurisdiction given to bishops is agreeable to reason.

αἰδοῦς· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πανταχῆ κληρικοὺς, θέσει νόμου ἀτελεῖς ἀνῆκε· τῶν δὲ ἐπισκόπων ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὴν κρίσιν ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς δικαζομένοις, ἣν βούλωνται τοὺς πολιτικοὺς ἄρχοντας παραιτεῖσθαι. κυρίαν δὲ εἶναι τὴν αὐτῶν ψῆφον, καὶ κρείττω τῆς τῶν ἄλλων δικαστῶν, ὡσανεὶ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐξενεχθεῖσαν· εἰς ἔργον δὲ τὰ κρινόμενα ἄγειν τοὺς ἄρχοντας, καὶ τοὺς διακονουμένους αὐτοῖς στρατιώτας. ἀμετατρέπτους τε εἶναι τῶν συνόδων τοὺς ὅρους.—Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. I. cap. ix. pp. 337, 8.]

[4 Πρὸς δὲ καὶ Φιλαίας ἕτερος τῆς Θμουϊτῶν ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος· ὃς ἐν λειτουργίαις ταῖς κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν ἀνηκούσαις μάλιστα διαπρέπων, ἐν φιλοσόφοις λόγοις μᾶλλον εἶχε τὸ κράτος.—Niceph. Call. Eccles. Hist. Lut. Par. 1630. Tom. I. Lib. VII. cap. ix. p. 450.]

[5 ... ὡς ἐν ὁμίλῳ γὰρ καὶ πόλει μεγάλῃ καὶ παραλίῳ ἱερωμένος, καὶ μεθ' ὅσης ἀρετῆς εἶχε πολιτικοῖς ἐμβαλὼν πράγμασιν, ἀστικοῖς καὶ ξένοις παντοδαποῖς γνώριμος ἐν ὀλίγῳ ἐγένετο.—Soz. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. VI. cap. XXXII. p. 560.]

[6 ... καθ' ὃν [Κύριλλον] Δωρόθεον πρεσβείου τοῦ κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν ἠξιωμένον τῶν τηνικάδε λόγιον ἄνδρα ἔγνωμεν.... ὡς καὶ βασιλέα διατοῦτο οἷόν τι παράδοξον, αὐτὸν οἰκειώσασθαι, καὶ τιμῆσαί γε ἐπιτροπῇ τῆς κατὰ Τύρον ἀλουργοῦ βαφῆς.—Euseb. in eod. Lib. VII. cap. XXXII. p. 232.]

[7 Non ignoro Theodosium imperatorem Romanum legem promulgasse, qua cautum erat, ut lites omnes et controversiæ forenses ad judicium ecclesiæ remitterentur, si alteruter litigatorum id postularet: Quæ lex a Carolo Magno postea renovata, confirmataque fuit.—F. Duaren. De Sacr. Eccles. Ministr. ac Benefic. Libri VIII. Lond. 1585. Lib. I. cap. ii. fol. 2. Conf. Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. XI. Quæst. i. cans. 35, 7. cols. 911, 12.]

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like? in accomplishing all which, he, that seeth not how much he is helped by such civil authority as the prince committeth unto him, is either void of reason, or wilfully blinded.

The conclusion of this matter.

Wherefore I may most justly conclude that, forsomuch as "the holy scriptures do teach" that ecclesiastical persons may "meddle with civil offices," the "practice of the church confirmeth" the same, and reason telleth that it is convenient; and, seeing that such as practice them both in the manner and form before declared "break" not "forth into any other man's calling, busy" not "themselves in things which belong not unto them," but walk in their calling, occupy themselves in matters incident unto it, and do good service both to God, their prince, and their country; these offices may very aptly concur and meet together in one person, and be profitably linked and joined together in one man. This did Augustine confess, and acknowledgeth that "the apostle hath bound them to these troubles, not by his own judgment, but by judgment of him that did speak in him[1];" as I have before declared. This have the godly bishops, Cranmer, Ridley, Hooper, &c., consented unto; this do the grave, wise, and learned bishops in our time in this church by experience know.

Bishops bound by the Holy Ghost to civil troubles.

Admonition.

The eighteenth.

And birds of the same feather are covetous patrons of benefices, parsons, vicars, readers, parish priests, stipendiaries, and riding chaplains, that under the authority of their masters spoil their flocks of the food of their souls: [a]such seek not the Lord Jesus, but their own bellies, [b]clouds that[3] are without rain, trees without fruit, [c]painted sepulchres full of dead bones, falted in all abundance of iniquity, and lean locusts in all feeling, knowledge, and sincerity.

[a] *Phi.* ii. 21.
[b] *Jude* 12.
[c] *Matt. xxiii.* 27.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 226, Sect. ult.; and 227, Sect. 1.

Covetous patrons[4].

It is true that covetous patrons of benefices be a great plague to this[5] church, and one of the principal causes of rude and ignorant ministers. God grant some speedy reformation in that point.

[1 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Op. Monach. cap. xxix. 37. Tom. VI. col. 499. See before, page 451, note 5.]

[2 Phi. xxi. 2. b., Def. A. and B.]

[3 They, Adm.]

[4 This note is not in Answ.]

[5 His, Answ. 2.]

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Neither can I excuse all parsons, vicars, &c.; but all this is spoken without the book, and therefore not fitly of you alleged against the book.

T. C. Page 171, Sect. 4.

Unto the two sections[6] *I have spoken in that which hath been said touching excommunication, canons, and prebendaries. &c. And unto that which is contained in the* 226. *and* 227, *I answer that I cannot excuse covetous patrons of benefices, but covetous parsons and vicars "be a great plague unto this church, and one of the principal causes of rude and ignorant" people.*

Jo. WHITGIFT.

I confess that the covetousness of some of them one way, and the contentiousness of some of you another way, hath done much harm in the church, and brought no small hinderance to the gospel. I pray God open the hearts of all, that every man may espy his own deformity, and be thereof ashamed.

T. C. Page 171, Sect. ult.

Likewise unto the two next sections I have answered before, in speaking against the spiritual courts which are now used, and unto the next after that in speaking of the ordaining of ministers.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

You have not answered to this contained page 233: "I will neither justify that which is amiss, nor condemn that which I know not. Only this I say, that this taunting spirit of yours seeketh rather defamation than reformation, uttereth spitefulness of stomach rather than godly zeal; for what a deriding of authority and disdain towards the same is this: 'Three of them would be enough[7] to sting a man to death: for why? they are high commissioners!' What example have you of any godly man that used thus to deride and flout magistrates? you say 'all this springeth out of that pontifical, which' you 'must allow by subscription, &c.' But it had been well if you had told us out of what part of that pontifical they spring, and how they be thereof gathered." This you pass over in silence.

Admonition.

And thus much be spoken as touching this book, against which to stand is a wonder to two sorts of men, the one ignorant, the other ob-

[6 Two next sections, Repl. 2.] [7 Inowe (i. e. enow), Answ.]

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stinate. The Lord give those that be his understanding in all things, that they may have judgment: as for the other, whom the God of this world hath blinded, lest they [f] *should see and confess the truth, and so be saved, and that do in the full growth of wickedness maliciously resist the truth, God confound them, that his peace*[1] *may be upon Israel, and his saving health upon this nation.* [*Amen*].[2]

2 Tim. ii. 7. 2 Cor. iv. 4. [f] Matt. xiii. 15.

Answer to the Admonition, Page 234, Sect. ult.

Four sorts of adversaries to the church[3].

Nay, surely, it is a wonder to wise, learned, and godly men, to see this book so painfully penned, with such advice perused, and by so long practice allowed, now to be defaced as it were with frivolous, unlearned, and unapt reasons, and that by four sorts of men, atheists, papists, and anabaptists, and, as you would be counted, puritans. God of his infinite mercy give you charitable, quiet, and thankful minds, and either convert your hearts, or root all such disturbers out of this church, that we may with one heart and mind serve our Lord God.

T. C. Page 171, Line ult.

And unto that which is contained in the latter[4] *end of the* 234, *and the beginning of the* 235, *I say that the church shall judge of the aptness or unaptness of our reasons; and, albeit we do find fault with divers things in the book, yet we neither oppugn as enemies, nor are by the grace of God either papists, anabaptists, atheists, or puritans, as it pleaseth M. Doctor to call us. And to the prayer against disturbers of the church, I say, with all my heart, Amen.*

Jo. WHITGIFT.

I would to God you did not "oppugn it as enemies, &c." Surely then would not your fierceness nor your bitterness of speech have been such as it is. But God forgive you, and to the prayer I say again, Amen, Amen.

[The Second Article.

"That the manner and order appointed by public authority about the administration of the sacraments, and common prayers, and that the apparel by sufficient authority appointed for the ministers within the church of England, be not wicked

[1] That peace, Adm.] [2] Added from Adm. and Answ.]
[3] Adversaries to the church be of 4. sorts, Answ. 2.]
[4] Later, Repl. 1 and 2.]

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nor against the word of God, but tolerable, and, being commanded for order and obedience sake, are to be used."

Admonition.

For the order of administration of sacraments and common prayer enough is said before: all the service and administration is tied to a surplice: in cathedral churches they must have a cope: they receive the communion kneeling: they use not for the most part common bread, [s]*according to the word of God, and the statute, but starch bread, according to the injunction. They commonly minister the sacraments without preaching the word.*

[s] *Acts ii. 46. Acts xx. 7.*

Answer.

And I have before sufficiently answered to all that is here objected.][5]

Admonition.

If this be not plain enough by that which is already set forth, we mind by God's grace to make it plainer, and should do it better, if it were as lawful for us, as for our adversaries, to publish our minds in print; then should appear what slender stuff they bring that are so impudent by open writing to defend it[6]*. [☞ Neither is the controversy betwixt them and us as they would bear the world in hand, as for a cap, a tippet, or a surplice, but for great matters, concerning a true ministry, and regiment of the church, according to the word. Which things once established, the other melt away of themselves. And yet consider, I pray you, whether their own argument doth not choke themselves; for even the very name of trifles doth plainly declare that they ought not to be maintained in Christ's church. And what shall our bishops win by it? Forsooth, that they be maintainers of trifles, and trifling bishops, consuming the greatest part of their time in those trifles, whereas they should be better occupied. We strive for true religion, and government of the church, and shew you the right way to throw out antichrist, both head and tail, and that we will not so much as communicate with the tail of the beast; but they, after they have thrust antichrist out by the head, go about to pull him in again by the tail, cunningly colouring it, lest any man should espy his footsteps, as Cacus did when he stole the oxen. ☜]*[7] *And*[8]*, if it might please her majesty, by the advice of you, right honourable, in this high court of parliament, to hear us, by writing or otherwise, to defend ourselves, then such is the equity of our cause that we would trust to*

[5] The paragraphs in brackets are introduced from Adm. and Answ. Between them and the paragraph of Adm. immediately here following are interposed in Answ. several portions, which have already appeared, Vol. II. pp. 49-73.]

[6] The words after *print* are omitted in Adm.; which introduces them below after *sight*, adding *to defend themselves* after *bring*.]

[7] The sentences between brackets are introduced from Adm.]

[8] For, Adm.]

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find favour in her majesty's sight: then those patched pamphlets, made by sudden upstarts, and new converts, should appear in their colours, and truth have the victory, and God the glory: if this cannot be obtained, we will by God's grace address ourselves to defend his truth by suffering, and willingly lay our heads to the block. And this shall be our peace, to have quiet consciences with our God, whom we will abide for with all patience, until he make[1] *our full deliverance.*

Answer to the Admonition, Page 243.

And I will not spare my labour from time to time to utter my mind and conscience in these matters; protesting that, if by learning you can persuade me, I will say again with Augustine, *Errare possum, hæreticus esse nolo*[2]. All the rest of your[4] stout and suspicious brags, of your undecent and unseemly words, I let pass, and leave them to be considered as notes of your spirit and modesty. The queen's majesty may assure herself that she hath of learned men a number sufficient, able by learning to maintain both[5] her authority and laws which her majesty hath hitherto used, aud made for the furtherance of the gospel, and maintaining of good order and peace in the church. The Lord of his infinite goodness long preserve her, and give us thankful hearts to God for her.

Augustine[3].

T. C. Page 172, Sect. 1.

Unto the next section I have answered in the treatise of the apparel. And unto the next after, in the treatise which declareth to whom it doth appertain to make ceremonies and orders of the church. And unto the section contained in the 243. *page I say that M. Doctor, being asked of onions, answereth of garlic. For, the authors of the Admonition desiring that it might be as lawful for them to publish by print their minds, or to be heard dispute, or that their mind put in writing might be openly debated, M. Doctor answereth with Augustine's sentence (which he hath made the foot of his song) nothing to the purpose of that which they said; the performance of which promise we will notwithstanding wait for.*

Jo. Whitgift.

Why? what have they said there worth the answering, that I have not directly answered unto? they boast of their writing and of their disputing; and I tell them that "I will

[1] Work, Adm.]
[2] See Vol. 1. page 8, note 4.]
[3] This word is inserted from Answ. 2.]
[4] You, Def. B.]
[5] Both to maintain, Answ. 2.]

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not spare my labour from time to time to utter my mind and conscience in these matters" also. What other answer would you have me to make unto them? The saying of St Augustine cometh in due place: you call it "the foot of my song;" and I am very well content you should so do, for I intend to sing that song so long as I live; neither can any mislike it, but such as either be, or intend to be heretics. I purpose, God willing, to perform all the promises that I have made, and, when I shrink from any of them, let me hear of it.

[The Third Article.

"That the articles of religion which only concern the true christian faith and the doctrine of the sacraments, comprised in a book imprinted: 'Articles, whereupon it was agreed by both archbishops, &c.[6]' and every of them contain true and godly christian doctrine."][7]

Admonition.

Doctrine.

The right government of the church cannot be separated from the doctrine.

For the articles concerning the substance of doctrine, using a godly interpretation in a point or two, which are either too sparely, or else too darkly set down, we were and are ready, according to duty, to subscribe unto them. We would to God that, as they hold the substance together with us, and we with them, so they would not deny the effect and virtue thereof; then should not our words and works be divorced, but Christ should be 1 Tim. iii. 2. *suffered to reign, a true ministry according to the word instituted, discipline exercised, sacraments purely and sincerely* [k] 1 Pet. iii. 17. *ministered: this is that we strive for, and about which we have* [l] 1 Pet. iii. 15. *suffered,* [k] *not as evil-doers, but for resisting popery, and refusing to be stung with the tail of antichristian infection, ready* [l] *to render a reason of our faith, to the stopping of all our enemies' mouths. We therefore, for the church of God's sake, which ought to be most dear unto you, beseech you, for our sovereign's sake, upon whom we pray that all God's blessing*[9] *may be poured abundantly, we pray you to consider of these abuses, to reform God's church according to your duties and callings; that, as with one mouth we confess one Christ, so with one consent this reign of antichrist may be turned out headlong from amongst us, and Christ our Lord may reign by his word over us. So your seats shall be established and settled in great assurance, you shall not need to fear your enemies; for God will turn away his threatened plagues from us; which he in mercy do for his Christ's sake. Amen.*

[6 The 39 Articles, finally settled in 1571, are intended.]

[7 This is inserted from Adm. and Answ.]

[8 2., Answ. 2, and Def. A. and B.] [9 Blessings, Adm.]

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Answer to the Admonition, Page 245, 246.

Of subscribing to the articles.

It is very well that you so like of the articles; but yet it pleaseth you not to subscribe unto them, you say, because "of a point or two which are either too sparely, or else too darkly set down." But indeed your meaning is to subscribe to nothing which by authority you are required to do; and that argueth an arrogant mind, and a disposition that loveth alway to be singular.

Arrogancy[2].

The argument of the adversary retorted against himself[1].

You note in the margent that "the right government of the church can never be separated from the doctrine;" but by your own confession we have the doctrine; *ergo*, of necessity we also have the right government. Here in few words you have cast down whatsoever you seemed before to build: so do commonly unskilful builders.

I would to God that, forsomuch as (contrary to your former assertion) you now confess that we have the verity of doctrine, you could be content to say, Down, great heart, and submit yourselves to the queen's majesty, and her laws, according to your duty: then no doubt Christ should without resistance reign in this church; and the fruits of the gospel would much more appear.

Persecution pretended where none is.

You brag much of your suffering, you are little beholding[3] to your neighbours, when you are thus constrained to praise yourselves. But, I pray you, whether doth he persecute that modestly and soberly defendeth the truth, or he that unlawfully revengeth himself with railing and backbiting? You love very well to have the world know how greatly you be persecuted; and therefore, if one of you here in Cambridge be punished but twenty pence for his open contempt of statutes to the which he is sworn, in post-haste it is carried into all quarters, and especially to London, where great complaint is made of this grievous persecution; when as you and your disciples cease not, as I said, most falsely and slanderously to report of such as, executing

[1 These notes are not in Answ.]
[2 This word is inserted from Answ. 2.] [3 Beholden, Answ.]

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good laws, discharge their conscience to God, and their duty towards the prince.

We therefore exhort you, if there be any fear of God before your eyes, any reverence towards the prince, any desire of promoting the gospel, any loving affection towards the church of Christ, to submit yourselves according to your duties to godly orders, to leave off contentiousness, to join with us in preaching of the word of God, and beating down the kingdom of antichrist, that this your division procure not God's wrath to be poured upon us.

T. C. Page 172, Sect. 2.

Here M. Doctor, contrary to the protestation of the authors of the Admonition, which declare that for the abuses and corruptions they dare not simply subscribe, saith that therefore they will not subscribe, because they are required by lawful authority; which how both presumptuous and uncharitable a judgment it is, let all men judge, especially upon this matter, which hath been declared. And, where M. Doctor would upon the marginal note prove that we have good discipline, because we have good doctrine, and thereupon doth wonderfully triumph, he playeth as he of whom it is said, μηδὲν λαβὼν κρατεῖ καρτερῶς, that is, "having gotten nothing holdeth it fast." For can M. Doctor be so ignorant that this manner of speech (doctrine and discipline cannot be severed) is used of[4] *that that they ought not to be severed? when as we*[5] *say (following St Paul) that "we can do nothing against the truth," do we not mean that we ought to do nothing, or*[6] *can do nothing lawfully against it? And do not all men know, when we say that a man cannot be separated from his wife but for the cause of adultery, that we mean he ought not, or he cannot lawfully? Therefore this is (as all men may see) a mere cavil and triumph over his own shadow. There is no brag of suffering made by the authors of the Admonition. The modesty wherewith he hath defended this cause cannot be hidden. That he would have other men punished for well-doing, when he is not content that the open wrongs which he doth should be once spoken of, I have shewed how unreasonable it is.*

Jo. Whitgift.

I speak of their denying to subscribe to the "articles concerning the substance of doctrine," which they confess to be sound, "using a godly interpretation in a point or two, &c." What other abuses soever there be in the book of common prayer, or in the church, yet that is no sufficient cause why

[4 For, Repl. 1 and 2.] [5 When we, Repl. 1 and 2.]
[6 Nor, Repl. 2.]

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they should refuse to subscribe to the truth of doctrine professed in this church, and contained in those articles. Wherefore, seeing they confess them to be sound, and yet deny to subscribe, who can otherwise judge of them than I have signified in my Answer?

"Can" is not taken for "ought," if it be spoken simply.

I acknowledge myself to be ignorant that in this and such like phrases this word "can" is taken for "ought." When St Paul saith that "we can do nothing against the truth," he meaneth simply as he speaketh, and doth not there use "can" for "ought." For indeed we can do nothing against the truth, though we do the worst we can. It is no usual phrase, but an unproper kind of speech to say that "a man cannot do a thing," when he should say that he "ought not to do it," except he add something, as, he cannot do it lawfully, or well, or orderly, and such like. Wherefore my dulness is such that I cannot understand such dark speeches, until they be interpreted; and yet whether they would so interpret themselves or no it may be doubted.

If they brag not of persecution, whereunto tend these words of theirs: "This is that we strive for, about which we have suffered, not as evil-doers, &c.;" and quote in the margent, to prove it, 1 Pet. iii., as though they were persecuted by infidels?

Schismatics deserve to be sharply reproved.

However immodest soever I am in defending this cause, yet, if it be compared either to their passing bitterness, or to your spiteful speeches, and unseemly taunts and jests, I shall appear too too simple; and, although I must needs say thus much, that disturbers of the common peace of the church, and schismatics, deserve to be with sharp words reproved, yet have not I used that sharpness and bitterness which divers learned men both old and new have used in the like case.

If I have done any man wrong, let him come forth and prove it, and I will render unto him quadruple.

T. C. Page 172, Sect. 3.

Finally, as you exhort us to submit ourselves to good order, which have been always, and yet are ready to do; to leave to be contentious, which never yet began; to join with you in preaching the word of God, which have stopped our mouths, and will not suffer us to preach; so we exhort you, in God's behalf, and as you will once answer it before the just Judge, that you will not willingly shut your eyes against the truth,

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that, if the Lord vouchsafe to open it unto you, you kick not against it. Wherefore[1] *we pray you to take heed that neither the desire of keeping your wealth and honour which you are in, nor the hope which you may have of any further promotion, nor yet the care of keeping your estimation, by maintaining that which you have once set down, nor the sleighty suggestion of crafty and wily papists, do drive you to stumble against this truth of God, which toucheth the government of his church, and the purging of those corruptions which are amongst us, knowing that you cannot stumble upon the word of God, but forthwith you run yourself against Christ, which is the rock. And you know that he will not give back, but breaketh all to fitters*[3] *whatsoever that*[4] *rusheth against him.*

1 Pet. ii. 8.[2] Luke xx. 18.[2]

Jo. WHITGIFT.

You do not submit yourselves to the order of the church, which is a good and decent order: you have filled the church with marvellous contentions, and have strangely divided even such as profess the gospel: your "mouths" are not "stopped," but through your own procuring.

I do not withstand that which you untruly call "the truth," for any such cause as you surmise (God who seeth my heart knoweth), but because I see these your devices to be set down by you without any sufficient warrant in the word of God, against the practice and order of the primitive church, tending also to dangerous errors, and mere confusion both of the church and of the commonwealth.

T. C. Page 172, Sect. ult.

And, if the matter herein alleged do not satisfy you, then I desire even before the same God that you confute it, not by passing over things which you cannot answer, or by leaving both the words and the meaning of the book, and taking your own fancy to confute, or by wrangling with the fault of the print, or by carping at the translation, when the words being changed the sense remaineth, or by alleging that such a one, or such another, was of this or that judgment; as you for the most part (having nothing but his bare name) have done; all which things you have committed in this book; but that you confute it by the authority of the word of God, by good and sound reasons, wholly, and not by piecemeal. And, if you bring the practice of the churches, we desire that it may be out of authorities which are extant, which are not counterfeit, and which were in the best and purest times. And, if you think that the credit of your doctorship or deanery will bear out that which you cannot answer yourself, besides that ἔκδικον ὄμμα[5] *is never shut, remember, M. Doctor, that light is come into the world, and men will not*

The revenging eye.

[1] Where, Repl. 1 and 2.]

[2] These references are inserted from Repl. 2.]

[3] Fitters: fragments.]

[4] Whatsoever he be that, Repl. 2.]

[5] Homer. Batrach. 96.]

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be deluded with nothing, nor abused with visards; neither let it embolden you (which peradventure hath made you presume[1] *the more in this book) to write anything upon hope that no man dare answer it. For neither the queen's majesty, nor her honourable council, as we are persuaded, will deal so sharply with those whom they know to be faithful and lawful subjects, which pray that all the treasures of God's wisdom may be poured upon them; neither have we cause to think, but that, as the evil opinion which is in part conceived of us hath grown upon false and untrue informations, which you and such other have given in crying in their ears that we be anabaptists, conspired with papists, puritans, Donatists, bringers in of confusion and anarchy, enemies to civil government, and I know not what, even so, when her majesty and their honours shall understand how far we are from those wicked opinions, they will leave that opinion of us, and rather esteem of us by that we have preached, taught, and now write, than that which other men report of us, being things which we never taught, spake, or so much as dreamed of.*

JO. WHITGIFT.

It is so far from satisfying me in any point, that it greatly confirmeth me in something whereunto before I did but incline. Such is the weakness of your grounds.

The Replier requireth that of others which he himself would not perform.

Your request made unto me is against all reason; for how can you require that of me toward you, which you have in no respect performed towards me? for, first, you have not set down my book, that the reader might perceive how uprightly you deal with me; secondly, you have passed over many things, and left them unanswered; thirdly, you have unreasonably wrested my words, and in most places you do nothing but wrangle; you have mangled my book, and so skipped from place to place, that the reader shall hardly perceive what you take or what you leave; to be short, you have used few scriptures, and those untolerably wrested. How then can you require the contrary of me? But I have satisfied your request to the full, I trust; save only I do not intend to learn of you how to answer, what authority to use; but, if the authorities and reasons that I bring shall be found to be light, they shall the more easily by you be[2] removed.

I depend not upon "the credit of my doctorship or deanery," neither would I wish you too much to trust to the opinion of your own learning and wit: I say with St Augustine: "Let scripture be compared with scripture, reason with

[1 You to presume, Repl. 2.] [2 Def. B. omits *be.*]

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reason, authority with authority, cause with cause[3];" and let us both according to the same be judged.

I doubt not of the answering of my book, neither do I fear it: you know that I have offered you divers times this kind of conference, though not in this public manner[4]. I have spoken nothing against you before her majesty, which your books and doings have not proved to be true. Her majesty and their honours know what they have to do: the Lord bless them with his Holy Spirit, and in all their doings guide them.

Conference by writing hath been often offered to the Replier.

[3 Nec ego hujus auctoritate, nec tu illius [Niceni concilii, vel Ariminensis] detineris: scripturarum auctoritatibus, non quorumque propriis, sed utrisque communibus testibus, res cum re, caussa cum caussa, ratio cum ratione concertet.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Maxim. Arian. Lib. II. cap. xiv. 3. Tom. VIII. col. 704.]

[4 See Strype, Whitgift, Book I. chap. iv.]

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Of the Additions, Detractions, and Alterations made by the Admonitors in both the parts of the Admonition.

T. C. Page 173, Sect. 1.

Besides that oftentimes M. Doctor doth account the expositions and explanations corrections, he leaveth us somewhat the less hope that he will correct his errors, for that he pursueth the authors of the Admonition so hard, correcting their very small and few slips, which they have made, calling this singular modesty and commendable humility, amongst other reproaches, dallying and inconstancy, when it is our profession every day to learn better things. For unto what end should we live, if time, if experience, if reading, if musing, if conference should teach us nothing? And therefore, when things are printed again, it is good and praiseworthy to polish those things which are somewhat rude, to mitigate those things which are too sharp, to make plain and to give light to those things which seem darker, and to correct that which is amiss. I think M. Doctor should not be ignorant that wise men have their δευτέρας φροντίδας: "their second counsels," and those also wiser and better than their first, as that sentence doth declare. I will therefore say no more hereof, but admonish M. Doctor that he receive more lovingly those which correct themselves, seeing that the best defence to his book must be not a correction here and there, but a clean blotting, and striking out, not an amending, but a new making almost of his whole book. Other matter in his censures he hath almost none at all worth the answering, saving that he hath a place or two which toucheth[1] *the matters before entreated of.*

JO. WHITGIFT.

They, which will pull down the old, and place a new platform, ought to be very circumspect.

It behoveth such as will take upon them to pluck down that which is well builded, and to make a new platform, to be well advised what they do, and assured of their cunning. If this ought to be in human matters, and in external affairs of the life of man, how much more ought it to be in divine matters, and things pertaining to the kingdom of heaven. I do not mislike that modesty and humility that is content to be corrected, and to acknowledge that which is amiss. But I can by no means allow that pride and arrogancy, that, presuming to condemn the whole state of a church, and to prescribe unto the same a new platform, is by and bye after, through unskilfulness and lack of discretion at the first, constrained to mislike that new platform also, and to piece it and patch it like a beggar's cloak, with putting to and taking fro, with altering and changing sometime this and sometime that, like unto

[1 Touch, Repl. 2.]

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foolish and unskilful builders. It behoveth such as will take upon them in church-matters to pluck down that which is already builded, and to prescribe a new platform, to be certain of their cunning, expert in their doings, grounded in learning and experience; not younglings and novices whose yea to-day is nay to-morrow, whose heads are full of new toys and devices, who publish in print their first cogitations and counsels, before they have any leisure to think of their second. This is that which I mislike, and reprove in the authors of the Admonition; for, if they had published their minds as scholars, and not as masters; as learners, not as teachers; as putters in mind of that which best liked themselves, not as prescribers what all other men ought of duty to follow, their sudden corrections had been much more tolerable. But I will not multiply words with you, neither will I requite that which you contemptuously enough have spoken of myself, only I admonish the reader to take heed how he doth credit such rash and young builders, which, so soon as they have ended their building, must be constrained to pluck down the same again.

Unskilful builders.

Answer to the additions, detractions, &c., of the first part of the Admonition.

[After I had ended this confutation of the Admonition, there comes to my hand a new edition of the same, wherein some things be added, some detracted, and some altered, which I thought good here briefly to set down and to examine, that it may be seen what these men have learned since they published their first book.

Additions, detractions, and alterations in the first part of the Admonition.][2]

In the preface, to "archbishops, bishops, suffragans, deans[3], &c.," they have added "university doctors, and bachelors of divinity[4]." It should seem that they would have a confusion of degrees (which they call equality) as well in universities as in parishes, and other their imagined congregations: mark whether this gear tend not to the overthrow of universities and of all good learning.

Doctors and bachelors of divinity misliked.

[2] This is introduced from Answ.]

[3] Deacons, Def. B.]

[4] See Vol. I. page 140, note 1.]

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T. C. Page 173, towards the end of the first Section.

For, whereas he accuseth the authors of the Admonition in the first leaf as though they should condemn doctors and bachelors of divinity, and so bring in confusion of degrees, he upon the 5. leaf confesseth that they allow of a doctor[1]. *Although he that taketh away degrees of doctor or bachelor of divinity doth not bring in confusion, nor taketh not away all degrees of schools; especially seeing they are now made bare names, without any offices, and oftentimes they are admitted to these degrees which neither can nor will teach.*

Jo. WHITGIFT.

I say that belike they allow of a doctor of law, because they have left that title out in their second edition, and have instead thereof placed "doctors and bachelors of divinity." The cause, why you lean so much unto them in this barbarous opinion, may be conjectured to be the repulse that you suffered when you earnestly desired the one of them. If the degrees be bestowed upon unworthy persons (which you are not able to prove at this day), the fault is in the persons that so bestow them, not in the degrees; the taking away whereof must needs in the end bring in confusion and barbarism; and indeed they can by no means stand with your platform; and therefore do you here insinuate that you are content to allow all the degrees in schools, but only the degrees in divinity; and yet, as I said before, not long since you greatly desired even the highest of them.

The cause why the Replier joineth against degrees in divinity.

Additions, detractions, and alterations in the first part of the Admonition.

In the preface.

In the margent, for the "xv. of Matthew, vers. 23," they have quoted the "xv. of Matt. vers. 13[2]," to prove that tyrannous lordship cannot stand with Christ's kingdom: the words be these: "But he answered and said, Every plant which my Father hath not planted shall be rooted up," meaning that such as be not by free adoption and grace grafted in Jesus Christ shall be rooted up. But this proveth not their proposition: I do not allow tyrannous lordship, but I disallow such unapt reasons.

Unapt reason[3].

[1 See below, pages 473, 4.] [2 See Vol. I. page 140, note 2.]
[3 This note is inserted from Answ. 2.

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In the same preface, speaking of bishops, &c., they have added these words: "They were once of our mind, but since their consecration they be so transubstantiated, that they are become such as you see[4]." It may be that consideration of the time, place, state, condition, and other circumstances, hath altered some of them in some points; as wise (and not wilful) men in such matters by such circumstances be oftentimes altered; but that any one of them were ever of your mind in most things uttered in those two treatises, I cannot be persuaded.

Fol. 1.

For the "i. Acts, verse 12," is noted "Acts, ii. vers. 21[5]," to prove that in the old church there was a trial had both of the ministers' ability to instruct, and of their godly conversation also. The text is this: "And it shall be that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved." Which is farther from the purpose a great deal than the other place is. There is also in the same leaf left out "king Edward's priests[6];" which argueth with how little discretion, and less advice, the first Admonition was penned. King Edward's priests left out.

Speaking of learning M. Nowel's Catechism, these words be added: "and so first they consecrate them and make them ministers, and then they set them to school[7]." This scoff is answered before, and might very well have been left out. And a little after, where it was before: "Then election was made by the common consent of the whole church;" now it is thus corrected: "Then election was made by the elders, with the common consent of the whole church[8];" which altereth the matter something, but yet is not proved by the text alleged out of the first of the Acts, and by me answered before. A scoff. A correction of a place.

Fol. 2.

For "Acts, xiv. vers. 13," is quoted "Acts, xiv. verse 23;" which oversight I myself have corrected in my Answer to that place[9].

[4 See Vol. I. page 140, note 3.]
[5 See Vol. I. page 296, note 1; where *for* i *read* ii.]
[6 See Vol. I. page 317, note 5.] [7 See Vol. I. page 336, note 1.]
[8 See Vol. I. page 339, note 3.] [9 See Vol. I. page 341, note 5.]

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Alb left out. There is also left out "an alb[1]," which before was said to be required by the pontifical in the ordering of ministers. As I said before, so I say again, that in the book of ordering ministers, now used, and printed since *anno Dom.* 1559, there is neither required alb, surplice, vestiment, nor pastoral staff.

This line is also added: "These are required by their pontifical[1]," meaning surplice, vestiment, &c.; which is untrue, as I have said before.

For the "1 Tim. i. vers. 14," now it is "1 Tim. i. vers. 19[2];" but it is not to prove any matter in controversy, only it is uncharitably and unjustly applied.

For "1 Sam. ix. vers. 28," is placed "1 Sam. ix. vers. 18[3]," the self-same place that I have answered before.

Where before it was thus written: "Then ministers were not so tied to any form of prayers invented by man;" now these words "invented by man" be left out, and there is added: "as necessity of time required, so they might pour &c.[4]" I know not their meaning, except they would neither have us bound to the Lord's prayer, nor any other.

Fol. 3.

Alteration of words. It was before: "Remove homilies, articles, injunctions, a prescript order:" now it is "that prescript order[5]." Whereby it should seem that they have learned to allow of a prescript order of prayers, but not of that prescript order which is in the book of public prayers. This is no dallying, neither yet inconstancy.

For the "iii. of Matt. vers. 12," is placed "iii. of Matt. vers. 1[6]," to prove that in the old time the word was preached before the sacraments were ministered: the place now alleged is this: "In those days John the Baptist came and preached in the wilderness of Judæa." This proveth that John preached, but it proveth not that whensoever John did baptize then he did preach.

A protestation by the way. Over against these words: "The Nicene creed was not read in their communion," is written in the margent:

[1 See Vol. I. page 488, note 3.] [2 See Vol. I. page 528, note 3.]
[3 See Vol. II. page 9, note 2.] [4 See Vol. II. page 466, note 2.]
[5 See before, page 8, note 3.] [6 See before, page 14, note 1.]

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"Note that we condemn not the doctrine contained therein[7]." If you condemn not the doctrine therein, what do you then condemn? or why mislike you the communion, because that creed containing true doctrine is read at the celebration thereof? It is well that you make this protestation, if you mean good faith.

Here is also added the 42. vers. Acts, ii.[8], to prove that then the sacrament was ministered with common and usual bread; which place I have answered before, in answering to the 46. verse of that chapter.

Whereas before it was thus: "interrogatories ministered to the infant, godfathers and godmothers brought in by Higinus:" now "godfathers and godmothers brought in by Higinus" is left out[9]. It is happy that you are so soon persuaded to allow of godfathers and godmothers: I perceive you took upon you to set down a platform of a church before you had well considered of it.

They allow godfathers and godmothers at the last.

Fol. 4.

For "some one of the congregation," is now "some of the congregation[10];" whereby they seem to allow more godfathers than one, which they did not before.

For the "xiv. of the Acts, vers. 4," is noted the "xv. of the Acts, vers. 4[11]," to prove that the office of seniors was to govern the church with the rest of the ministers; but without reason. For it is only there written, that at Jerusalem there was apostles and elders, and that Paul and Barnabas declared unto them what things God had done by them. I deny not the thing itself (whereof I have sufficiently spoken before), but the argument.

"These seniors then, because their charge was not over much, did execute their office in their own persons:" now these words "because their charge was not over much" be left out[12]. Wherefore they have left them out I know not.

Fol. 5.

They have left out "doctors" three times in this

[7 See before, page 74, note 3.] [8 See before, page 82, note 5.]
[9 See before, page 109, note 2.] [10 See before, page 132, note 4.]
[11 See before, page 156, note 3.] [12 See before, page 269, note 2.]

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leaf[1], which before they recited with "chancellors, archdeacons, officials, commissaries, proctors." Belike they have remembered that this word "doctor" is found in the new testament, and especially doctor of law.

Why doctors of law be left out.

To prove equality of ministers, they have added "Phil. i. vers. 1; 1 Thess. i. 1.[2]" The first place is this: "Paul and Timotheus, the servants of Jesus Christ, to all saints in Christ Jesus that are at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons." The second is this: "Paul and Silvanus and Timotheus unto the church of the Thessalonians, &c." Truly I know not how to conclude of those places an equality of all ministers: I would to God you would set down your places, and frame your arguments yourselves.

Fol. 6.

They have forgotten to quote Heb. vi. 1, and have left out "the body and branch of antichrist," and for the same have put in the "tail[3]." But these are but trifles, and very slender corrections.

Tail of antichrist.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

To all these there is nothing said: belike the authors of the Admonition must answer for themselves, or else provide another proctor.

Answer to the additions, &c. of the second part of the Admonition[4].

Fol. 2.

For the "first of[5] Tim. iii. vers. 3," now they have quoted "1 Tim. iii. vers. 6[6]," against reading ministers; where St Paul would not have a minister to be a young scholar; but he speaketh nothing against reading.

T. C. Page 173, Sect. 2.

Unto the second leaf of the addition of the second part of the Admonition, M. Doctor saith that, because the iii. to Titus maketh not against

[1 See before, pages 224, note 4, 225, note 6, and 273 (where a note should have been made that Adm. omits *doctors*).]

[2 See Vol. II. page 401, note 2.] [3 See before, page 314, notes 2, 3.]

[4 The heading in Answ. is: "Additions, detractions, and alterations in this second part of the Admonition."]

[5 To, Answ.] [6 See before, page 48, note 3.]

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reading, therefore it maketh not against reading ministers, that is, ministers that can do nothing but read.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

It is in the 1 Tim. iii., and it maketh against unlearned ministers, not against the reading of ministers; for he may be a "reading minister," and yet learned.

Answer to the detractions, &c.

It was before: "Reading is not feeding:" now it is thus amended: "For bare reading of the word and single service saying is bare feeding[7];" whereby they now confess that reading is feeding, although it be (as they say) but "bare feeding." We were in good case if the platform of our church depended upon these men, which alter their judgments so suddenly. It is a true saying, *Conveniet nulli qui secum dissidet ipse:* "How can he agree with other that doth not agree with himself?" Correction of a sudden.

T. C. Page 173, Sect. ult.

And, whereas he would pick out a contradiction in the words of the Admonition, because they say "bare reading is but bare feeding," the discord is in his ears, not in their words. For, when they said it was no feeding, they meant such feeding as could save them; and so in calling it bare feeding they note that there is not enough in that to keep them from famishment. And indeed, unless the Lord work miraculously and extraordinarily (which is not to be looked for of us), the bare reading of the scriptures without the preaching cannot deliver so much as one poor sheep from destruction and from the wolf. And, if some have been converted wonderfully, yet M. D. should remember that πόταμος οὐκ ἀεὶ ἀξίνας φέρει: that is, "the water doth not alway bear iron." This is an error, and contrary to that which you have p. 158, lin. 15, &c.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

"Reading is not feeding," and "reading is bare feeding," be both untruths, and derogate from the majesty and dignity of the word of God; but yet in these speeches there is contrariety; for bare feeding is feeding. What they meant by "not feeding," their words following do declare; for, say they, "it is as evil as playing upon a stage, and worse too, &c.:" whereof I have spoken before. But, whilst you go about to excuse them of contrariety, you fall into it yourself; for page 158. of your book, comparing the reading of the scriptures with reading of homilies, you say that "the word of God is The Replier falleth into contrariety, whiles he seeketh to clear the Admonition of it. Pag. 158, lin. 15, &c.

[7 See before, page 48, note 4.]

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also plain and easy to be understanded, and such as giveth understanding to idiots, and to the simple. &c.[1]" And now you say that "there is not enough in the reading of the scriptures to keep the people from famishment. &c.;" the which how far it differeth from your former words, no man is so blind that cannot see. Beside this, it is a popish and an ungodly opinion, contrary to the worthiness and profitableness of the scriptures; contrary to the words of Christ, John v., "Search the scriptures, &c.;" contrary to the words of the apostle, 2 Tim. iii.: *Omnis scriptura divinitus inspirata, &c.;* and contrary to all that that I have alleged before for the reading of the scriptures; to the which, for the further confutation of this ungodly error, I do refer the reader[2].

John v.

2 Tim. iii.

Tract. XIII.

Answer to the detractions, &c.

Fol. 3.

In the same leaf and fifth reason, to these words: "Besides that, we never read in the new testament that this word 'priest,' as touching office, is used in the good part," in the second edition is added: "except it speak of the Levitical priesthood, or of the priesthood of Christ[3]." Here, as I think, they have forgotten that which Peter speaketh to all Christians, in his 1 Epist. cap. ii. vers. 5: "And ye, as lively stones, be made a spiritual house, and holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ;" and vers. 9: "But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, &c." And Apo. i. "And made[4] us kings and priests unto God, &c." I willed them before to shew me one place in the whole new testament where this word "priest," as touching the office, is taken in evil part: I may be deceived, but I desire to learn.

Correction with exception.

T. C. Page 174, Sect. 1.

And upon the 3. leaf, where he giveth instance in the Apocalypse of the word "priest" to be taken otherwise than for the Levitical priesthood, and priesthood of our Saviour Christ, M. Doctor cannot be ignorant that the Admonition speaketh of those which be priests indeed, and properly, and not by those which are priests by a metaphor and borrowed

[1] See before, pages 341, 2.]

[2] See before, pages 28, &c.]

[3] See before, page 350, note 5.]

[4] Make, Def. A. and B.]

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speech. And, whereas he desireth to learn where the word "priest" is taken in evil part in all the new testament; although all men see how he asketh this question of no mind to learn, yet if he will learn (as he saith) he shall find that in the Acts of the Apostles it is taken divers times in evil part. For, seeing that the office and function of τῶν ἱερέων, that is "of priests," was (after our Saviour Christ's ascension) naught and ungodly, the name whereby they were called which did exercise that ungodly function cannot be otherwise taken than in the evil part.

In what chapter?

Jo. WHITGIFT.

And what say you to the places of St Peter? is not this word "priest" taken in good part there also? I desired to have one place in all the new testament named unto me "where this word 'priest' is taken in evil part;" and you send me over to the Acts of the Apostles, naming neither text nor chapter; and yet that satisfieth not my request; for the authors of the Admonition, in their corrections, except the Levitical priesthood and the priesthood of Christ, whereof only there is mention made in the Acts of the Apostles, except it be in the xiv. of the Acts, where Luke speaketh of heathenish priests, as of the priests of Jupiter; so that my question is as yet unanswered by you.

Answer to the additions, &c.

Fol. 5.

But of the bishop's benediction by laying on of his hands hear M. Calvin's judgment in his *Instit. cap. xix. section.* 4: *Talem....manuum impositionem quæ simpliciter loco benedictionis fiat, laudo, et restitutam hodie in purum usum velim*[5]: "Such imposition of hands as is simply made in the stead of blessing I do commend, and wish that it were restored at this day to the pure use." There shall you also read the very self-same form and manner of confirmation allowed, which is now used in this church of England.

Imposition of hands in confirmation[6] allowed by Calvin.

T. C. Page 174, Sect. 2.

M. Doctor upon the fifth leaf citeth M. Calvin's authority to prove that the laying on of the hands upon young children, and the confirmation which is here used, is good. In the which place, although he allow

[5 Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Inst. Lib. IV. cap. xix. 4. Tom. IX. p. 389.]
[6 Answ. 2 omits *in confirmation.*]

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Confirmation.

of a kind of confirmation, yet he doth not commend that which we have. For he doth plainly reprove Jerome for saying that it came from the apostles, which notwithstanding the confirmation with us doth affirm. Besides that, there are other abuses which I have noted there, which M. Calvin doth not by any word allow. He alloweth indeed of a putting on of hands of the children, when they come out of their childhood, or begin to be young men; but, as well as he doth allow of it, he was one of those which did thrust it out of the church where he was pastor. And so he alloweth of it that he bringeth (in the sixth section of the same chapter) a strong reason to abolish it. Where he asketh what the imposition of hands should do now, seeing that the gifts[1] *of the Holy Ghost by that ceremony is ceased*[2]*. Therefore, seeing that we have M. Calvin's reason against this imposition of hands, his name ought not to be prejudicial unto us; especially seeing that we have experience of great inconveniences which come by it; which M. Calvin could not have, that thing being not in use in that church where he lived. Which inconvenience in things which are not necessary ought to be a just cause of abolishing of them. And this is not my judgment only, but the judgment of the churches of Helvetia, Berne, Tigurine, Geneva, Scotland, and divers others; as appeareth in the* 19. *chapter of their confession*[3].

Here you make M. Calvin contrary to himself, but untruly.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

The common refuge of the Replier is to discredit the author.

Here you would shift off M. Calvin's authority if you knew how; but, being overpressed with his manifest words, you fly to your common and usual refuge, that is, to discredit the author, by charging him with contrarieties in this matter; for you confess that "he alloweth a kind of confirmation:" you say also that "he alloweth indeed of a putting on of hands of the children, when they come out of their childhood, or begin to be young men;" and again you affirm that "he was one of those that did thrust it out of the church where he was pastor;" and that "he bringeth in the sixth section of the same chapter a strong reason to abolish it." Thus you set M. Calvin against himself, and that in the same chapter; which cannot but turn to his great discredit, if it were true;

Calvin untruly charged with contrariety by the Replier.

[1 The giving of the gifts, Repl. 1 and 2.]

[2 Narrat Lucas in Actis, apostolos...misisse...Petrum et Joannem: illos pro Samaritanis orasse ... manus illis imposuisse: per quam impositionem Spiritum sanctum Samaritani acceperunt....Hoc ministerium quo tunc apostoli fungebantur, si adhuc in ecclesia maneret, manuum quoque impositionem oporteret servari: sed ubi gratia illa conferri desiit, quorsum pertinet manuum impositio? —Id. ibid. 6. ibid.

[3 Confirmatio et extrema unctio, inventa sunt hominum, quibus nullo cum damno carere potest ecclesia. Neque illa nos in nostris ecclesiis habemus. Nam habent illa quædam, quæ minime probare possumus.—Confess. et Expos. Fid. Christ. cap. xix. in Corp. et Syntagm. Confess. Fid. Genev. 1654. p. 43.]

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but you greatly abuse both the reader and him; for in the 4. section which I have alleged he speaketh of that manner of confirmation and imposition of hands which was used in the old church, and the same that is now used in the church of England, which he alloweth and wisheth restored: in the fifth and sixth sections he speaketh of the manner and form of confirmation, and laying on of hands used by the papists, and disproveth that; as his own words (which I have for that purpose more at large set down) do plainly declare; for in the fourth section of the nineteenth chapter thus he writeth: "This was the manner in times past, that the children of Christians should be set before the bishop, after they were come to years of discretion, that they might perform that which was required of them that being of age did offer themselves to baptism. For these sat among the *catechumeni*, until (being rightly instructed in the mysteries of faith) they were able to utter a confession of their faith before the bishop and the people. The infants therefore that were baptized, because then they made no confession of faith in the church, at the end of their childhood, or in the beginning of their youth, they were again presented of their parents, and were examined of the bishop, according to a certain and common form of a catechism. And, to the intent that this action (which otherwise ought of right to be grave and holy) might have the greater reverence and estimation, there was added also the ceremony of laying on of hands: so the child was dismissed, his faith being approved, with a solemn blessing. The ancient fathers make often mention of this order. Pope Leo: 'If any man return from heretics, let him not again be baptized, but let the virtue of the Spirit (which was wanting) be given unto him by the laying on of the bishop's hands.' Here our adversaries will cry that it is rightly called a sacrament wherein the Holy Ghost is given. But Leo himself doth in another place expound what he meaneth by those words: 'He that is baptized (saith he) of heretics, let him not be re-baptized, but let him be confirmed, with the invocation of the Holy Ghost, by the imposition of hands; because he received only the form of baptism without sanctification.' Hierome also maketh mention hereof, *Contra Luciferianos*. Although I do not deny that Hierome is somewhat herein deceived, that he saith that it is an apostolical observation; yet is he most

Confirmation.

Calvin. Instit. cap. 19. sect. 4.

A kind of confirmation described by Calvin, not disagreeing from ours.

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Confirmation.

far from these men's follies. And he mitigateth it, when he saith that this blessing was granted only to the bishop, 'rather for the honour of priesthood, than by the necessity of the law.' Wherefore such an imposition of hands which is simply instead of a blessing I commend, and would wish it were at these days restored to the pure use[1]."

These words be evident, and declare a manner of confirmation correspondent to ours.

The abuse of confirmation in the popish church.

In the fifth section he writeth thus: "But the latter age have brought in a counterfeit confirmation instead of a sacrament of God, the thing itself being almost quite blotted out. They feign this to be the virtue of confirmation, to give the Holy Ghost unto the increase of grace, which was given in baptism to innocency of life, to confirm them unto battle, which in baptism were regenerated unto life. This confirmation is wrought with anointing, and this form of words: 'I sign thee with the sign of the Holy Ghost, and I confirm thee with the ointment of salvation, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. &c.[2]'" And, in confuting

[1 Hic mos olim fuit ut Christianorum liberi, postquam adoleverant, coram episcopo sisterentur: ut officium illud implerent quod ab iis exigebatur qui se ad baptismum adulti offerebant. Hi enim inter catechumenos sedebant, donec rite fidei mysteriis instituti poterant fidei confessionem coram episcopo ac populo edere. Qui ergo baptismo initiati erant infantes, quia fidei confessione apud ecclesiam tunc defuncti non erant, sub finem pueritiæ, aut ineunte adolescentia, repræsentabantur iterum a parentibus, ab episcopo examinabantur secundum formulam catechismi, quam tunc habebant certam ac communem. Quo autem hæc actio, quæ alioqui gravis sanctaque merito esse debebat, plus reverentiæ haberet ac dignitatis, ceremonia quoque adhibebatur manuum impositionis. Ita puer ille, fide sua approbata, cum solenni benedictione dimittebatur. Hujus moris sæpe mentionem faciunt veteres. Leo papa, *Siquis ab hæreticis redit, ne iterum baptisetur: sed quod illic ei defuit, per episcopalem manuum impositionem virtus Spiritus ei conferatur* [Leon. Magn. Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Leon. Episc. Rav. Epist. xxxvii. col. 351]. Clamabunt hic nostri adversarii, sacramentum jure vocari in quo Spiritus sanctus conferatur. Verum ipse Leo alibi explicat quid his verbis sibi velit: *Qui apud hæreticos baptizatus est*, inquit, *non rebaptizetur, sed Spiritus sancti invocatione per manuum impositionem confirmetur: quia baptismi tantum formam sine sanctificatione accepit* [Leon. Magn. Op. Ad Nicet. Episc. Aquil. Epist. lxxix. col. 432]. Meminit et Hieronymus contra Luciferianos. Quanquam autem non inficior, in eo nonnihil hallucinari Hieronymum, quod apostolicam esse observationem dicit: longissime tamen ab istorum ineptiis abest. Et illud ipsum mitigat quum addit, hanc benedictionem solis episcopis esse datam, *magis in honorem sacerdotii, quam ex legis necessitate* [Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Adv. Lucif. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 295. See before, page 360, note 1]. Talem ergo manuum impositionem, quæ simpliciter loco benedictionis fiat, laudo, et restitutam hodie in purum usum velim.—Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Inst. Lib. IV. cap. xix. 4. Tom. IX. p. 389.]

[2 Posterior autem ætas, re prope obliterata, fictitiam nescio quam confirma-

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this manner of confirmation and imposition of hands, he proceedeth on in this fifth section, and in the sixth section. Wherefore Master Calvin is not contrary to himself, neither disalloweth that kind of confirmation and imposition of hands in the sixth section which he alloweth in the fourth. But in the one he approveth the manner of the ancient and purer church touching confirmation; in the other he disproveth the use and doctrine of the papistical church concerning the same. This might you have seen, if you had been disposed; but you care not whom you discredit, so that you may win credit to yourself.

The Replier useth that against our confirmation which is spoken of the papists.

The confession of the churches of Helvetia, Berne, &c., speak only of the popish confirmation, which the papists make one of their seven sacraments; as it is manifest by the words of the confession, which be these: "Confirmation, and extreme unction or annealing, are the inventions of man, which the church may want without any damage; neither use we them in our churches; for they have some things which we cannot allow[3]." Now to use that against confirmation, reformed and purged from these things which they mislike, which is spoken of the popish confirmation with all the abuses, can it be (think you) the part of an honest and plain-dealing man?

Confess. Helvet. cap. 19.

Answer to the additions, &c.

Fol. 6.

In the end of that fifteenth article or reason, this is added: "And which of them have not preached against the pope's two swords; now whether they use them not themselves[4]?" Touching the pope's two swords, we are of the same mind still; for the pope, contrary to the word of God, taketh from princes unto himself that authority which is due unto them by the word of God,

tionem pro Dei sacramento posuit. Confirmationis virtutem esse finxerunt, Spiritum sanctum conferre ad gratiæ augmentum, qui in baptismo collatus sit ad innocentiam: confirmare eos ad pugnam qui in baptismo regenerati sint ad vitam. Peragitur hæc confirmatio unctione, et hac verborum formula, *Consigno te signo sanctæ crucis, et confirmo chrismate salutis*, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti. &c.—Id. ibid. 5. ibid.]

[3 Confess. et Expos. Fid. Christ. cap. xix. in Corp. et Syntagm. Confess. Fid. Genev. 1654. p. 43. See before, page 478, note 3.]

[4 See before, page 405, note 6.]

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and would have them to receive that authority from him which he hath no power to give; the pope also requireth the full authority of a civil magistrate, and exempteth himself from all subjection, which is flat contrary to the word of God: our bishops in this church do not challenge (as of their own right) any such civil authority, but only according to their duty execute that, that by the prince and laws of this realm, for just considerations, is laid upon them. Neither do they meddle in all civil causes, or exercise all civil jurisdiction, but such only as helpeth to discipline, and to the good government of this church and state; wherefore we may safely preach against the pope's two swords, and yet lawfully defend that jurisdiction and authority that any bishop hath in this church, for anything that I know.

Bishops do not use the civil sword as the pope doth.

T. C. Page 174, Sect. 3.

Upon the sixth leaf M. Doctor saith that the pope taketh the sword from princes, but our bishops take it at their hands, and given of them; as though challenge were not made against the pope for using the material sword, and not only for using it against the will of the prince. For by that reason, if princes would put their swords in his hand, as sometimes they have done, he might lawfully use them. And, whereas he saith that our churchmen "meddle not with all civil causes, or exercise all civil jurisdiction, but such as helpeth to discipline, and the good government of the church and the estate[1];" what saith he that is not truly said of any civil magistrate in the realm? For no one doth meddle in all causes. And, further, I would gladly know what civil jurisdiction is in this realm which helpeth not unto the good government of this church and estate[1]. For, if they meddle with all that, there is none which they have not to do with.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

Difference betwixt the civil jurisdiction of the pope and of our bishops.

The thing itself declareth, and the practice of this church is evident, in what sort and condition such civil offices are committed to ecclesiastical persons; and that they do not rule as kings, but as subjects to kings; nor that they challenge not this of any other authority but from the prince, and that they use it to no other end than the good and godly government of the church; whereas the pope ruleth as emperor and king, not as subject, challengeth his authority of duty, and by the word of God, not by the grant of princes, and useth it

[1 State, Repl. 1 and 2.]

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most tyrannically, even to the placing and displacing of kings and emperors at his pleasure. And this is that usurped jurisdiction which all good men cry out of and mislike, and not the other, which is ordinary, usual, and lawful. When I say that bishops have that civil jurisdiction "which helpeth to discipline, and the good government of the church and state," all men may understand that I mean such civil jurisdiction as is meet for them to execute, and agreeable to their vocation and calling.

Answer to the additions, &c.

Fol. 7.

Whereas before it was thus in the margent, and 19. reason: "To prove that the regiment of the church should be spiritual, read Ephes. i. 23; 1 Thess. v. 13; 1 Tim. v. 2; Heb. x. 30;" now it is thus altered: "To prove that the regiment of the church should be spiritual, read Calvin in his commentaries upon these places, Ephes. i. 23; 1 Thess. v. 13; 1 Tim. v. 2; Heb. x. 30.[2]" Belike, because the scriptures themselves do not sufficiently prove your assertion, therefore you would have us to leave them, and to rest upon Calvin's interpretation; which is nothing else but to prefer man's judgment before the word of God, or to give M. Calvin authority to conclude that which is not determined by the scripture. If this be not your meaning, why fly you from those places themselves to M. Calvin's interpretation upon them? But what if you now abuse M. Calvin's commentaries upon these places, as you did before the places themselves? In his commentaries upon Ephes. i. verse 23, this is all that he saith touching this matter: *Nam utcunque Christus omnia perficiat, nutu virtuteque sua, tamen specialiter loquitur hic Paulus de spirituali ecclesiæ gubernatione. Quanquam nihil interea impedit quominus de universali mundi gubernatione accipias*[3]: "For, howsoever Christ maketh perfect all things with his beck and by his power, yet Paul speaketh here especially of the spiritual government of the church. Although that in the mean time it is no hinderance

[2 See before, page 276, note 5.]

[3 Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Comm. in Epist. ad Ephes. cap. i. 23. Tom. VII. p. 325; where *Nihil quidem impedit quominus.*]

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why thou mayest not also understand it of the universal government of the world." These words serve little for your purpose. There is no man that doubteth but that Christ doth spiritually govern his church, and reign in the hearts of the faithful by his Spirit; but your meaning is that the government of the church is only spiritual, which you can no more gather of these words of Calvin than you may that the government of the whole world ought only to be spiritual.

The same Calvin, writing upon 1 Thess. v. vers. 12, for the which you have noted the 13, saith on this sort: *Hoc additum videtur ad notandum spirituale regimen: tametsi enim reges quoque et magistratus Dei ordinatione præsunt, quia tamen ecclesiæ gubernationem Dominus peculiariter vult suam agnosci, ideo nominatim præesse in Domino dicuntur, qui Christi nomine et mandato ecclesiam gubernant*[1]: "This seems to be added to note the spiritual regiment. For, although kings also and magistrates do govern by the ordinance of God, yet, because the Lord would have the government of the church known peculiarly to be his, therefore namely they are said to rule in the Lord, which govern the church in the name of Christ and by his commandment." Hitherto[2] Calvin also affirmeth that which no man denieth, that God doth by the ministry of his word spiritually govern his church. But this taketh not away the civil magistrate, neither yet civil laws made by the magistrate externally also to govern the church. In his commentaries, 1 Tim. v. vers. 2, he speaketh not one word of this matter for anything that I can perceive[3]. Upon the place to the Hebrews he only sheweth that God doth govern his church[4]; the which I think no man is so wicked as to deny. You must more plainly set it down what your meaning in this matter is, before you can be fully answered. For to prove that God doth spiritually

Anabaptism after a sort defended[5].

[1 Id. Comm. in Epist. 1. ad Thess. cap. v. 12. Tom. VII. p. 419.]

[2 Here, Answ. 2.]

[3 Id. Comm. in Epist. 1. ad Timoth. cap. v. 1, 2. Tom. VII. p. 459. There appears nothing here to the point.]

[4 Id. Comm. in Epist. ad Hebr. cap. x. 30. Tom. VII. pp. 567, 8.]

[5 Anabaptism defended after a sort, Answ. 2.]

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govern his church is needless, being denied of none, either papist or protestant; but thereupon to conclude that the civil magistrate is secluded from the government of the church, or that there needeth no external regiment, is dangerous, and savoureth anabaptism.

T. C. Page 174, Sect. ult.

Upon the seventh leaf he saith that he knoweth not the meaning of the Admonition, when it proveth that the government of the church is spiritual: their meaning is plain enough; and I have declared it more at large to be, not only that our Saviour Christ ruleth by his Spirit in the hearts of his elect (besides which government M. Doctor seemeth to know none), but that there is also spiritual government, which is in the whole church visible and to be seen, exercised by those whom God hath appointed in his stead, called spiritual, because, whereas the civil government useth the sword, this useth the word, and, where the civil governor addresseth himself unto the body, and hath that for special matter to work on, the spiritual governors be occupied in reforming the mind, and subduing that with those punishments and corrections which God hath appointed for that purpose. Which signification of spiritual government M. Calvin doth speak of in both the places alleged by M. Doctor, and especially in the latter[6]; unto whom the Admonition sent the reader, not thereby to give more weight unto the truth, but that he might have there a plainer and fuller understanding of that which is[7] meant, and could not, for that brevity and shortness which it followeth throughout, utter at large. Whereby it is manifest that the Admonition is so far from shutting out either civil government or external government in the church, that it teacheth of an external government which M. Doctor seemeth not to have heard of, albeit there be nothing either more common in the scriptures or ecclesiastical writers.

Jo. Whitgift.

You reply not to my Answer, neither do you tell us why you have left out the places in scripture before quoted, and in place thereof put M. Calvin; neither have you salved their unapt and unfit alleging of M. Calvin, who is far from proving their purpose in those places which they have noted. Indeed the true spiritual government of the church is the ruling of Christ by his Spirit in the hearts of the elect; neither do I deny but that admonition, exhortation, and excommunication pertain also to the spiritual government of the church, because they pertain to the inward man, and use no corporal force or punishment; but I deny the whole government of the church

The whole external government of the church is not spiritual.

[6 Later, Repl. 1 and 2.] [7 It, Repl. 1 and 2.]

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to consist herein, for I have proved before, and it cannot be denied, but that God hath chiefly and principally committed the government of his church to the christian magistrate by the sword also, and by convenient laws and orders to govern the same with an external kind of government; and therefore that, which I deny, neither you nor they have as yet proved, or can prove; that is, that the government of the church is only spiritual. But still the reader may note how you labour clean to shut out the civil magistrate from the government of the church. For, if the government of it be only spiritual (which you labour to prove), then what hath the civil magistrate to do therewith? Admonish and exhort he may not; excommunicate he cannot; and therefore hath he by your doctrine no more to do in the government of the church, which consisteth in these and such like spiritual actions, than the poorest subject in this land. For, when you say that "the Admonition is far from shutting out either civil government or external government in the church," you speak subtilly in saying "in the church," not "of the church," for you confess that the civil magistrate is a governor in the church, but not of the church, that is, he governeth the commonwealth which is contained in the church, but he doth not govern the church. O how simply and plainly you deal!

The civil magistrate excluded from government of the church.

Subtle speech of the Replier.

Governor in the church, not of the church.

Answer to the additions, &c.

Fol. 8.

In the margent, over against the 21. reason, there is this note: "It containeth manifest blasphemy, as may appear, Ephes. i. 17;[1]" meaning this saying of the bishop to those that are admitted ministers: "Receive the Holy Ghost." The place in that chapter[2] of the epistle to the Ephesians proveth no such thing: these be the words: "I cease not to give thanks for you, making mention of you in my prayers, that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, might give unto you the spirit of wisdom and revelation through the knowledge of him." What sequel is there in this argument: St Paul prayed that God would give to the Ephesians the spirit of wisdom and revelation through the knowledge of him; *ergo*,

[1 See before, page 280, note 1.] [2 Chapter, Answ.]

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this saying of the bishop: "Receive the Holy Ghost," to those that are admitted into the ministry, "containeth manifest blasphemy?" Such is your usual manner of reasoning.

T. C. Page 175, Sect. 1.

Upon the 8. *leaf M. Doctor saith he seeth nothing how the place of the Ephes. maketh anything against this manner of speech of the bishop: "Receive the Holy Ghost;" and yet it maketh thus much, that, forasmuch as the apostles did use to pray that the grace of God might be given unto men, the bishops should not use this manner of speech which containeth the form of a commandment.*

Jo. WHITGIFT.

This is far from proving the words to contain a manifest blasphemy. Of the manner of speaking these words, upon what consideration the bishops use the same form, and that they may do it, I have shewed before[3]. Tract. IV. cap. 2. the 4. division.

Answer to the additions, &c.

Fol. 9.

All this is added: "Neither is the controversy betwixt them and us as they would bear the world in hand, as for a cap, a tippet, or a surplice, but for greater matters, concerning a true ministry, and regiment of the church according to the word. Which things once established, the other melt away of themselves; and yet consider, I pray you, whether their own argument doth not choke themselves; for even the very name of trifles doth plainly declare that they ought not to be maintained in Christ's church. And what shall our bishops win by it? Forsooth, that they be maintainers of trifles, and trifling bishops, consuming the greatest part of their time in those trifles, whereas they should be better occupied. We strive for true religion and government of the church, and shew you the right way to throw out antichrist, both head and tail, and that we will not so much as communicate with the tail of the beast; but they, after they have thrust out antichrist by the head, go about to pull him in again by the tail, cunningly colouring it, lest any man should espy his footsteps, as Cacus did when he stole the oxen[4]."

[3 See Vol. I. pages 489, &c.] [4 See before, page 459, note 7.]

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Great matters pretended not yet uttered.

What other men have done I know not, but, for my part, I always suspected and partly knew that some of you had greater matters in hand, and of more importance, than cap, tippet, and surplice; which surely was one of the first causes that moved me to be more earnest against you, than I was accustomed; for I did understand that you were hatching opinions tending not only to anabaptism, but to the overthrow of the gospel, and disturbing the quiet state of this church; and yet who knoweth not that you have made the cap and surplice your pretence hitherto, until now of late when you see almost all men condemn your folly?

You say, we "choke" ourselves with our own "argument; for even the very name of trifles doth plainly declare that they ought not to be maintained in Christ's church." Surely of themselves they be but trifles; as all other external ceremonies and indifferent things be: it is the circumstances that maketh them no trifles, but matters of weight; for things indifferent, being commanded thus or so to be used by the magistrate (not as necessary to salvation and justification, but as convenient and necessary for order and decency), be not now trifles. And whosoever, without a lawful urgent cause, or in a case of necessity, doth break the law made of them, sheweth himself a disordered person, disobedient, a contemner of lawful authority, and a wounder of his weak brother's conscience. And, if any man shall say that this is to bring us again in bondage of the law, and to deprive us of our liberty, I answer, no; for it is not a matter of justification but of order; and to be under a law is no taking away of christian liberty. For the christian liberty is not a licence to do what thou list, but to serve God in newness of mind, and that for love, not for servile fear. Of themselves therefore they be but trifles, but, being commanded by the magistrate to be used, or not to be used, they are no trifles; no more than it was for women to come into the church bare-headed, or a man to pray having his cap on his head, after that St Paul had made an order to the contrary. And therefore these scoffs and flouts: "And what shall our bishops win by it? forsooth, that they be main-

Christian liberty, what it is.

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tainers of trifles, and trifling bishops, consuming the greatest part of their time in these trifles, whereas they should be better occupied," might with more commendation of your modesty have been well forborne. They see your doings tend not only to contention, but to confusion; not only to disobedience towards the laws of the prince, but also to dangerous errors, yea, to the overthrow of religion; and therefore they are neither "maintainers of trifles, nor trifling bishops," but wise, discreet, vigilant, and learned fathers, which seek to maintain peace, preserve good order, defend the authority of lawful laws, and in time suppress erroneous doctrine.

You rather spend the time in trifles, when you might be better occupied, for you (omitting all other necessary points of doctrine, and profitable exhortations to good life) stuff your sermons and furnish your table-talk with nothing else but with bitter invectives against those rites, as though they were matters of damnation, and against those learned and discreet ministers of the word, who (according to their duty using of them) seek indeed to beat down antichrist, to plant necessary points of religion in men's hearts, and to teach repentance with newness of life; which your unfruitful, froward, and contentious dealing rejoiceth the papist, discrediteth the sound and learned preacher, offendeth the godly, woundeth the weak, worketh contempt of magistrates and superiors in the hearts of the hearers, destroyeth that which other men build, and finally doth good to none. For what fruit can there come to the hearers by inveighing continually against cap, tippet, surplice, ring in marriage, women's white kerchers, bagpipes, funeral sermons, mourning apparel, &c., bishops, preachers, magistrates, prince? These, and such like, be only the common-places you entreat of.

Invective sermons.

Unfruitful sermons[1].

T. C. Page 175, Sect. 2.

Upon the ninth leaf he hath sundry grievous accusations and charges of disorder, disobedience, and contempt against those which refuse the apparel, and laboureth to persuade that they are great and weighty matters. But his proofs were spent before.

[1 Sermons unfruitful, Answ. 2.]

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Jo. Whitgift.

The proofs that I have here used galls you shrewdly, and will not be answered with such disdain: let the learned reader consider of them, and mark how well you have spoken for yourself.

Answer to the additions, &c.

Fol. 1.

There is added "portuis;" for, where before they said that our book of common prayers was culled and picked out of that "popish dunghill, the mass-book," now, upon better advisement, they say that it was culled out of the "portuis and mass-book[1]." It derogateth nothing from the book of common prayers because something therein is in the portuis and mass-book, no more than it derogateth from the scriptures, that some portion of them, as the whole psalms, and certain other portions of the epistles, gospels, and other scripture, be in the same; neither are they allowed because they be in the portuis and mass-book, but because they be either scripture, or most agreeable thereunto.

They also add, in the first reason, that the coming of women in veils to be churched "is not commanded by law, but yet the abuse to be great, by reason that superstition is grown thereby in the hearts of many, and other are judged that use it not[2]." This is an argument of their former rashness, but not worthy any answer, especially being confessed to be without the book.

For the "cxx. psalm" is now quoted the "cxxi. psalm[3];" which I have also corrected before.

Fol. 2.

For the "xxvi. of Matt." is noted the "xxviii.[4]" And this also I corrected in answering that place.

Where it was before, "and minister a sacrament," now is added, "according to their appointment[5];" to what purpose I know not.

[1 See before, page 326, note 4.] [2 See before, page 333, note 7.]
[3 See before, page 333, note 8.]
[4 See before, page 40, note 1, 336, note 3.]
[5 See before, page 40, note 5.]

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There is also added in the same leaf these words: "Are not the people well nodified, think you, when the homily of sweeping the church is read unto them[6]?" Surely such flouting terms are used of none but of noddies indeed, and such as are more meet to be fools in plays, where they may jest, than to be platformers of churches, in whom wisdom, learning, gravity, and godliness is to be required. I know no homily entituled "Of sweeping the church:" one there is "Of repairing and keeping clean of churches:" whether it edify or no, I refer to the wise and discreet reader to judge, when he hath perused it. Scurrility[7].

Before it was in the second reason, "for the very name 'apocrypha' testifieth that they ought rather to be kept close than to be uttered:" now it is, "for the very name 'apocrypha' testifieth that they were read in secret, and not openly[8]." This is some correction of their former rashness. But of this matter, that is, of reading homilies in the church, I have spoken before. I omit "2 Tim. iii. vers. 6," which is now "vers. 16,[9]" and "2 Pet. i. vers. 20," which is now "vers. 19, 20, 21." For these be not matters of any great importance, and they be quoted to prove a matter not doubted of among us. In the former edition and fourth reason, it is thus written: "In this book we are enjoined to receive the communion kneeling, which, beside that it hath in it a shew of papistry, doth not so well express the mystery of this holy supper. For, as in the old testament eating the paschal lamb standing signified a readiness to pass, even so in receiving it now sitting, according to the example of Christ, we signify a rest, that is, a full finishing through Christ of all the ceremonial law, and a perfect work of redemption wrought, that giveth rest for ever; and so we avoid also the danger of idolatry." In the second edition these words be thus altered: "In this book we are enjoined to receive the communion kneeling, which, beside that it hath in it a shew of popish idolatry, doth not so well express a supper, neither agreeth it so well with the institution of Christ, Fol. 3. Apocrypha.

[6 See before, page 53, note 8.] [7 This word is inserted from Answ. 2.]
[8 See before, page 338, notes 4, 5, 6.] [9 19, Def. A. and B.]

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as sitting doth; not that we make sitting a thing of necessity belonging unto the sacrament, neither affirm we that it may not be received otherwise, but that it is more near the institution, and also a mean to avoid the
Correction. danger of idolatry[1]." Here is the signification of sitting (which they before made) clean dashed out, as a thing unadvisedly before put in. It is also here granted that the communion may be received otherwise than sitting, with other circumstances, whereof they have now better considered. Surely this is a great alteration upon such a sudden; and I would hardly have been persuaded that these men would so soon have discredited themselves by their inconstancy. But peradventure the self-same had not the correction of the book which were the first penners of it, and therefore how they will like of this correction, it may be doubted. But, although the words in the text be altered, yet the quotations in the margent remain still; belike they are to be applied as it pleaseth the platformers.

Fol. 4. All this is added in the seventh reason: "But some will say that the baptism of women is not commanded by law: if it be not, why do you suffer it, and wherefore are the children so baptized accordingly? common experience teacheth that it is used almost in all places; and few speak against it; and this I am sure of, that, when it was put in the book, that was the meaning of the most part that were then present; and so it was to be understanded[2], as common practice without controlment doth plainly declare[3]." All these be but conjectures. Divers things be suffered and in many places used without controlment, which notwithstanding by no law be commanded. What the meaning was of those that penned the book I know not, neither, as I think, do you. And surely for common practice I can say little, but for mine own experience this I dare affirm, that I have not known one child so baptized in places where I have had to do, no, not since the beginning of the Q. majesty's reign. I speak not of the thing itself,

[1 See before, page 93, note 4.] [2 Understand, Adm. and Answ.]
[3 See Vol. II. page 538. It was after the portion of the Admonition there inserted that the addition here mentioned was made.]

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but only of your conjectures: I think, if the circumstances of the book be well considered, it will appear that the meaning is that private baptism is rather to be ministered by some minister (which in the time of necessity may soonest be come by) than by any woman. But in this point I submit my judgment to such as better know the meaning of the book (being penners thereof) than I do. In the same leaf and ninth reason, speaking of certain things used about marriage, they add these words: "With divers other heathenish toys, in sundry countries, as carrying of wheat-sheaves on their heads, and casting of corn, with a number of such like, whereby they make rather a May-game of marriage than a holy institution of God[4]." These be but toys indeed, used I know not where, not contained in any part of the book of common prayers, and therefore without my compass of defence They lack matter when they stuff their book with such vain and frivolous trifles.

Baptizing by women not collected out of the book.

Toys about marriage.

In the 10. reason, to these words, "As for confirmation," is added, "which the papists and our men say was in times past apostolical, grounding their opinion perhaps upon some dream of Hierome[5]." And in the same place these words be left out: "We speak not of other toys used in it; and how far it differeth, and is degenerated from the first institution, they themselves that are learned can witness." And in the place hereof this is inserted: "As though baptism were not already perfect, but needed confirmation, or as though the bishop could give the Holy Ghost[6]." You yourself, in effect, have confessed in your first edition that confirmation of children is very ancient, and that it hath been well instituted; for there you say that "now it differeth and is degenerate from the first institution." But upon better advisement you have left out these words in your second edition; as you have also left out these: "with other toys used in it;" whereby you confess (contrary to your former sentence) that the confirmation of children now used is without any toys. Howsoever it pleaseth you to account Hierome's judgment (touching the antiquity of confirmation) a dream; yet his dream may

Fol. 5.

Confirmation of children allowed at the last.

[4 See before, page 353, note 9.] [5 See before, page 357, note 7.]
[6 See before, page 358, note 1.]

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The end of confirmation.

be of as much credit with wise men as your bare denial of the same. The words that you have added in the second place might well have been spared; for you know that confirmation now used in this church is not to make baptism perfect, but partly to try how the godfathers and godmothers have performed that which was enjoined them when the children were baptized; partly that the children themselves (now being at the years of discretion, and having learned what their godfathers and godmothers promised for them in baptism) may with their own mouth and with their own consent openly before the church ratify and confirm the same, and also promise that by the grace of God they will evermore endeavour themselves faithfully to observe and keep such things as they by their own mouth and confession have assented unto. And this reason is alleged among other, even in the book of common prayers. And that it is not to make baptism perfect, the book of common prayers itself declareth in these words: "And, that no man shall think any detriment shall come to children by deferring of their confirmation, he shall know for truth that it is certain by God's word that children being baptized have all things necessary for their salvation, and be undoubtedly saved[1]."

You add: "as though the bishop could give the Holy Ghost." The bishop may use the ceremony used by the apostles, that is, "imposition of hands," and may safely say this godly prayer contained in the book: "Defend, O Lord, this child with thy[2] heavenly grace, that he may continue thine for ever, and daily increase in thy Holy Spirit more and more, until he come unto thy everlasting kingdom. Amen[3];" and other such godly prayers there contained. Of any other kind of giving the Holy Ghost there is no mention in that book; and therefore these additions might very well have been left out of your libel.

To the end of the eleventh reason these words be added: "and open our eyes that we may see what that

[1 See Liturgical Services, Q. Eliz., Park. Soc. Edit. p. 210; where *think that any.*]

[2 The, Def. A. and B.] [3 Ibid. p. 215.]

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good and acceptable will of God is, and be more earnest to provoke his glory[4];" to the which I only answer, Amen.

In the end of the 12. there is something left out, which they have placed in the 13. reason[5]; but it is answered before.

There is nothing added or altered worth the noting; Fol. 6. only in the fifteenth reason, where they said before that we honoured bishops by the "titles of kings;" now they have recanted that, and condemned themselves of an untruth, for they have left out that title[6].

In the seventh[7] leaf and 19. reason these words be Fol. 7. left out: "banners and bells[8];" which argueth that they were before untruly said to be used in gang-week; but to lie is a small matter with these men.

For "lord's grace of York," there is "the archbishop Fol. 8. of York[9]." The cause of this alteration I know not.

When you say that you "strive for true religion, Fol. 9. and government of the church, &c.[10]," you say that you do that which is to be wished you should do. But your doings tend to the defacing of true religion, and overthrow of the right government of the church; and, although you be not the head of antichrist, yet are you his tail; for the tail of the beast (as learned men say) Tail of antichrist what it is. be false prophets, hypocrites, such as stir up schisms and factions among true Christians, and by pretence of zeal, by cloaked and coloured means, seek to draw into the church antichrist backward, as Cacus did the oxen into his den[11].

Jo. Whitgift.

To these things the Replier hath given his consent, as it should seem, by his silence.

[The Answer.

Forasmuch as the authors of the Admonition, for their better credit, have set down in print the epistles of

[4 See before, page 362, note 2.]

[5 See Vol. II. page 477. The piece of Admonition which appears in that place is that which Whitgift speaks of as being transposed. Conf. before, page 384, note 1.] [6 See before, page 405, note 2.]

[7 Same, Answ.] [8 See before, page 276, note 4.]

[9 See before, page 277, note 9.] [10 See before, page 459.]

[11 Whitgift has departed from the order of the Answer, and placed those paragraphs (from page 490) together, against which Cartwright made no exception.]

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Master Beza, and Master Gualter[1], so I have thought good to set down an epistle of Master Gualter, revoking the same upon better information, also another of Master Bullinger, concerning the same cause.

A letter of Master Gualter, written of late to the R. reverend father in Christ, the bishop of Ely.

S. Accepi, &c.[2]

The same in English.

S. I have received &c.

Ex epistola Hen. Bullingeri, ad Robertum episcopum Winton. 12. Martii, 1572.

In primis vero gratulamur vobis admirandam illam serenissimæ reginæ vestræ felicitatem in turbis componendis, in hostibus profligandis, in subditis in officio retinendis, et in practicis nequiter a perduellibus contextis sapienter et fortiter defendendis. Dominum oramus sedulo ut amplissima in ipsa dona non tam servet quam amplificet, eamque ab omni malo protegat. Superat hæc virgo Deo dilecta (omnium testimonio) bonorum omnes quotquot nunc regnant reges mares per orbem, sapientia, modestia, clementia, et tum etiam justitia, rerumque gerendarum dexteritate et admiranda felicitate; unde sane pii omnes per universa regna sese consolantur, et in vera religione confirmant, quod perspicue cernunt Christum Dominum cultrici suæ adesse tam potenter, ipsamque gloria et omnigenis virtutibus heroicis divinisque anteferre principibus. Dolet autem nobis non mediocriter, quod in propaganda veritate, inque dilatandis ecclesiæ Christi pomeriis, tot vobis se objiciunt obstacula atque remoræ, ab illis quoque exortæ, qui maxime evangelici volunt videri. Verum per initia reformationis ecclesiæ nostræ, eadem nos exercuit molestia. Erant enim quibus nihil in reformando satis purum videbatur, unde et ab ecclesia sese

[1 One of these letters, viz. that of Gualter to Parkhurst, is printed in the Zurich Letters, Sec. Series, Lett. lvi. pp. 140, &c. and Append. pp. 83, 4. That of Beza may be seen Th. Bezæ Epist. Theolog. Genev. 1575. Epist. viii. pp. 68, &c.]

[2 It is not thought necessary to reprint this letter here. It will be found among the Zurich Letters, First Series, Lett. vii. Append. pp. 362, &c.]

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segregabant, et conventicula peculiaria constituebant, quæ mox consequebantur schismata et sectæ variæ, quæ jucundum spectaculum exhibebant hostibus nostris papisticis. Sed innotuit tandem ipsorum hypocrisis et ataxia, suaque sponte diffluxere. Liberabit hac molestia et vos haud dubie clemens et misericors Dominus. &c.

The same in English.

First of all, we rejoice with you for the wonderful felicity of your most gracious queen, in quieting of troubles, in overthrowing of her enemies, in keeping of her subjects in obedience, and for her wise and courageous sifting out of the mischievously wrapped practices of traitors. And we do earnestly pray unto God that he will not only continue these so great graces in her, but also increase them, and that he will defend her from all evil. This virgin prince, beloved of God, in the judgment of all good men excelleth all the men princes that now reign in the world, in wisdom, in modesty, in mercy, in justice, in dexterity, and marvellous happiness in all her affairs; so that undoubtedly the godly of all nations do comfort themselves, and are confirmed in the true religion, for that they do evidently see Christ the Lord so mightily to favour his servant, and to preserve her in glory, and all manner virtue, before heroical and divine princes. But we are not a little sorry that, in your spreading of the truth, and enlarging of the limits of Christ's church, so many stops and stays are cast against you, and they springing from them that will seem most evangelical. For, in the beginning of the reformation of our church, the same griefs occupied us; for there were some, unto whom in reforming nothing might seem sufficiently pure, insomuch that they separated themselves from the church, and appointed private conventicles, the which there did presently follow schisms, and divers sects; and they were a pleasant spectacle to our enemies the papists. But at the length their hypocrisy and disorder did appear; and they vanished of their own accord. The merciful and gracious Lord shall deliver you also, no doubt, from this trouble, &c.][3]

[3] The paragraphs between brackets are introduced from Answ.]

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¶ Articles collected out of the former Admonition, and untruly said (of the fautors of that Admonition) to be falsified.

To the end of the Second Admonition there is joined "A reproof of certain articles, collected (as it is thought) by the bishops," for so they say, "out of a little book entituled, An Admonition to the Parliament, &c.[1]" But as I think, it may rather be termed, "A recantation, or," if you will, "a reformation, or mitigation of certain articles in that first Admonition rashly set down, and without learning or discretion printed."

Scarce the face of a church.

1. Fol. 3. li.[2] 1. pag. 2. "First, they hold and affirm that we in England are not yet come to the outward face of a church agreeable to God's word." Here you find fault that this word "scarce" is left out[3]. Indeed this word "scarce" was written in the margent of divers

[1 The title of this treatise is

"Certaine Articles, collected and taken (as it is thought) by the Byshops out of a litle boke entituled an admonition to the Parliament, wyth an Answere to the same. Containing a confirmation of the sayde Booke in shorte notes.

Esay. 5. 20.

Woe be vnto them that speake good of euill, and euill of good, whych put darknesse for light, and light for darknesse, that putte bytter for sweete, and sweete for sower.

The Prynter to the Reader.

Thys worke is fynished thankes be to God,
And he only wil keepe vs from the searchers rod.
And though master Day and Toy watch & warde,
We hope the liuing God is our sauegarde.
Let them seeke, loke, and doe now what they can,
It is but inuentions, and pollicies of man.
But you wil maruel where it was fynished,
And you shal know (perchance) when domes day is ended.
Imprinted we know where, and whan,
Judge you the place and you can. J. T. J. S"

On the reverse of the title-page there are in some copies several stanzas addressed "To the Prelacie."]

[2 Lib., Def. A. and B.]

[3 "In this first allegation there lacketh this word 'scarce,' which is in both copies, first and last; wherein if they had meant plainly and truly to have dealt with the world, they might have put it down, as it is in the book. Let men think of them as they list, but to make a lie in the beginning is foul and shameful."—Cert. Articles, fol. A. ii.]

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copies of the first Admonition: whether it were so in all, or no, I know not; no more do I whether any such collection (as you pretend) was made. But what need you so much stick in words, when the thing is manifest? for in effect they deny as much as that proposition importeth: they wholly condemn the ministry, the ceremonies, and the government of this church. They say the sacraments be full of corruptions; and in their Second Admonition, fol. 42, they say that "the sacraments are wickedly mangled and profaned:" they utterly condemn our order and manner of common prayer, yea, in effect our doctrine also; for in their Second Admonition, fol. 7, they say that, "although some truth be taught by some preachers, yet no preacher may, without danger[4] of the laws, utter all truth comprised in the book of God." What can be spoken more slenderly of the doctrine preached in this church? A man may truly speak as much of the Romish church; for some truth is taught by some papists, yea, some truth is taught by some Jew and Turk. When therefore you say that in this church neither the word is truly preached, nor the sacraments sincerely ministered, nor yet ecclesiastical discipline (which three in the first Admonition, fol. 3, is said to be "the outward marks whereby a true christian church is known[5]"), and also condemn our ministry as popish and unlawful, with the whole government of our church (as you do in plain terms), may it not be truly said that you affirm us in England as yet not to be come "to the outward face of a church agreeable to God's word?" Furthermore, what doth this word "scarce" help the matter? doth it not import as much? it is a rule in philosophy, *Quod vix fit non fit:* "That which is scarce done is not done."

Vix signifieth sometime[6] *non.*

T. C. Page 175, Sect. 3, 4, 5.

As for answer to the articles collected out of the Admonition, it is made in the Reply unto M. Doctor's book, where I have shewed how the Admonition is misconstrued and taken otherwise than either it meaneth or speaketh; whereunto I will refer the reader.

[4 Without great danger, Sec. Adm.] [5 See Vol. I. page 290.]
[6 Sometimes, Answ. 2.]

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And, albeit I have shewed how untrue it is that the Admonition affirmeth that there is no church in England, yet I cannot pass by the secret philosophy whereby M. Doctor would prove that the authors of the Admonition affirm it. For saith he, by the rule of philosophy, Quod vix fit non fit: *"That which is scarce done is not done." I say this is secret; for it was never taught, neither in* Academia, *nor in* Stoa, *nor* Lyceo. *I have read* Quod fere fit non fit: *"That which is almost done is not done." But I never remember any such rule as M. Doctor speaketh of.*

And, besides that, in our tongue those things which are said to be scarce are notwithstanding oftentimes supposed to be. As when a man saith that there is scarce a man alive, &c. The scripture also useth that phrase of speech of things which are; as, when it saith, "The just man shall scarce be saved," it doth not mean that just men shall not be saved. The rest of that I have answered. 1 Pet. iv. 18.[1]

Jo. Whitgift.

I prove by their own manifest words, that they indeed affirm that "we in England are not yet come to the outward face of a church agreeable to God's word;" all which proofs you omit and let pass, cavilling only at this word "scarce;" which is a manifest argument of a wrangler. And yet is not this manner of speaking, *Quod vix fit non fit,* so strange philosophy as you would gladly have it; for this word *vix* either signifieth with violence and great difficulty to do a thing; or else it is referred to the time; or else it signifieth *non,* as in Ovid, *vix Priamus tanti,* that is, *non tanti Priamus;* as Donatus doth expound it[2]. I think you will not have it to be taken in the first signification, by the authors of the Admonition; for then there is no sense in their words: if it be taken in either of the latter significations (as it must of necessity be), then the "philosophy" is not "secret," but open and known to every young grammarian.

What the word *vix* importeth.

In our English phrase it is commonly taken for *non;* as, when we say a thing is "scarce" done, we signify that it is not yet done. Likewise, when a man saith that he is "scarce" well, he meaneth that he is not well. He hath "scarce" made an end of his sermon, that is, he hath not made an end of his sermon. It is "scarce" ix. of the clock, that is, it is

Vix in English commonly taken for *non.*

[1 This reference is inserted from Repl. 2.]

[2 This particular example has not been found; but see Terent. Op. Venet. 1586. cum Comm. Æl. Donat. &c. Ad Eunuch. III. ii. 19; Adelph. III. ii. 12; Phorm. II. iii. 26. foll. 52. 2, 118, 185. 2. On each of these passages Donatus notices the signification of *vix* here given, and cites a line of Lucilius.]

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not yet ix. of the clock. Even so, "we are scarce come to the outward form of a church rightly reformed, &c.," that is, "we are not yet come &c." Every child that can speak knoweth this to be so.

When the scripture saith that "a just man shall scarce be saved," this word *vix* is taken in the first signification, that is, with great difficulty; and in this signification it is oftentimes taken in the scripture; but so can it not be in their manner of speech.

Answer to certain articles, &c.

2. "They will have the ministers to be called, allowed, and placed by the people." You say that this article is falsified[3]; and yet their words in that place of their Admonition be these: "Then election was made by the common consent of the whole church[4]." And a little after: "Then no minister was placed[5] in any congregation without the consent of the people." Wherefore the collection is very true, and they belike ashamed of their doings; and therefore they have corrected these assertions in their second edition of the[6] first Admonition on this sort: "Then election was made by the elders, with the common consent of the whole church." Surely these men be past shame, else would they not deny their own written assertions.

T. C. Page 175, Sect. 6.

And, whereas he saith that it is all one to say that the election of the minister must be made by the church, and to say it must be made by the people; it is a great oversight to make the part and whole all one, seeing the people be but one part of the church, and the minister and the other governors are, albeit not the greatest, yet the principallest part. I grant that sometimes a part is taken for the whole; and so we do call sometimes the governors of the church the church, and sometimes the people. But where the question is of the propriety of these speeches "the church" and "the people," there all men that have any judgment can easily put a difference.

A manifest falsification; for you leave out this word 'whole.'

Jo. WHITGIFT.

What I have said, how truly you have reported my

[3 "This article is utterly falsified. For it is in the Admonition, 'The election was made by the elders with the common consent of the whole church.' And so, if they condemn the making of ministers, what do they else but open their mouth against God and against the truth. Acts xiv. 23?"—Cert. Articles, fol. A. ii. 2.]

[4 See Vol. I. pages 339, 41.]

[5 Minister placed, Answ.]

[6 Their, Answ.]

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words, and how aptly you have replied to my Answer, even the very simple reader may easily understand; and therefore, for answer to this, I shall only desire him to compare our words together; and then it shall easily appear how you have falsified my words. For, whereas I gather out of these words of the Admonition, "Election was made by the common consent of the whole church," therefore their collection is true, which say that they would "have the ministers to be called, allowed, and placed by the people;" you, either of purpose, or by oversight (which is very usual with you), have left out the word "whole," and make as though I should say "that it is all one to say that the election must be made by the church, and to say it must be made by the people," and should confound the people and the church, the part with the whole; which is a manifest untruth. But by the way it is to be noted that you seem to separate the people from the election of ministers; for you will not have the word "church" in the Admonition to comprehend the people; else why have you these words, "when the question is of the propriety of these speeches 'the church' and 'the people'?" and surely it may seem that this is their meaning; because in their second edition they say, "the election was made by the elders, with the common consent of the people;" so that the election should be made by the elders; and the people only should consent to the election; which is contrary to the rest of your assertion.

Answer to certain articles, &c.

4. Line 9. "They hold that a bishop at no hand hath authority to ordain ministers." This article you confess to be truly gathered; but now you make this gloss "not alone[1];" and yet in their Admonition it is in flat terms, that "the ordering of ministers doth at no hand appertain to bishops[2]."

Licence to preach every man hath of himself[3].

6. Line 28. "They will have the ministers at their own pleasure to preach without licence[4]." This is true by your own confession; for you will have no other

[1 "No, not alone, but as part of the consistory and eldership and member of the church, as Acts i. And a bishop as ours are, that is Romish bishops, creatures of the canon law by no means."—Cert. Articles, fol. A. ii. 2.]

[2 See Vol. I. page 485.] [3 This note is inserted from Answ. 2.]

[4 "This is also falsified: the book hath it: 'If any be so well disposed to preach in their own charges, they may not without my lord's licence.' A shameful

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licence but your calling to the ministry, which must be (as you say) by the congregation. Here you shut out both the prince's licence and the bishop's.

7. Line 13. fol. 17; Line 6. pag. 1. Whatsoever is[5] set down in this article is manifestly affirmed in the Admonition; and your answer to it is frivolous, and nothing to the purpose. For in the first part of the Admonition, fol. 2. pag. 1, these be the words: "In those days known by voice, learning, and doctrine: now they must be discerned from other by popish and antichristian apparel, as cap, gown, tippet, &c." And in the second part, speaking of the apparel prescribed to ministers, they say on this sort: "There is no order in it, but confusion; no comeliness, but deformity; no obedience, but disobedience, both against God and the prince[6]." Are you not then ashamed to say that this article: "They will have the minister discerned from others by no kind of apparel, and the apparel appointed they term antichristian, and the apparel appointed by the prince disobedience against the prince[7]," is falsified?

Fol. 4. Lin. 1. Pag. 2. "They will have all archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, &c., together with their offices, jurisdictions, courts, and livings, clean taken away, and with speed removed." You say that this is falsified in part, because there is left out "lord's grace, justice of peace, and quorum, &c.[8]" Surely the article is truly collected in every point, and plainly affirmed in the 2. leaf of the first part of that Admonition[9]. As for your gibing words that follow, they be but wind: I Gibing words[10].

corruption. Any reasonable man would have known by the second article that no man can be a preacher at his own pleasure, but by the admission of the congregation; but, as afore, so say we again: A Romish bishop hath nought to do to give licence; and his is as good to preach by, as the pope's calf was that Felton set up."—Ibid. foll. A. ii., iii. Allusion is made here to Pius V.'s bull of excommunication against the queen. See Strype, Annals, Vol. I. chap. lvi. Vol. II. Book i. chap. ii.]

[5 It, Answ. 2.] [6 See Vol. II. pages 9, 49.]

[7 Ibid. fol. A. iii.; where *ministers*.]

[8 "Falsified in part. They have slily left out that that they could not but be ashamed of, if they had any shame, as 'lord's grace, justice of peace and quorum;' which have no ground nor warrant in God's book. But I doubt not, when they come to answer the book, or put down the confirmation of their part to confute these absurdities, we shall see good stuff."—Ibid. fol. A. iii. 2.]

[9 See Vol. II. page 79.] [10 This note is inserted from Answ. 2.]

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warrant you the confutation will abide the light, and the author will shew his face; which you are ashamed to do.

9. Lin. 9. The article is truly collected[1]: look in the first part of that Admonition, fol. 2. pag. 2, and fol. 3. And in the second part of that Admonition, fol. 1. pag. 2., fol. 5. pag. 1.[2]

17. Lin. 12. The collection is true; for their words be these: "They simply as they received it from the Lord, we sinfully mixed with man's inventions and devices." And therefore you untruly[3] say that it is falsified[4].

Godfathers and godmothers once disallowed, and after recanted.

19. Lin. 16. "They will have no godfathers nor godmothers." You say that this article is also utterly falsified; what mean you so to forget yourself? Is it not thus written in the first part of the first Admonition, fol. 3. pag. 2: "And as for baptism, it was enough with them if they had water, and the party to be baptized faith, and the minister to preach the word and minister the sacraments. Now we must have surplice devised by pope Adrian, interrogatories ministered to the infant, godfathers and godmothers, brought in by Higinus, &c.[5]" How say you? Are not godfathers and godmothers here disallowed? wherefore be they else in this place recited? or why are they here ascribed to pope Higinus? will you now allow anything in the church invented by the pope? Indeed in the second edition of this first Admonition these words, "godfathers and godmothers brought in by Higinus," be clean left out; as I have before noted. Wherefore either you have not read the diversity of their editions, or else you are very impudent.

22. Fol. 8. *in fine*[6]. I marvel why you say that this

[1 The article is: "They will not have the ministers tied (as they term it) to any form of prayers invented by man, but as the Spirit moveth them so to make their prayers, and therefore, as they will be bound to no prescript order of prayers, so will they have the book of common prayer clean taken away." And this is said to be "utterly falsified."—Cert. Articles, fol. A. iii. 2.]

[2 See Vol. II. page 466, and before, pages 8, 326, 362.]

[3 Utterly, Answ. 2.]

[4 The article is: "They will have no other words, nor circumstance made, than Christ used." On which it is said: "Falsified: the words are 'we, sinfully mixed with man's inventions.' Speak truth if thou can, and shame the devil."—Ibid. fol. A. iiii. See before, page 106.]

[5 See before, page 109.]

[6 The article is: "They say that there may be yet a more perfect form and

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collection is falsified. Look fol. ult. pag. 2. of the first part of the Admonition[7].

T. C. Page 175, Sect. 6.

The rest of those articles are answered in the discourse of the book. Besides that, the faults which are found with the untrue gathering of them are not taken away by M. Doctor but only in confident and bold asseverations. And, if I should say anything, I should but repeat their words.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

The judgment hereof must also be referred to the reader; who may conjecture that you have little to say against anything that I have in this part affirmed.

Out of the second treatise, called A View of Popish Abuses remaining.

Fol. 10. pag. 1. lin. 33. "Reading of service or homilies in the church is as evil as playing on a stage, and worse too." You say that this is falsified[8]. Lord God, what mean you? In the second leaf of that book these be their direct words: "Reading is not feeding, but it is as evil as playing upon a stage, and worse too[9]." To the same effect they speak divers times; and so do the authors of the Second Admonition. Surely either they are ashamed of their doings; or else you have not with diligence read their books.

Thus briefly to have answered to your unjust accusation of falsely collecting certain articles out of the book entituled, "An Admonition &c.," shall be sufficient. Other articles which you say be gathered out of the same book, and confess to be true, I have omitted; because they be sufficiently answered by me in the confutation; and your confirmation of them is usual and childish.

order of a church drawn, and that this is but an entrance to a further matter, promising that they will yet go further therein."—Ibid. fol. A. iiii. 2.]

[7 See before, pages 317, 18.]

[8 "Falsified, and yet mark, I pray you, their reason and comparison, not for the thing itself, but for the persons themselves. For the players can say their parts without book: these for the most part can but read theirs, and that scarce too."—Ibid. fol. B. i.]

[9 See before, page 48.]

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I would wish that such as be wise men and in authority would diligently consider that which you answer to the article, fol. 14. (as you quote it), touching the government of the church, and the authority of princes and their laws[1]; and likewise that which is written concerning the same matters in the Second Admonition: I will make them neither better nor worse, but wish the magistrates well to mark your judgments and opinions in these matters, and to foresee the worst. The Lord bless this realm of England with the continuance of his gospel, long life of the queen's majesty, and peace both foreign and domestical. Amen.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

Nothing answered.

¶ A view of the Second Admonition.

T. C. Page 175, Sect. ult.

In the view of the Second Admonition M. Doctor doth, as it seemeth of purpose, cull out those things which he hath spoken on before, and, in repeating of them, referreth his reader unto his book. Divers other matters there are of great weight which he speaketh not of: if he do approve them, it had been well he had signified his liking; if he do not, that he had confuted them. And, if he travailed so heavily of bringing forth of this book, that it was as heavy a "burden" unto him, as Salomon saith "a fond word is unto an unwise man," he might have taken day to answer it. Now, by this slender answering, or[2] rather not answering at all, but only asking how this and that is proved (whereas, being proved, it is unreproved of him) he doth his cause more harm than he is aware of. For, unless his proofs be joined with his expulsions, imprisonments, and with all that racket which he maketh in Cambridge, to the uttermost of that his authority will stretch unto, he may be well assured that their driving out will draw in the truth, and their imprisonment will set the truth at greater liberty, and thereby prove itself to be neither papistry, nor anabaptistry, Donatistry, Catharism, nor any other heresy, which are by due correction repressed. But as for the truth of God, the more it is laden, the straighter it standeth; and, the more it is kept under, the more it en-

Why have you not done so yourself in your Reply?

[1 The article is: "The regiment of the church they call antichristian and devilish, and say they may as safely subscribe to allow the dominion of the pope over us as to subscribe to it." To this a long answer is given, concluding: "It cannot be then but that they shew themselves herein to follow the trace of antichrist, especially seeing they have it *jure humano*, and that *jure pontificio*."—Cert. Articles, foll. B. ii. 2, iii.]

[2 Answering of it or, Repl. 1 and 2.]

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forceth itself to rise, and will undoubtedly get up, how great soever the stone be which is laid upon it.

JO. WHITGIFT.

I have omitted no matter of substance unanswered in either of the Admonitions. The words you here utter be contumelious: you only rail, you answer not. I never expelled any of degree since my first coming to Trinity college, but two; the one for pertinacy, the other for perjury[3]. And yet I might have done lawfully and justly, and intend to do if the statutes whereunto I have sworn do thereunto enforce me. But, by your often objecting this unto me, men may understand what conscience it is that makes you so zealous, and what divinity it is that you so earnestly profess; *scil.* a mind full of revengement, and a face puffed up with arrogancy and vain-glory.

A brief view of the Second Admonition.

I have also received a Second Admonition to the parliament; the author whereof undertaketh to teach how to reform those things which the other Admonition found fault with. I shall not need to make any long discourse of it, neither will I. The Answer to the first Admonition is an answer to this also. Only I thought it good to note unto you, that this book consisteth of these points especially; first, it justifieth the authors of the first Admonition, and seemeth to complain that they have not justice, because, they appealing to the highest court of parliament, their appeal would not be received. And therefore they say the scripture is plain, "that it shall be easier for Sodom and Gomorra in the day of judgment than for such a court[4]," meaning the court of parliament; and they quote for that purpose, in the margent, the x. of Matt. vers. 14, 15; which is a shameful profanation of the scripture, and an egregious slander to that honourable court. The justness of the appeal I leave to the justices and skilful lawyers to be considered of; for it

[3 Cartwright was the second here meant. For the other, Strype mentions the expulsion of Christopher Hayward, Life of Whitgift, Book I. chap. xiii.; but he notes it under the year 1576. Possibly, however, as he is there summing up Whitgift's character as master of Trinity, it may have occurred at an earlier date.]

[4 Sec. Adm. to Parl. p. 3.]

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is not within the compass of my faculty. Only I think that that scroll can have no defence of parliament; first, because it is a libel; secondly, because it was published in print before the parliament was made privy unto it.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

Not one word said against this.

A view of the Second Admonition.

In this part these words of theirs would be well considered. "There is no other thing to be looked for than some speedy vengeance to light upon the whole land, provide as well as the politic Machevils of England think they can, though God do his worst[2]." It would be known whom they mean by these "politic Machevils;" for they envy all men of great authority, wit, and policy.

Politic Machevils[1].

T. C. Page 176, Sect. 1, 2.

And, albeit he had no leisure to answer the matters which required his answer, yet he carpeth at by-matters, and asketh who are meant by the politic Machevils.

This is a cloke; but their words will not bear it.

What if they mean M. Doctor, and such other, which, under the pretence of policy, would overthrow the church, and that by those things which have scarce a shew of policy, and indeed overturn the policy and government of the Lord? And, I pray you, tell me, M. Doctor, who be those superiors which contemn[3], hate, discourage, and frump those which execute the laws of the realm, of the which you speak in the 88. *page*[4]. *And, where you add by and by that "they envy all men of great authority, wit, and policy," I have answered this speech before. And truly I think there is not in Meshech so slanderous a tongue to be found as this is; nor the juniper coals are not comparable with it.* Ps. cxx. 4, 5.[5]

Jo. WHITGIFT.

Nay, they cannot mean it of me, nor of such as I am; for I have not to do with the politic affairs of this land, neither am I either of court or parliament. But I think their words following do clearly seclude me, and all other of my degree; for thus they add immediately: "But shut God out of your assemblies and courts, as hitherto in this last parliament you have done nothing therein as you ought, no, though

[1 This note is not in Answ.]
[2 Sec. Adm. to Parl. p. 4; where *there is none other thing.*]
[3 Which do contemn, Repl. 1 and 2.] [4 See before, page 11.]
[5 This reference is inserted from Repl. 2.]

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you have been solicited, but have suffered them that were your solicitors to be molested: you shall find both that you ought to have sought the kingdom of God first, and also you shall find, if you consider not your own ways in your hearts, how you think it a time to build ceiled houses, to devise laws for the preservation and prosperity of your commonwealth, and neglect God's church, leave that waste, &c.[6]" These words of theirs shut me out from the number of their "Machevils." Well, it is a point that would be considered. That which I speak in the 88. page, I am ready to give account of, when I am thereunto by due authority called. Neither am I afraid in time and place to speak that which I think. In the rest of this Reply you do but utter your impatiency, and untemperateness of your speech; and therefore I will dismiss you as David did Shimei.

A view of the Second Admonition.

Slander of the church of England.

The second part consisteth only of railing words, and slanderous accusations, first against this whole church of England; for they say "that we are scarce come to the outward face of a church rightly reformed," and "that, although some truth be taught by some preachers, yet no preacher may without great danger of the laws utter all truth comprised in the word[7] of God. &c.[8]" And a little after they add and say that the truth "in a manner doth but peep out behind the screen[9];" which speeches as they be very untrue (for who knoweth not that the gospel is wholly, publicly, and freely preached in this church of England?) so they be slanderous; neither can the papists speak any worse.

In this part also, to prove that this is no true saying in matters of policy and government, "it is not repugnant to the word of God, and therefore it may be used," is alleged this saying of Christ, Matt. xii.: "He that is not with me is against me[10]." But they have forgotten the words of Christ, Mark[11] ix.: *Qui non est adversus nos,*

[6 Sec. Adm. to Parl. p. 4; where *in this your last parliament*, and *God his church*.]

[7 Book, Answ.]

[8 Ibid. p. 6; where *we are so scarce*, and *the book of God*.]

[9 Ibid.; where *in manner*.]

[10 Ibid. p. 8.]

[11 Matt., Def. A. and B.]

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pro nobis est: "He that is not against us is with us." Whereupon we may much better conclude that that which is not repugnant to the scripture is consonant to the scripture, than they can do the contrary of[1] the former place. Notwithstanding, in both these places (as I think) Christ speaketh rather of men and persons than of things themselves.

Supremacy of the queen secretly denied.

In the same part their speech of the queen's supremacy is very suspicious; and it would be demanded of them what they think indeed of her majesty's authority in ecclesiastical matters, for in this point they have hitherto dealt very subtilly and closely; notwithstanding, their meaning may easily be perceived of such as diligently consider their books.

Likewise in this part they note certain contrarieties in this church, as betwixt the communion-book and injunctions, touching wafers; the communion-book and advertisements, concerning church vestures; the canons and the pontifical, in not ordering of ministers *sine titulo;* and such like matters of no importance[2], which justify rather this church, than otherwise; for surely, if they had had weightier matters, they would no doubt have alleged them. But in these same matters they are much deceived; for, as I suppose, in matters of ornaments of the church, and of the ministers thereof, the queen's majesty, together with the archbishop or the commissioners in causes ecclesiastical, have authority by act of parliament to alter and appoint such rites and ceremonies as shall from time to time be thought to them most convenient. To be short, in that point they say that "in things of order one church may many times differ from another without offence, following the general rules of scripture for order, as in appointing time and place for prayers, &c.[3];" which is a very true saying, and flat contrary to all that is said either in the first Admonition, or in this second; for, if such things may be appointed in the church, not being expressed in the word of God, but depending upon this general rule:

Contrariety in these men.

[1 To, Answ. 2.] [2 Sec. Adm. to Parl. pp. 10, 11.]

[3 "... in those things of order, wherein one parish may many times, &c. rules of the scripture &c."—Ibid. p. 11.]

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"Let all things be done decently and in order," 1 Cor. xiv., then surely the magistrate hath authority in such matters to appoint what shall be thought unto them[4] most convenient, so that it be not repugnant to the word of God; except you will make this the question, whether in such matters we ought to be directed by the magistrates and governors of the church, or by every private pastor in his several charge.

Jo. Whitgift.

All this is let slip without answer.

A view of the Second Admonition.

Degrees in the universities condemned.

The third part of this book condemneth the degrees of doctors, bachelors of divinity, and masters of art, in the universities, and slanderously, untruly, and opprobriously speaketh of the universities, and such as be in them[5]; presumptuously prescribing a manner of reformation for the same, when as I think verily they know not what universities mean. But here we may note that they seek to overthrow all learning and degrees of learning. The same part also very slanderously and unchristianly raileth on some bishops by name, and the rest of the clergy, charging them most untruly with sundry things[6]; but, because it is done by way of libelling (a devilish kind of revenge), therefore I trust godly and wise men will esteem of it accordingly. Besides slanderous reports, and opprobrious words, there is nothing in this part worthy the answering.

T. C. Page 176, Sect. 2.

After he accuseth the Admonition, as if it condemned schools and universities, with all manner degrees, when it doth but inveigh against degrees given of custom rather than of right, rather by money than by merit of learning, and when titles of doctorship be given to those which have not the office of a doctor, and oftentimes to those which cannot do the office if they had it, and when men do seek vain-glory in them, and such like.

Jo. Whitgift.

Read and mark their words, page 16. and 17, and the conclusion they use (after they have in most bitter manner in-

[4 Him, Answ. 2.] [5 Ibid. pp. 16, &c.] [6 Ibid. pp. 23, &c.]

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veighed against such degrees), which is this: "These vain names become such vain men; but the church of God they become not, and are forbidden by our Saviour. &c.[1]" Their own words be a sufficient declaration of their meaning; and so is yours uttered before[2] a plain proof of your consenting unto them, and condemning of all degrees of school properly pertaining to divinity.

Pag. 173, sect. 1.

A view of the Second Admonition.

A new platform[3].

In the fourth part the author taketh upon him to set down a platform of a church, to prescribe the manner of electing ministers, of their exercises, of their equality, of the government of the church, &c.[4] Which surely, being well considered, will appear not only a confused platform, without any sound warrant of God's[5] word, but also a fantastical device, tending to the overthrow of learning, religion, yea, the whole state and government of the commonwealth.

But, because I have before in the confutation of the first Admonition, spoken sufficiently of all these matters, therefore I will only note one or two things in this part, to let you understand that these platformers build not upon that foundation that they would have others so strictly bound unto; for let them tell me upon what scripture this is grounded: "Let no one minister meddle in any cure save his own, but as he is appointed by common consent of the next conference, or councils provincial or national, or, further (if it may fall out so), general of all churches reformed[6]." Or this: "That the ministers must be equal, and that some must be governed by all, and not all by some[7]." Or that: "The pastor or teacher in every congregation ought to be the principal of the consistory of their congregation[8]." Or that: "Many parishes may be joined in

One minister not to meddle in another man's charge.

[1] Ibid. p. 17.] [2] See before, page 470.]

[3] A new platform of the church, Answ. 2.] [4] Ibid. pp. 14, &c.]

[5] God, Def. B. This reading is also in the text of Def. A.; but is corrected in the table of errata.]

[6] Ibid. p. 29; where *councils* (*as afore*) *provincial*.]

[7] ...and seeing that ministers must be equal, and the order must be that some, &c.—Ibid. p. 55.]

[8] A bishop or overseer, or pastor, and teacher in every congregation the scripture doth allow, and him or them to be the principal of the consistory of their congregation it doth allow, &c.—Ibid.]

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one, and have one pastor, and yet that it is unlawful for one pastor to have many parishes[9]." Or that: "In the mean while, till preachers increase to furnish the places unfurnished, upon conference among the learned, some discreet man be appointed to make some entire prayer, &c.[10]"

Jo. WHITGIFT.

Passed over in silence.

A view of the Second Admonition.

"Or that it is evil so oft to repeat, 'Glory be to the Father, &c.'; 'Lord, have mercy upon us, &c.'; " or "the Lord's prayer[11];" for the text which they allege for the same, Matt. vi., is wickedly wrested, and corruptly alleged; for the words of Christ be not (as they translate them) "when you pray, use not vain repetitions," but, "when you pray, use not much babbling;" whereby not the oft repetition of good prayers, but vain babbling in prayers, that is, many words, without faith and the inward affection of the mind, is forbidden. Paul, 1 Thess. v., saith: "Pray continually." And Christ, Matt. vi., saith: "Pray on this manner, Our Father, &c." So that of necessity we must oftentimes repeat the Lord's prayer, if we will believe Christ and his apostle Paul. But, Lord, what strange doctrine is this, to call "Glory be to the Father, &c.;" "Lord, have mercy upon us, &c.;" "Our Father, &c.," popish! Surely these men (as I suppose) be not well in their wits.

Repetition of prayer is not evil[12].

T. C. Page 176, Sect. 3.

For the repetition of Gloria Patri, &c., *I have spoken sufficiently before; but what spirit is it that calleth this translation of the word* βαττολογήσητε *("use not vain repetitions") a wicked wresting of St Matthew's place in his sixth chapter? what razor is this that cutteth so*

[9 But every congregation must have a pastor....Surely there would be somewhat thought of uniting small parishes in one.—Ibid. pp. 18, 62. Conf. p. 12.]

[10 And in the &c. unfurnished, if upon conference among the learned it be thought meet, let the places unfurnished be appointed some discreet man, or to make some entire prayer, &c.—Ibid. p. 63.]

[11 Again, where learned they to multiply up many prayers of one effect, so many times, "Glory be to the Father;" so many times, "The Lord be with you;" so many times, "Let us pray?" Whence learned they all those needless repetitions? is it not the popish *Gloria Patri*?...their many *Pater nosters*, why use they them?—Ibid. pp. 38, 9.]

[12 Repetition of prayers is good, Answ. 2.]

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sharp? Knoweth he against whom, and against the excellent learning and singular piety of how many he speaketh? For this is the translation of those learned and godly men which translated the bible, which is commonly called the Geneva bible[1]*; and is this a wicked wresting? Admit it were not translated exactly to the word of the evangelist, is it therefore a wresting, and a wicked wresting? What (I will not say wicked) but false conclusion or doctrine can be grounded of this translation? And they that translate it thus have not only the authority of the lexicons to confirm their translation, which shew that this word was taken up in reproach of a foolish poet called Battus, which used to repeat one thing many times, but they have also the circumstance of the place to warrant it. For the reason which our Saviour Christ useth to draw men from this fault leadeth to this translation, and cannot stand with that sense which M. Doctor setteth down. For how hang these together, You shall not babble many words without faith, &c.; because your heavenly Father knoweth what you have need of before you ask? It is unlike, first, that our Saviour Christ would speak thus: "Babble not many words without faith, &c.?" when as rather he would have forbidden them to speak any one word without faith, &c. For, if he should speak thus, he should seem to have allowed a prayer without faith, so that it were not conceived in many words. And again, if (as M. Doctor saith) this had been the proposition which our Saviour Christ dissuaded from, that they should not babble many words without faith, &c., he would never have added this reason: "For your heavenly Father knoweth &c.;" for neither is he father unto any such. And he would rather have said, as St James in the first chap. saith*[2]*, that they should be sure to receive no-* Chap. i. 7.[3]
thing, because they ask not in faith. Now, as this reason cannot stand with M. Doctor's interpretation, so doth it well agree with the translation of the Geneva bible. For what could be more fitly said to drive the disciples from this vain repetition than to say that the heavenly Father knoweth &c., and that it is not with the Lord as it is with men, that must have a thing oftentimes spoken or ever they can understand it? Furthermore what a reason is this: We must repeat the Lord's prayer oftentimes; therefore we must repeat it oftentimes in half an hour, and one in the neck of another! And, if St Paul's place to the Thess., "Pray continually" be referred unto the saying of the Lord's prayer (as M. Doctor would bear us in hand), then it is not lawful for us to use any other words than those which our Saviour Christ used. But I could never yet learn that those words bind us of necessity any more unto the repetition of the Lord's prayer, word for word, than unto the repetition of any other godly prayer in the scripture. And I would be loth to say that it were simply necessary to use that just number of words, and nei-

[1 Also when ye pray, use no vain repetitions as the heathen: for they think to be heard for their much babbling.—The Bible. transl. according to the Ebrew and Greeke, Lond. 1578. Matt. chap. vi. 7. fol. 3.]

[2 St James saith, Repl. 2.]

[3 This reference is inserted from Repl. 2.]

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ther more nor less any[4] *time, much less oftentimes in so small a space. For our Saviour Christ doth not there give a prescript form of prayer, whereunto he bindeth us, but giveth us a rule and squire*[5] *to frame all our prayers by; as I have before declared. I know it is necessary to pray, and to pray often. I know also that in so few words it is impossible for any man to frame so pithy a prayer; and I confess that the church doth well in concluding their prayers with the Lord's prayer; but I stand upon this, that there is no necessity laid upon us to use these very words, and no more, and especially that the place of St Paul to the Thessalonians doth least of all prove it. As for M. Doctor's outcries, he hath so often worn our ears with them, and that without cause, that I think by this time no man regardeth them.*

JO. WHITGIFT.

I do not say that so to translate the place is a wicked wresting or corrupt alleging of it; but this I say, that that place is "wickedly wrested, and corruptly alleged" by the Admonition, to improve the oft repetition of the Lord's prayer. Neither do I think that translation to be so apt as the other is. M. Beza, in his notes upon this place of St Matt., saith thus: *Ne sitis loquaces: μὴ βαττολογήσητε*: "Be not full of words." Vulg. *Nolite multum loqui:* "Do not babble much." Erasmus, *Ne sitis multiloqui, id est, πολύλογοι, quo idem declaratur. Longæ tamen preces hic non damnantur, sed quæ vanæ sunt, inanes, et superstitiosæ. Longa enim non est oratio in qua nihil redundat: contra vero brevis esse non potest, quæ non proficiscitur ex animo pio et fideli*[6]: "Be not babblers or full of words, that is, πολύλογοι, whereby the same thing is signified; yet are not long prayers here condemned, but those that are vain, fond, and superstitious. For it is not a long prayer wherein nothing is too much; on the other side, it cannot be short which proceedeth not out of a godly and faithful mind."

Βαττολογήσητε interpreted.

Beza.

And that this is the true interpretation of this word *βαττολογήσητε*, it appeareth by that which followeth in the same place: *δοκοῦσι γὰρ ὅτι ἐν τῇ πολυλογίᾳ αὐτῶν εἰσακουσθήσονται*: "for they think to be heard for their much babbling." Upon the which words Erasmus giveth this note: *Hic non est βαττολογία, sed proprio usus est verbo πολυλογία, veluti exponens quid dixerit βαττολογεῖν*[7]:

Erasmus.

[4 Less at any, Repl. 1 and 2.] [5 Squire: square.]

[6 Nov. Test. cum Annot. Th. Bezæ, H. Steph. 1565. In Matt. vi. 7. p. 26.]

[7 Erasm. Op. L. Bat. 1703-6. Evang. sec. Matt. cap. vi. 7. Tom. VI. col. 36.]

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"Here is not the word *βαττολογία*; but he useth the proper word *πολυλογία*, as it were expounding what he meant by *βαττολογεῖν*." You see therefore that the one word expoundeth the other; which is the surest way of interpreting.

Calvin. M. Calvin, upon the same place, saith thus: *Porro eorum stultitiam reprehendit Christus, qui, ut Deum persuadeant et exorent, multum verborum profundunt*[1]: "Furthermore Christ reprehendeth their folly which do spend many words, that they may persuade and entreat God." And *Nova glossa ordinaria* doth interpret the word in like manner: *Ferunt Battum quendam fuisse ineptum poetam, qui multis et vanis ad nauseam usque repetitis verbis poemata sua conscripserit, ad hoc unum intentus ut multus esset in verbis; unde sumptum sit verbum Battologizare, pro inaniter esse multiloquum*[2]:

Nova glossa.

Battus a babbling poet.

"It is reported that there was a certain foolish poet called Battus, which wrote his verses with many and vain repeating of words, even unto the loathing of any man, being only bent unto this one thing, that he might have many words; of whom this word *Battologizare* was taken for him that is full of vain words." By all which authorities and interpretations of these learned men, Christ doth not speak against the oft repetition of the Lord's prayer, or any other godly prayers, but against vain babbling in prayers, and multiplying of words without faith, whether it be by oft repeating or multiplying of them.

Martyr in 1 Sam. i. Babbling in prayer, what it is.

And therefore also saith M. Martyr: *Quare attendendum est multiloquium tum adhiberi non cum diu precamur, sed cum citra fidem et spiritum verba multiplicamus*[3]: "Wherefore it is to be marked that then is there much babbling, not when we pray long, but when we multiply words without faith and spirit." Neither is there any writer that doth otherwise interpret this place, not even those that translate it "vain repetitions."

Long prayer or repetitions not forbidden, but babbling of words without faith.

And the reasons whereby you would overthrow this sense be words only, and not reasons; for who can think that Christ doth here condemn long prayers, or many words, or the repetition of godly prayers (himself continuing in prayers a whole

[1 Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Comm. in Harm. Euang. Matt. vi. 7. Tom. VI. p. 77.]

[2 See before, page 228, note 2.]

[3 P. Martyr. Comm. in duos Libr. Samuel. Tigur. 1575. 1. Lib. cap. i. 12. fol. 8.]

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night in the mountain, and oftentimes repeating one and the same prayer, not long before he suffered his passion, Matt. xxvi., and willing us to pray continually, and not to be weary); but that only he forbiddeth many words without faith, whether it be, as I said, by multiplying or by repeating? But what should we dally where the words of Christ be plain? for he saith: *Verum orantes ne sitis multiloqui sicut ethnici: putant enim fore ut ob multiloquium suum exaudiantur: ne igitur efficiamini similes istorum; novit enim Pater vester &c.:* "But when ye pray use not much babbling, as the heathen do; for they think that they are heard for their much babbling. Be ye not therefore like unto them; for your Father knoweth whereof you have need before you ask of him." The words be manifest: all interpreters agree upon them; and therefore this your dallying is but a profanation of them.

Matt. xxvi. Luke xviii. Matt. vi.

If we repeat the Lord's prayer twenty times in half an hour, so it be done in faith and zeal, it is not this *multiloquium* or vain repetitions that Christ speaketh of in this place. Christ himself, as I have said before, repeated thrice one prayer in the same words; as it is evident Matt. xxvi.; which he would not have done if the faithful and zealous repetition of prayers had been this much babbling or vain repetitions whereof he speaketh in this vi. of Matt. I do not say that the place of St Paul, 1 Thess. v., is to be understanded only of the Lord's prayer; but this is my saying that, forasmuch as we are commanded to pray continually by St Paul in that place, and the Lord hath said, "When ye pray, pray on this manner, Our Father, which art in heaven, &c.;" therefore the oft repetition of this prayer, being in faith and zeal, cannot be accounted vain repetition or much babbling. I know it is lawful to use other godly prayers besides it; neither have you ever heard me utter one word to the contrary: I know likewise that it is not only a prayer to be used, but also a rule to be followed in framing all our other prayers by whatsoever. And yet a prayer it is, and a necessary prayer to be used; as the very words of Christ do declare.

Christ useth repetition of the same prayer.

Matt. xxvi. vers. 44.

A view of the Second Admonition.

These and a number of other fancies they have in this book which they cannot ground upon any scriptures, but by wringing and wresting of them; and indeed their

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seeking is to have all things framed according to their fancies, that they may be accounted planters and platformers of churches.

I omit this that the author boasteth, that "he and many others will set themselves against us, as the professed enemies of the church of Christ[1];" for the matter is not great, neither shall they in that point deal any otherwise with us than the anabaptists, Arians, and other heretics have dealt with other churches.

This shall be sufficient for an answer to the book; because all other matters of substance are by me answered before in the former confutation.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

Nothing answered, neither is this proclamation of defiance salved[2].

A brief Answer to certain Pamphlets spread abroad of late[3].

I have of late received three little pamphlets, the first as it were a preface to the other two; the second entituled, "An exhortation to the bishops to deal brotherly with their brethren;" the third, "An exhortation to the bishops and their clergy to answer a little book that came forth the last parliament, and to other brethren, to judge of it by God's word, until they see it answered, and not be carried away with any respect of men."

The preface consisteth of these points especially; first, by divers examples it is there declared that "the wicked and ungodly of this world could never away with such as would reprove them for their manifest sins and ungodliness."

[1 ...and thereafter will I use myself in my vocation, and many more too, no doubt...will use themselves against them, as the professed enemies of the church of Christ.—Sec. Adm. p. 35.]

[2 These two words are printed from the table of errata in Def. A. Both editions have in the text *defence solved.*]

[3 The first of these pamphlets, which Whitgift calls a "preface," is dated Sept. 20, 1572. They consist together of but twelve leaves. See Vol. I. page 90, note 2.]

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Secondly, that this is the "cause why these two treatises, which were lately written and imprinted in the last parliament time, &c., were of so many misliked, and the authors thereof so cruelly entreated and straitly imprisoned &c."

Thirdly, it raileth on the bishops and such as be in authority, comparing them to false prophets, and to Pharisees, &c.

Last of all, it concludeth with threatening that, "if they go forward in their sins, their doings[4] shall be with more bitterness of words and plainness of speech thrown into their faces."

The first is needless; for who knoweth not that from time to time it hath been the manner of such as were desperately wicked not to suffer their sins openly to be reproved? The second is false, uncharitable, and slanderous; for the cause why the books be not esteemed (especially of the wise and learned) is the untrue doctrine contained in them, maintained with untrue and unapt allegations of the scriptures, and interlaced with opprobrious terms and railing speeches tending to the disquietness of the church, and overthrow of true religion. The authors thereof to be imprisoned, not for telling any man of his sins, but for writing libels against this whole church of England, against the book of common prayer[5], against the ministry, against the sacraments, finally, against the whole form and government of the church by the whole consent of this realm established, and according to the rule of God's word. And with what face can you say that they be imprisoned for telling men of their sins? where ever read you or heard you that any of the prophets or apostles told men of their sins by libels? Surely that kind of dealing is not for the apostles of Christ, but for the ministers of Satan.

Libelling is no true way of reforming.

T. C. Page 177, Sect. 1.

Where he saith the authors of the Admonition are not punished, or their book misliked, for that it telleth of the faults in the church, or of the sins of men, but for that it maintaineth false doctrine, and for that

[4 The pamphlet here has *dung*, referring to Mal. ii. 3.]
[5 Prayers, Answ.]

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Forsooth that you make a wicked comparison. A manifest untruth.

they preferred a libel: for the doctrine, it appeareth by that which is said, what it is. And, if he would define what a libel were, it were easy to answer unto the other point. If he mean because it was preferred without any name unto it, how will he answer to[1] *the example of St John in the Apocalypse, who, reprehending the ministers of divers churches, did not put to his name unto his book? and to the writer of the epistle unto the Hebrews*[2]*, which was a singular instrument, and did not subscribe his epistle, wherein notwithstanding he sharply rebuketh divers faults amongst them? And yet St John nor the writer to the Hebrews were not the ministers*[3] *of Satan. And, if he call it a libel because it useth some sharper speeches, surely all men see that his book deserveth then to be called a satire, having, for tart words, bitter; and, for one, twenty. But in what respect soever he calleth*[4] *it a libel, he accuseth not so much the authors of the Admonition for preferring of it, as divers of the honourable house of parliament, which did allow it.*

JO. WHITGIFT.

The comparison is very unequal and odious, that you make betwixt the holy books of the scripture, indited by the Spirit of God, and reputed and taken as portions of the canonical scriptures, wherein only we have to seek the doctrine of salvation; and these railing, rude, uncharitable, and unlearned Admonitions. And yet in the one of them, that is in the Revelation, you are foully overshot; for the name of the author of that book is expressed three times in the first chapter, and that with such circumstances that it cannot well be doubted who the author was, though you would cavil about the multiplicity of the name. Likewise his name is expressed in the latter chapter of the book; wherefore you were not well advised when you set it down that St John in the Apocalypse did not put his name to his book. He saith in the *i. cap.* in the first verse, *Servo suo Johanni;* and in the 4. verse, *Joannes 7. ecclesiis quæ sunt in Asia;* and a little after, *Ego Joannes frater vester, &c.;* and in the last chap. *Ego Joannes qui audivi et vidi hæc.* The epistle to the Hebrews hath no opprobrious and slanderous words in it; neither doth the author thereof seek to defame or deface any body; as the authors of the Admonition do.

John setteth his name to the Apocalypse both in the beginning and end.

If my book be comparable to either of the Admonitions

[1 Unto, Repl. 1 and 2.]

[2 Repl. 2 omits all reference to St John, and reads *answer unto the example of the epistle unto the Hebrews.*]

[3 And yet the writer to the Hebrews was not the minister, Repl. 2.]

[4 Call, Repl. 1 and 2.]

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in sharp and uncharitable speeches, prove it unto me by comparing them together; and surely I will like the worse both of my book and of myself, and confess that I have offended. Although I might excuse myself in saying that I have done it in the defence of the truth, and vindicating this church of England from such untolerable slanders as they burden it with.

If any of the honourable house of parliament did consent to the publishing of it in that manner and form that it was published (which I am sure they did not; as you undutifully and untruly charge them), I will not excuse them; and yet they cannot be said to be either the authors or the publishers of it; neither can their allowing of it excuse it from being a libel, being not orderly in parliament propounded, but disorderedly (I might say seditiously) spread abroad in corners to the defamation of this whole state and church of England, not to any reformation.

A libel, what it is.

But, to satisfy your desire that would so gladly know what a libel is, I will tell you in few words. An infamous libel is that that is written in verse, or in prose, to the infamy and slander of any man, to the which the author dare not set his name. This is an infamous libel, and it most aptly agreeth to the book called an Admonition to the Parliament; so that by this definition your objection also of the book of the Apocalypse and of the epistle to the Hebrews is soon answered; for all those books are not libels which are published without the author's name, but those which are published to the infamy or slander of others, to the which the authors dare not set their names.

An answer to certain pamphlets.

The third cometh of the same spirit that the second doth, that is, of the spirit of arrogancy and malice; for it compareth godly, wise, zealous, and learned bishops to idolatrous priests and to Pharisees; but indeed the conditions and qualities of the Pharisees do most aptly agree with the authors of these libels and their adherents; for the Pharisees did all that they did to be seen of men, and sought the commendation of the common people; as appeareth Matt. vi. and xxiii.; and so do they: the Pharisees, when they fasted, disfigured their

The libellers fitly compared to the Pharisees[5].

Description of a Pharisee.

[5] This note is not in Answ. 2 in this place, but comes after the succeeding one, and has *these* for *the*.]

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faces; and these, walking in the streets, hang down their heads, look austerely, and in company sigh much, and seldom or never laugh: the Pharisees strained out a gnat, and swallowed down a camel. And these men think it an heinous offence to wear a cap or a surplice; but, in slandering and backbiting their brethren, in railing on them by libels, in contemning of superiors, and discrediting such as be in authority, to be short, in disquieting the church and state, they have no conscience. The Pharisees separated themselves from the common sort of men, as more holy, and contemned the poor publicans as sinners; and therefore some learned interpreters think that they be called *Pharisæi, quasi segregati, quod vitæ sanctimonia a vulgi moribus et vita separati essent, non aliter atque monachi, quos Carthusianos vocant*[2]: "They be called Pharisees, as separated and divided from the common sort in holiness of life, much like unto the monks which be called Carthusians." And Josephus saith that they were called Pharisees, because they seemed to be more holy than other, and more cunningly to expound the law[4]. Also he saith this to be one property of theirs, that, whatsoever their own reason persuadeth them, *id sequuntur pertinaciter*[5]: "that they stubbornly follow." Again, he saith that they be *astutum hominum genus, arrogans, et interdum regibus quoque infestum, &c.*[6]: "a subtle kind of men, arrogant, and sometimes enemies to kings and rulers." These men separate themselves also from the congregation, and will communicate with us neither in prayers, hearing the word, nor sacraments; they contemn and despise all those that be not of their sect, as polluted, and not worthy to be saluted or kept company with; and therefore

Fosterus in Dictionar. Hebraico.

Josephus[3], Lib. I. cap. 2. de Bello Judaico. Lib. Antiquit. Tom. II. Lib. XVIII. cap. 2.

Tom. II. Lib. XVII. cap. 3.

[1 Def. B. omits *in*.]

[2 Sunt tamen nonnulli alii qui dictos existimant segregatos seu separatos, quod vitæ &c. separati fuerint, non aliter atque nunc monachi, et inter illos præcipue, quos &c.—J. Forster. Dict. Hebr. Nov. Basil. 1564. p. 676.]

[3 This word is inserted from Answ. 2.]

[4 ...Φαρισαῖοι, σύνταγμά τι Ἰουδαίων, δοκοῦν εὐσεβέστερον εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἀκριβέστερον ἀφηγεῖσθαι.—Joseph. Op. Amst. 1726, &c. De Bell. Jud. Lib. I. cap. v. Tom. II. p. 63.]

[5 ...ὧν τε ὁ λόγος κρίνας παρέδωκεν ἀγαθῶν, ἅπονται τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ, κ.τ.λ.—Id. Antiq. Jud. Lib. XVIII. cap. i. 3. Tom. I. p. 870.]

[6 Φαρισαῖοι καλοῦνται, βασιλεῦσι δυνάμενοι μάλιστα ἀντιπράσσειν, προμηθεῖς, κἀκ τοῦ προὔπτου εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν τε καὶ βλάπτειν ἐπῳρμένοι.—Id. ibid. Lib. XVII. cap. ii. 4. p. 830.]

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some of them, meeting their old acquaintance being godly preachers, have not only refused to salute them, but spit in their faces, wishing the plague of God to light upon them, and saying that they were damned, and that God had taken his Spirit from them; and all this, because they did wear a cap: wherefore when they talk of Pharisees they pluck themselves by the noses. But, Lord, what a strange time is this, when such as they be dare thus boldly publish libels against their superiors for maintaining and executing good and godly laws!

The conclusion of this preface is a stout, presumptuous, and malapert threatening, in my opinion not to be suffered; but, howsoever your pen and tongue walketh, yet I pray you hold your hands; or else, &c.

T. C. Page 177, Sect. 1, 2.

Whereas M. Doctor compareth us with the Pharisees, and saith we do all to be seen of men, and that we hold down our heads in the streets, and strain at a gnat swallowing down a camel; because they are in all men's knowledge, I will leave it to them to judge of the truth of those things. Where he saith we seldom or never laugh, it is not therefore that we think that it is not lawful to laugh, but that the considerations of the calamities of other churches, and of the ruins of ours, with the heavy judgments of the Lord which hang over us, ought to turn our laughing into weeping; besides that a man may laugh although he shew not his teeth. And so Jerome in effect answereth in an epistle which he wrote, where, upon occasion that certain used the same accusation that M. Doctor doth, he saith, because we do not laugh with open mouth therefore we are counted sad[8].

Jerome ad Marcell.[7]

And, where he saith we separate ourselves from all congregations, and are enemies to prince, and that we would seem to be holier than other, these and such like slanders are answered before. And, if there be any that refuse to salute godly preachers, or spit in any man's face, or wish the plague of God to light upon them, or say that they be damned, we defend not, nor allow of any such behaviour. And it is unreasonable that the fault of one should be inputed to so many, and to those which do as much mislike of it as M. Doctor himself. And what needed M. Doctor to bid the authors of these exhortations to hold their hands? where do they in a word offer to strike? Belike his tongue is his own, and therefore he speaketh whatsoever he listeth.

[7 This reference is inserted from Repl. 1, and Def. A.]

[8 Nos quia serica veste non utimur, monachi judicamur: quia ebrii non sumus, nec cachinno ora dissolvimus, continentes vocamur et tristes.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Marcell. Epist. xix. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 51.]

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Jo. Whitgift.

I shew how much more aptly the qualities and conditions of the Pharisees agree to you and to your sect, than they can do to such as the authors of those pamphlets call Pharisees.

I know you can both laugh, jest, and gibe, when you are among yourselves; and so could the Pharisees do; but I speak of your behaviour in open places, and before such as do not so well know you. It is unlike that you mourn for "the ruins or calamities of any churches," seeing that you seek with might and main the confusion of this, by stirring up schisms and contentions in it. That which I speak of separating yourselves from the congregation, &c., is well known to be true in a number of you; and the contemptuous behaviour of some of you (pretending most zeal) towards some of us argueth what spirit you are of, and what your zeal is, even that that Zuinglius doth charge the anabaptists with, when he saith: *Ira est, non spiritus quo se venditant*[1].

The answer to certain pamphlets, &c.

In this portion entituled "An exhortation to the bishops to deal brotherly with their brethren," there is no great matter contained worthy of answering; only the author doth excuse himself for taking upon him that exhortation, and moveth the bishops to deal brotherly with the authors of the Admonition; first, because they be their brethren; secondly, because they ought first to have discovered unto the world by the word of God how truly or falsely they have written; thirdly, because they do but disclose the disorders of our church of England, and humbly desire a reformation of the same, according to the rule of God's word, &c.; fourthly, that papists lie abroad in their diocese untouched, &c.; fifthly, that many lewd light books and ballads fly abroad, printed, not only without reprehension, but *Cum privilegio*.

Likewise in the same book the author seemeth to justify the Admonition, and to condemn the lordship and authority of bishops, ascribing thereunto the stay and hinderance of their pretensed reformation; charg-

[1 H. Zvingl. Op. Tigur. 1581. Elench. contr. Catabapt. Pars II. fol. 23. See Vol. I. page 126, note 2.]

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ing them after a sort with mangling the scriptures of God, and with snaring the godly with such laws as were purposely made for the wicked. These be the principal contents of that book.

The first reason, that is, that "they be their brethren[2]," might as well be alleged for the impunity of anabaptists, Arians, and such like, who pretend the sincerity of God's word, and would be counted brethren; yea, it might as well be alleged for many other malefactors, who be also brethren, and yet must not therefore escape unpunished for their offences. Shall not the prince and the magistrate execute laws upon such as break them, because they be their brethren in Christ? Beware of such doctrine; and let not affection in private men's causes carry you headlong into public errors. But I think you are in this point deceived; for, howsoever we account them our brethren, yet they account not us their brethren, neither will they acknowledge us so to be, as some of them both in open speech and manifest signs have declared. And therefore, when the bishops deal with them, they deal with such as disdain to be called their brethren.

Brethren may be punished.

T. C. Page 177, Sect. 3.

After M. Doctor confuteth his own shadow; for the Exhortation doth not require that the name of a brother should deliver the authors of the Admonition from punishment, if they deserved it, but desireth that it might work some moderation of the rigour of it, and compassion to minister to their necessities in prison. He saith that the authors of the Admonition take not them for their brethren; yes verily, although unbrotherly handled, and for fathers too, and so both love them and reverence them, until (which we hope will not be) they shall manifestly, for the upholding of their own kingdom and profit, refuse to have Christ to reign[3] over us, in whom this fatherhood and brotherhood doth consist.

Jo. Whitgift.

Let the readers judge whether it be one of their reasons or no; let them also consider that which I have before alleged

[2 ... if their fault be great, yet they are our brethren, and therefore by you ought somewhat to be regarded, if it be not great, as they are our brethren, you not regarding them are greatly to be blamed.—An Exhort. to the Byshops &c. fol. A. 2.]

[3 Christ reign, Repl. 1 and 2.]

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out of the Second Admonition, pag. 35,[1] and then tell me whether they take us for brethren or no.

Can you so well please yourselves in your own platform, that, except we admit it, we "refuse Christ to reign over us?" I trust he hath reigned over us hitherto, and shall do to the end, though your platform be sunk to the bottom of the sea.

An answer to certain pamphlets, &c.

To their second reason[2] I answer that I think they have been talked with, and heard what they have to say for themselves; but their haughty minds and good opinion conceived of themselves will not suffer them to see their errors. In this reason you allege nothing for them, but that which may also be alleged for the papists, or any other sect of heretics. But it is an old saying: *Turpe est doctori, &c.* ["It is a great shame for the corrector which offendeth in that wherein he reproveth another."][3] How happeneth it that they themselves have first defamed, not the bishops only, but also this whole church of England with public libels, before they have used brotherly and private conference? This is to espy[4] a mote in another man's eye, &c.

How true the third reason[5] is, may appear in my Answer to their Admonition; but, how true soever it were, yet their disordered disclosing, by unlawful means (that is, by libelling), deserveth as much punishment as hitherto they have had; for the truth needeth no such ungodly means of disclosing.

If papists go abroad unpunished, when by law they may be touched[6], surely it is a great fault, and cannot be excused; and I pray God it may be better looked to.

[1 See before, page 518, note 1.]

[2 And surely for my part I think your duty were to discover unto the world by the warrant of the word, how truly or falsely they have written, which if you would do in simplicity of conscience, then perhaps their fault would not be so grievous as you make it, &c.—An Exhort. to the Byshops &c. fol. A. 2.]

[3 The translation in brackets is inserted from Answ. 2.]

[4 Spy, Answ.]

[5 ... they put forth a book in the time of parliament, wherein they disclose the disorders of our church of England, and humbly desire a reformation of the same according to the rule of God's word: is this an innovation? &c.—Ibid.]

[6 ... papists lie abroad in your dioceses untouched, in contempt of the truth and her majesty's laws, refuse to frequent divine service and sermons, and yet, if any honest man present them unto you, a favourable speech or letter of some

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But this is no good and sufficient reason for the impunity of other: because some papists be not punished, shall therefore no disordered persons be punished? Or, because some in authority wink at some papists, shall therefore no laws be executed towards any offenders? Surely, touching malice against the form and state of this our church, I see no great difference betwixt them and the papists, and I think verily they both conspire together. The same answer I make to your fifth[7] reason: shall no book be suppressed because some be not? It is a fault, I confess, to suffer lewd ballads and books touching manners[9]. But it were a greater fault to suffer books and libels, disturbing the peace of the church, and defacing true religion.

Ballads[8].

Concerning the titles and offices of bishops[10], I have spoken sufficiently before.

In mangling and wresting of the scriptures[11], none offend so much as do the authors of the Admonition, who in that point are comparable to the papists; as may be seen by the learned and diligent reader.

If they whom they term godly do willingly offend against such laws as were made for the wicked[12], they are to be punished according to the laws, neither are they to be spared because they pretend godliness; for there is no godliness in breaking of laws.

Godliness breaketh no law[13].

The third scroll, called "An exhortation to the bishops and to their[14] clergy to answer a little book &c.," is satisfied, I trust; for I have (as it is there re-

worshipful (though not very godly) in the shire shall easily obtain their despatch.—Ibid. fol. A. ii. 2.]

[7 First, Def. A. and B.; but corrected in list of errata to Def. A.]

[8 Ballets, Def. A. and B.; and so Answ. in text.]

[9 Many lewd light books and ballads fly abroad printed, not only without reprehension, but *cum privilegio*, the authors and printers whereof continue daily amongst us without controlment, &c.—Ibid. fol. A. iii.]

[10 ...none of you would willingly lose his lordly dignity and living,... you would be glad of a reformation, but you would not be reformed yourselves, &c.—Ibid. fol. A. iii. 2.]

[11 It is a lamentable thing to behold how (to make their own matters good) men will in these days mangle the scriptures of God, &c.—Ibid.]

[12 Many good laws (thanks be to God) are provided to bridle the wicked, but in them oftentimes the godly are snared, &c.—Ibid. fol. A. iiii.]

[13 Laws, Answ. 2.] [14 And their, Answ.]

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quired) answered the "short and pecvish pamphlet" (as they term it): I have disclosed their double and corrupt dealing, their wringing of the scriptures to serve their turn, and have declared the true sense and meaning of them: I have not bombasted it with rhetoric, but in plain and simple manner uttered my judgment, according to the true meaning and sense of the scriptures; notwithstanding I have in sundry points declared the use of the church of Christ in times past, and do use the testimony of ancient councils and learned fathers, which these unlearned men unlearnedly contemn; a thing not heard of in any age or church, nor allowed of any learned man, but only of certain heretics, and especially anabaptists. To be short, I have not answered the book by pieces, but wholly. Howbeit I must desire them to pardon me for not making more speed with my[1] answer: their frivolous quotations so troubled me, and my other business, that I could no sooner make an end of it. In all the rest of that deriding pamphlet there is nothing of any moment worth the answering. Therefore, as they allege[2] this portion of a sentence taken out of St Augustine in his Epistle *ad Vincen.: Si... terrerentur et non docerentur, improba quasi dominatio videretur*[3]: "If they should be feared, and not taught, it might seem a wicked governance;" so I conclude with the other part of the same sentence: *Si docerentur, et non terrerentur, vetustate consuetudinis obdurarentur, et ad capessendam viam salutis pigrius moverentur*[4]: "If they should be taught, and not feared, in time they would wax stubborn, and be the hardlier moved to embrace the way of salvation."

Ancient fathers contemned of unlearned men.

Augustine retorted upon the adversary.

T. C. Page 177, Sect. ult.

I know not whether they have been conferred with or no, but I think the first reason which they had to persuade them was that they should go to Newgate, which is that which the Exhortation complaineth of after, that they are first punished before they be taught. And in this behalf M. Doctor hath no cause to complain as he doth. For if he list he may learn or ever he go to prison.

[1 Mine, Answ.]

[2 An Exhort. to the Bishops and their Clergie &c. fol. B. iii.]

[3 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Vincent. Rogatist. Epist. xciii. cap. i. 3. Tom. II. col. 231.]

[4 Id. ibid.; where *consuetudinis obdurati ad capessendam.*]

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Jo. Whitgift.

If they were so sent to that place, it was a meet reward for such disorderly dealing; for ignorance may not excuse libellers, if they libel but against a private man, much less should it excuse them, slandering in that manner this whole church and realm. I doubt not but that I shall learn to know myself, and to do my duty whilst I am out of prison, so that I shall not justly for lack of duty and honesty deserve it.

T. C. Page 178, Line 2.

And as for the truth of the cause, and wresting and mangling of the scriptures, in most places where they are said to mangle and wrest, and how he hath answered the request of the Exhortation, which is, to confute the Admonition by the scriptures, and how truly, aptly, and learnedly M. Doctor hath behaved himself, in citing of the old councils and fathers, I leave it to be esteemed, partly of that which I have said, and partly by the deeper consideration of those which, because they can better judge, may see further into M. Doctor's faults and rhapsodies than I can. Although the truth is that I have, because I would not make a long book, by heaping of one reprehension upon another, contented myself rather to trip, as it were, and to pass over with a light foot, the heads and sums of things, than to number the faults, which are almost as many as there are sentences in this book, more I am sure than there are pages.

Jo. Whitgift.

I have confuted both them and you, according to the gifts and grace that God hath given me, with such authorities both of scriptures and other learned authors, as is fit to be used in the deciding of such controversies. And I am well assured that you have not omitted the least blot in my book; and for the most part you have feigned (against your own knowledge) those to be which are not. I refuse no man's judgment of my dealing with the old councils and fathers, that is learned and will speak without affection what he thinketh. Your hyperbolical conclusion or figure of lying, wherewith you close up your book, I am well used unto, and therefore it doth nothing trouble me, but remaineth as a certain note of the spirit that possesseth you, which is the spirit of untruth.

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Thus have I (according to that talent that God hath committed unto me) endeavoured myself to defend the state of this church of England, and the orders and rites therein by public authority established, against the slanderous libels of certain unquiet persons, and this uncharitable Reply of T. C. If either I have omitted anything that might have been uttered (as I have omitted many things), or not so fully answered every point, that all men thereby may be satisfied, namely such as will be satisfied with reason, I doubt not but that there be a great number of singular learning and knowledge which will fulfil my want. The which I do desire them most heartily to do, even for the love that they have to the peace of the church; and not to suffer so common and weighty a cause to rest only upon one man's shoulder, so far inferior to so many of them in all respects. The contrary part cease not to lay their heads together, and to make it all their cases; which would more evidently appear, if their might were according to their will. Therefore, seeing that we like and allow of the state, let us not suffer it to be defaced unjustly, and without either learning or truth. And, if it shall please the contrary part to answer this my Defence, then do I require no other thing of them, than the self-same which the author of the Reply hath required of me, and the which I have accordingly performed, that is, that they set down my words, and answer me wholly; which unless they do, they shall not only with all wise men greatly discredit themselves, and shew the lack of truth to be on their side, but also ease me of some pains; for I purpose not to answer pamphlets, nor to spend the time in confuting frivolous libels. The Lord grant that my labours may work that effect that I desire; that is, peace in the church, and true obedience in the hearts of the subjects. Amen.

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¶ An examination of the places cited in the end of the Reply touching matters in controversy.

T. C.

According to my promise made in my book, I have here set down the judgment of the later writers concerning these matters in controversy between us. Wherein, because I love not to translate out of other men's works, whereby I might make mine to grow, I have kept this moderation, that I neither set down all the writers, nor all their places that I could, nor yet of every singular matter; but the chiefest writers, and either of the chiefest points, or else of those, wherein they are alleged against us by M. Doctor, and one only place of each (as far as I could judge and choose out) most direct to that wherefore I have alleged it. For otherwise, if I would have spoken of all the points, and of the judgment of all the writers, and gathered all the places that I could, they would have been sufficient matter of another book as big or rather bigger than this. I must also admonish the reader that I have forborne in certain of these titles to set down the judgments of M. Beza, M. Bullinger, and M. Gualter, because they are comprehended in the confession of the churches. And thus, partly upon those sentences which I have alleged in this book, and partly upon these testimonies here set down, I leave to the consideration of all men how truly and justly it is said that the learned writers of these times (one or two only excepted) are against us.

Jo. Whitgift.

Surely it had been more commendable, in mine opinion, if you had set down the very words of the authors themselves, rather than your own collections upon them; for so should their judgments more plainly have appeared; whereas now you frame them as they may best serve for your purpose. It is no shame for a man "to translate out of other men's works," especially using their testimonies; but it cannot be void of great reproach for any man so to be addicted to his own persuasion, that he should so lightly regard other men's opinions.

I doubt not but that the reader will conceive, by these authorities that you have here collected as chief, principal, and most evident for the confirmation of your assertions, upon what slender pillars your building standeth. For truly (so far as I can gather) most of these places make little for your purpose, and none of them enforce any such necessity as you seem to urge; as it will fall out in the examination of them.

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T. C.

1. *That there ought now to be the same regiment of the church which was in the apostles' time.*

The confession of the Helvetian, Tigurine, Berne, Geneva, Polonia, Hungary, and Scotland, with others, in the 18. *chapter, speaking of the equality of ministers*[1], *saith that* [2]*no man may justly forbid to return to the old constitution of the church of God, and to receive it before the custom of man*[3].

Jo. WHITGIFT.

The confession in that place speaketh not one word of having seniors in every parish, neither yet of any other seniors than those that be ministers of the word and sacraments; for the whole chapter entreateth of such.

Moreover, it saith not that we ought to return to that old government, but that we "may return;" so that it is from your purpose, and maketh more against you than with you. For the question is not whether we may return to that kind of government or no, if it seem good to the christian magistrate to whom God hath now committed the government of the church, but whether the christian magistrate ought of necessity to receive that kind of government, and no other; which this confession doth nowhere affirm.

T. C.

M. Calvin, in his Institutions, iv. book, 3. *chapter, and* 8. *section, speaking of the anoients which did assist the pastors*[3] *in every church, saith that "experience teacheth that that order was not for one age, and that this office of government is necessary to all ages*[4]*."*

Jo. WHITGIFT.

M. Calvin in that place sheweth what hath been, and what may be in the church; but he doth not make that kind of government so necessary that it cannot be altered. His meaning is that that kind of government is necessary for all ages, because in every age the church in one place or other is

[1 Of the ministers, Repl. 1 and 2.]

[2 Ideoque nemo jure prohibuerit ad veterem ecclesiæ Dei constitutionem redire, et illam præ humana consuetudine recipere.—Confess. et Expos. Christ. Fid. cap. xviii. in Corp. et Syntagm. Confess. Fid. Genev. 1654. p. 41.]

[3 Pastor, Repl. 2.]

[4 Porro ejusmodi ordinem non unius seculi fuisse, experientia ipsa declarat. Est igitur et hoc gubernationis munus seculis omnibus necessarium.—Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Inst. Lib. iv. cap. iv. 8. Tom. IX. p. 284.]

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in persecution; but he nowhere saith (as I remember) this kind of government to be necessary in all states of the church; nay, he affirmeth the direct contrary, in the same book, the seventh chapter, and 15. section; where he, speaking of the government of the church, saith thus: *Scimus autem politiam, pro varietate temporum, recipere, imo exigere varias mutationes*[5]: "We know that the government of the church (according to the diversity of times) doth receive, yea, require or exact, divers alterations."

T. C.

And, in the 12. *chapter and first section of the same book, saith as much of excommunication and other ecclesiastical censures*[6].

Jo. WHITGIFT.

M. Calvin sheweth in that place how necessary discipline is in the church; which is not denied: he speaketh not in that section of anything now in controversy.

T. C.

Peter Martyr, upon the third to the Romans, teacheth that, although the commonwealth change her government, yet the church always keepeth hers still[7].

Jo. WHITGIFT.

Let the reader peruse that place, and he shall perceive how cunning you are in counterfeiting. For M. Martyr speaketh there only of the laws of God which be immutable, and sheweth that therein the church of God doth differ from a commonwealth, because the commonwealth doth often change her laws, but the church doth not so; and he meaneth such laws as be of the essence and being of the church, and are of faith and of salvation. He speaketh also of the inward and essential form of the church, not of the external and accidental

[5 Id. ibid. cap. vii. 15. p. 303.]

[6 Disciplina igitur veluti frænum est quo retineantur et domentur qui adversus Christi doctrinam ferociunt: &c. Porro hoc unicum est remedium quod et Christus præcipit, et semper usitatum inter pios fuit.—Id. ibid. cap. xii. 1. p. 329.]

[7 Leges quidem humanæ interdum mutari possunt, quod forma reipublicæ quandoque varietur. Neque inserviunt eædem leges regno, optimatum administrationi, et reipublicæ populari. Deinde legislatores, cum homines sint, non omnia videre possunt....Verum nihil horum locum habet in legibus Dei. Nam quod attinet ad ecclesiam, non mutat formam, est semper eadem respublica: et Dei auctoris legum intelligentiæ nihil est occultum: &c.—P. Martyr. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. Heid. 1613. cap. iii. p. 79.]

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form of it, which is now in question, and of the spiritual government, not of the external government. Certain it is that no law of God (not being personal or temporal) is to be altered. But I require to have that law set down which establisheth this form of government for the which you now contend.

T. C.

Bucer, in his first book of the Kingdom of Christ, the[1] 15. *chapter, lamenteth that there were found amongst those which are counted of the forwardest Christians, which would not have the same discipline used now that was in the times of the apostles, objecting the differences of times and of men*[2].

Jo. WHITGIFT.

There is nothing in that chapter that maketh anything with you, or against me; for who denieth but that the discipline that Christ hath appointed ought to be maintained and kept in his church? our question is of the manner of executing it, of the persons, and of certain other circumstances; whereof M. Bucer in that chapter speaketh not one word. And that the reader may understand how you seek to delude him, I will recite the words of M. Bucer in that chapter, wherein he comprehendeth all that which is spoken in the same chapter touching this matter: "Out of all these testimonies of the holy scripture concerning Christ's kingdom, they that believe the word of God shall easily understand that, whatsoever Christ the Lord hath commanded us and appointed, the same to bring a sure and great help to our salvation, if it be so observed as he hath commanded and appointed it; and that in all ages, howsoever men and times do vary; neither can we wittingly for any cause intermit or neglect any of them, but we must therewith refuse and despise Christ himself and his whole kingdom[3]." All which I grant;

[1 Repl. 1 and 2 omit *the*.]

[2 At, quam paucos tamen invenias, etiam inter eos qui primæ notæ inter Christianos habentur, qui disciplinam hanc unice salutarem restitui, non dico ex animo cupiant, sed utile etiam hoc conari existiment? Esse nunc alia aiunt tempora, quam fuerint, cum hæc vigeret disciplina in primis ecclesiis: alios nunc esse homines: &c.—M. Bucer. De Regn. Christ. Basil. 1557. Lib. 1. cap. xv. pp. 77, 8.]

[3 Ex his jam, et omnibus divinarum scripturarum de Christi regno testimoniis, facile intelligent, quicunque verbo Dei fidem habent, quicquid omnino Christus Dominus nobis præcepit, et instituit, hoc certum et magnum ad salutem nostram momentum adferre, si ita, ut ipse præcepit, et instituit, observetur: idque omnibus seculis, quicquid varient homines, et tempora: nec quicquam nos eorum

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and they touch not anything now in controversy. Surely these be but slender testimonies to prove "that there ought now to be the same regiment of the church which was in the apostles' times," if you speak of the external regiment, which only is now in question.

T. C.

2. *That one minister ought not to have any dominion over another.*

The foresaid Helvetian confession, &c., in the seventeenth chapter saith that "Christ did most severely prohibit unto the[4] *apostles and their successors primacy and dominion*[5]*;" and in the eighteenth chapter saith that "equal power and function is given unto all the ministers of the church, and that from the beginning no one preferred himself to another, saving only that for order some one did call them together, propound the matters that were to be consulted of, and gathered the voices, &c.*[6]*"*

Jo. WHITGIFT.

The words of the confession in the 17. chapter be these: "Truly Christ is present with his church, and is a living head, who straitly forbad his apostles and their successors to challenge the primacy or supremacy in the church." This the confession speaketh of such primacy and supremacy as the bishop of Rome doth challenge over the whole church; for in that place it only speaketh of the pope's usurped authority, and not one word of that superiority among ministers which is now in controversy.

That which the confession affirmeth in the eighteenth chapter maketh nothing against any superiority allowed in this church of England; for we acknowledge that there is one equal power and function of all ministers, but yet superiority also to be among them for order' sake; and the same doth the confession acknowledge in plain and manifest words, even in this place by you alleged; whereby also that distinction is verified

posse negligere et intermittere, scientes et prudentes, ulla de causa, quin eo Christum ipsum, et omne ejus regnum repudiemus et aspernemur.—Id. ibid. p. 82.]

[4 His, Repl. 1, 2, and Def. A.]

[5 Christus vero præsens est ecclesiæ, et caput vivificum. Hic apostolis suis apostolorumque successoribus primatum et dominium in ecclesia severissime prohibuit.—Confess. et Expos. Fid. Christ. cap. xvii. in Corp. et Syntagm. Confess. Fid. Genev. 1654. pp. 32, 3.]

[6 Data est autem omnibus in ecclesia ministris una et æqualis potestas, sive functio. Certe ab initio, episcopi vel presbyteri ecclesiam communi opera gubernaverunt: nullus alteri se prætulit, &c. Interea propter ordinem servandum, unus aut certus aliquis ministrorum, cœtum convocavit, et in cœtu res consultandas proposuit, sententias item aliorum collegit, &c.—Ibid. cap. xviii. p. 40.]

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which you seem so greatly to mislike, to wit, that there is an equality of all ministers of God's word, *quoad ministerium:* "touching the ministry," but degrees and superiority among them, *quoad ordinem et politiam:* "touching order and government."

T. C.

Musculus, in his Common-places, in the chapter of the offices of the ministers of the word, saith that in the apostolic church the ministers of the word were none above another, nor subject to any head or president, and misliketh the setting up of any one in higher degree than another[1]. *And further he saith, upon the second chapter*[2] *of the second epistle to the Thessalonians, that the honour of a bishop, being taken from the rest of the ministers, and given to one, was the first step to the papacy*[3]*; howsoever in other places he speaketh otherwise.*

Jo. Whitgift.

Musculus in those words of his Common-places speaketh of superiority *quoad officium et potestatem:* "touching office and power" (for these words doth he use): he speaketh not of superiority touching order and policy; which is now in question. The same power is in all ministers of the word of binding, loosing, and administering the sacraments, but not of governing in the external policy of the church. Moreover, Musculus in that place speaketh chiefly of the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, and of that authority which his bishops do challenge and claim from him; wherefore that place may not be wrested against the lawful jurisdiction and superiority that is now used in the church of England.

Upon the second chapter of the second epistle to the Thessalonians, he only sheweth how the pope came to such excessive authority. No man doubteth but that such things,

[1 Est itaque prorsus indubitatum, in prima et apostolica ecclesia sic fuisse per apostolos dispositum, ut seniores ecclesiæ ἐπισκοποῦντες: id est, *gregis dominici curam gerentes*, communi opera ministeria docendi ac regendi obirent, essentque, ut ita dicam, *ἀκέφαλοι*: id est, *nulli capiti* ac *præsidi subjecti*: quales hodie quoque in nonnullis ecclesiis verbi ministri reperiuntur, inter quos nemo cæteris est superior officio et potestate, etiamsi alius alio sit vel eruditione, vel dono sermonis, aut sapientiæ potior.—Wolfg. Muscul. Loc. Comm. Theolog. Basil. 1599. De Ministr. Verb. Dei, p. 195.]

[2 Chapiter, Repl. 1.]

[3 Sunt tamen certi quidam antichristianæ superbiæ gradus. Primus est episcopalis honor. Hic fundabatur, ubi ex ministris et senioribus ecclesiæ unus aliquis qui cæteris præeminentior et episcopus esset, eligi cœperat, unde est episcopalis fastus, &c.—Id. Comm. in Epist. ad Phil. &c. Basil. 1565. In 2 Epist. ad Thessal. cap. ii. p. 325.]

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as were well instituted and upon just considerations, may by process of time [be] abused; but doth it therefore follow that they may not be restored to their right use again? A man might then much more strongly reason against your equality; which by sufficient trial (as by Jerome in sundry places it may appear) is proved to have been, and to be the cause of schisms, sects, contentions, seditions, tumults, murders, confusion of churches and commonweals, &c.[4] Nothing is so well instituted but it may be abused.

T. C.

3. *That the election of ministers pertaineth not to one man.*

The foresaid Helvetian confession, &c., in the eighteenth chapter saith that the "ministers ought to be chosen of the church, or by those which are lawfully deputed of the church, and afterward ordained with public prayers[5]*."*

Jo. WHITGIFT.

This maketh against you; for the confession alloweth that election of ministers which is made "by those that are appointed to that office in the church" (for these be the words of the confession); but our bishops are appointed to that office in this church; therefore the confession alloweth bishops to elect ministers. The words that follow, "that they should be ordained with public prayers," is observed in our church.

T. C.

M. Calvin, in his fourth book of Institutions, 3. chapter, 15. section, sheweth that the church did choose, and that the apostles did moderate the election, and confuteth them which upon the places of Titus and Timothy would prove that the election belongeth to one man[6].

Jo. WHITGIFT.

To this place of M. Calvin I have sufficiently answered in the third treatise, "Of election of ministers," chap. vii. the 1. division.

[4 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Evang. Epist. ci. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 803; Adv. Lucif. ibid. col. 295. See Vol. II. page 222, note 3, 5.]

[5 Vocentur et eligantur electione ecclesiastica et legitima, ministri ecclesiæ: id est, eligantur religiose ab ecclesia, vel ad hoc deputatis ab ecclesia, &c. Et qui electi sunt, ordinentur a senioribus cum orationibus publicis, et impositione manuum.—Confess. et Expos. Fid. Christ. cap. xviii. in Corp. et Syntagm. Confess. Fid. Genev. 1654. p. 38.]

[6 Creabant ergo ipsi duo [Paulus et Barnabas]: sed tota multitudo, ut mos Græcorum in electionibus erat, manibus sublatis declarabat quem habere vellet.... Non est certe credibile Paulum plus concessisse Timotheo et Tito quam sibi ipse sumpserit.—Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Inst. Lib. IV. cap. iv. 15. Tom. IX. p. 285.]

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T. C.

4. *That there ought now to be elders to govern the church with the pastors, and deacons to provide for the poor.*

Touching elders the judgment of M. Calvin hath been before declared, in the first of these propositions[1].

Jo. WHITGIFT.

And in the same place have I answered that which is there by you alleged out of M. Calvin.

T. C.

M. Beza, in his book of Divorces, page 161, *saith that the eldership of the church ought to be where there is a christian magistrate*[2].

Jo. WHITGIFT.

M. Beza doth not say in that place, that "the eldership of the church ought to be where there is a christian magistrate," but that it may be; and that it hath been; which he only speaketh, and proveth not. And yet, if he mean that "presbytery" whereof the canons speak (by him only in generality named), then is it no other than we have at this day in this church of England, in cathedral churches and colleges; for in the canons *presbyterium* signifieth nothing else but a college or company of priests and ministers of the word and sacraments; as I have further declared in the XVII. Tract.; where I have also shewed that M. Beza his opinion is that the government of the church may admit alteration, according to the diversities of times, place, and persons. *cap. ult.*[3]

T. C.

Touching deacons, M. Calvin, iv. book, 3. chapter, 9. section, after that he had described what deacons the churches had in the apostles' times, saith that we, after their example, ought to have the like.

Jo. WHITGIFT.

M. Calvin's words be these: *En quales habuerit diaconos apostolica ecclesia, quales ad ejus exemplum habere nos*

[1 See before, pages 532, 3.]

[2 ... ad quos alios, obsecro, hæc cura potius quam ad ecclesiam, id est, ecclesiæ presbyterium, illic quoque ubi magistratus christianus est, pertinebit? Et fuisse hunc morem totius veteris ecclesiæ, etiam sub christianis imperatoribus ex canonibus apparet, ex quibus procul dubio presbyterium, nulla cum magistratus injuria, judicabat, &c.—Th. Bezæ Tract. De Repud. et Divort. Genev. 1569. p. 361.]

[3 See before, page 217.]

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conveniat[4]: "Behold what deacons the apostolical church had, even such as it is convenient we should have, according to that example." He doth not say that we ought to have them, but that it is convenient to have them: he doth not make them necessary, but convenient; and he must be understanded to speak of that church whereof he had experience, not of this church wherein he was but a stranger. Of deacons, and that their office was not only to provide for the poor, but to preach also, and to baptize, I have proved, Tract. XIX. and Tract. XIV.[5]

T. C.

M. Beza, in the 5. chap. and 23. section of his Confessions, sheweth that the office of the distribution of the goods of the church is an ordinary function in a church lawfully constituted; which office in the 30. he calleth the deaconship[6].

Jo. WHITGIFT.

In neither of these doth M. Beza so tie providing for the poor to deacons, that they must by them be provided for, and by no other: he only sheweth what was done in this case in the apostles' time, and in the times immediately following; but there is neither scripture nor any learned writer that teacheth that the poor may be by no other provided for than by deacons. You prove that which no man denieth, and speak not one word of the matter in question, that is, whether of necessity the poor must be provided for by deacons and not otherwise.

T. C.

Peter Martyr, upon the xii.[7] *to the Romans, speaking of the elders which did assist the pastor in every church, and of the deacons, lamenteth that "this order is so fallen out of the church that the names of these functions do scarce remain."*

Jo. WHITGIFT.

That which Peter Martyr speaketh in that place is spoken generally of all that the apostle had before written

[4 Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Inst. Lib. iv. cap. iii. 9. Tom. IX. p. 284.]

[5 See before, pages 58, &c., 281, &c.]

[6 Nam eorum qui publico munere funguntur in ecclesia, alii annuntiando verbo, alii distribuendis ecclesiasticis bonis, alii disciplinæ et politiæ ecclesiasticæ præsunt: &c.—Th. Bezæ Confess. Christ. Fid. Genev. 1587. cap. v. 23. p. 135. Secunda species functionum ecclesiasticarum respicit distributionem bonorum ecclesiæ,... Primum igitur in ecclesia Hierosolymitana delecti sunt septem viri,... qui peculiari nomine vocati sunt diaconi, &c.—Id. ibid. 30. pp. 143, 4.]

[7 11, Def. A. and B.]

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touching the public ministers of the church; and therefore you do unjustly restrain it only to elders and deacons. It may evidently appear that M. Martyr maketh there a comparison betwixt the government of the church of Christ in the apostles' time, and the government of the pope's church in his time, as his words following declare; for thus he addeth immediately: "Instead of these, they have brought in taper-bearers, acoluthes, and subdeacons, which, with their light and stage-like gestures, serve at their superstitious altar[1]." So that you cannot gather of this place that your seigniory is perpetual, and must of necessity for ever remain in the church.

T. C.

M. Bucer, in his first book of the Kingdom of Christ, for the ancients of the church, saith that the number of the elders of every church ought to be increased according to the multitude of the people[2]; and, in the 14. *chapter of the same book, saith that this order of deaconship was "religiously kept in the church until it was driven out by antichrist[3]."*

Jo. Whitgift.

It had been well to have noted the chapter out of the which you gather that first saying of M. Bucer; howbeit the matter is not great; for the question is not, whether "the number of the elders of every church ought to be increased according to the number of the people," or no, in such places where this kind of government is admitted; but, whether this kind of government must of necessity in all churches and at all times be put in practice. I do not remember that M. Bucer anywhere affirmeth that. Indeed in the fifth chapter of the first book (speaking of these seniors) he saith: *Tales sane possunt cum administris doctrinæ et sacramentorum Christi disciplinam exercere. &c.*[4]: "Such may exercise the discipline

[1 Vehementer autem dolendum est: hanc ecclesiæ politiam ita misere intercidisse, ut hodie harum functionum ne nomina quidem usquam extent. Substituerunt his ceroferarios, et nescio quos, acoluthos, et subdiaconos, qui levibus, et ludicris actionibus, ad superstitiosum illud suum altare deserviant.—P. Martyr. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. Heid. 1613. cap. xii. pp. 566, 7.]

[2 Bucer, in the book referred to, frequently complains of the small number of ministers, and insists upon the necessity of having fit pastors in every church carefully to feed them; but the exact statement of Cartwright has not been found. See M. Bucer. De Regn. Christ. Basil. 1557. Lib. i. cap. iv. pp. 34, 36.]

[3 Quam religionem ecclesiæ usque ad invectam illis per antichristos dissipationem, perquam sancte observarunt: et administros hujus rei [pauperum curationis], quos etiam sacra ordinatione ad munus hoc initiaverunt, ecclesiarum diaconos vocaverunt.—Id. ibid. cap. xiv. p. 74.]

[4 Id. ibid. cap. v. p. 51.]

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of Christ with the ministers of the word and sacraments. &c." He saith they may do it, not that they ought to do it.

That which M. Bucer speaketh of the deaconship in the 14. chapter is not denied, but he nowhere saith that the poor must of necessity be provided for by deacons, and by none other; and he teacheth in the same chapter, that more things appertained to the office of the deacon than to provide for the poor; as, namely, to assist the ministers in the administration of the sacraments and exercising of discipline.

What sufficient proofs these be to induce that necessity of the kind of government so greatly urged by you, let the learned reader judge.

T. C.

5. That excommunication pertaineth not to any one man in the church.

M. Calvin, in his Institutions, iv. book, and 11. *chapter, and* 6. *section, teacheth that "excommunication pertaineth not to one man, and that it was too wicked a fact that one man, taking the authority which was common to other to himself alone, opened a way to tyranny, took from the church her right, and abrogated the church-senate, ordained by the Spirit of Christ*[5]*." And in the* 12. *chapter and* 7. *section he saith further that it "ought not to be done without the knowledge and approbation of the church*[6]*."*

Jo. Whitgift.

We grant that no one man ought to take that unto himself which doth not appertain unto him; but I have proved, Tract. xviii., that excommunication pertaineth to bishops, and that this church of England hath consented thereunto[7]; wherefore M. Calvin speaketh against that excommunication which the pope violently and tyrannically usurpeth, and not against this which our bishops in this church of England both by the laws of God and consent of the church exercise. I speak of the thing itself, and not of the abuse.

[5 Ejusmodi vero potestas [excommunicatio]... non penes unum erat, ut pro sua libidine quidvis ageret: sed penes consessum seniorum, &c.... Fuit igitur facinus nimis improbum, quod unus homo, translata ad se communi potestate, et tyrannicæ libidini patefecit aditum, et ecclesiæ quod suum erat eripuit, et consessum a Christi Spiritu ordinatum suppressit et abdicavit.—Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Inst. Lib. iv. cap. xi. 6. Tom. IX. p. 326.]

[6 Hoc tantum addo, illam esse legitimam in excommunicando homine progressionem, quam demonstrat Paulus, si non soli seniores seorsum id faciant, sed conscia et approbante ecclesia.—Id. ibid. cap. xii. 7. p. 330.]

[7 See before, pages 220, &c.]

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T. C.

M. Beza, in his Confessions, 5. chapter, 43. section, saith that "this power of excommunicating is given to no one man, except it please God to work extraordinarily[1]*."*

Peter Martyr, upon the first to the Corinthes, and fifth chapter, saith that it is very dangerous to permit so weighty a matter as excommunication to the discretion and will of any one man. And therefore, both that tyranny might be avoided, and this censure executed with greater fruit and gravity, that the order which the apostle[2] *there useth is still to be observed.*

Jo. WHITGIFT.

To M. Beza and M. Martyr I answer as I did to M. Calvin; and yet M. Martyr seemeth to expound himself in the same place, where he speaking against the committing of this authority of excommunicating to the pope or to one bishop, and refelling this saying of the papists, *Episcopum esse totam ecclesiam virtualiter*, when as they be rather *tota ecclesia vitialiter*, as he there affirmeth, he addeth by and by: *De malis hæc intelligas et tyrannice agentibus*[3]*:* "Understand this of evil bishops and such as deal tyrannically;" whereby he declareth that he speaketh against the committing of this discipline to evil bishops and such as use it tyrannically.

T. C.

M. Bucer, of the Kingdom of Christ, in the i. book and 9. chapter, saith that St Paul accuseth the Corinthians for that "the whole church" did not cast out of their company the incestuous person[4]*.*

Jo. WHITGIFT.

The question is not whether the whole church may have to do in excommunication or no, but whether the consent

[1 Tertio loco tenendum est hanc potestatem nulli certo homini attribui, (nisi forte Domino libuerit extra ordinem agere) sed toti presbyterorum collegio.—Th. Bezæ Confess. Christ. Fid. Genev. 1587. cap. v. 43. p. 167.]

[2 Apostles, Def. A. and B.]

[3 Jus itaque hoc ad ecclesiam pertinet, neque ab illa eripi debet. Cui sententiæ cum primis adversantur, qui uni episcopo aut papæ ipsam commissam volunt: quia dicunt episcopum esse universam ecclesiam (ut loquuntur) virtualiter...De malis &c.—P. Martyr. in prior. ad Corinth. Epist. Tigur. 1572. cap. v. fol. 68.]

[4 Quam gravi vero atque acri reprehensione excitavit Spiritus sanctus ad hanc pœnitentiæ disciplinam Corinthios, &c. ... eo quod ira Dei jure in totum ecclesiæ corpus accenditur, cum vel unius membri vitium vel interitus dissimulatur.—M. Bucer. De Regn. Christ. Basil. 1557. Lib. i. cap. ix. p. 64.]

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thereof is all times therein to be required. What the meaning of the apostle is in that place to the Corinth. I have declared, Tract. XV.[5]

T. C.

6. *That chancellors, commissaries, officials, &c., usurp authority in the church which belongeth not to them.*

M. Calvin, in his Institutions, iv. book, 11. *chap.,* 7. *sect., speaketh against the office of officials, and allegeth divers reasons against them, as that they exercise that part of the bishop's charge, and that they handle matters which pertain not to the spiritual jurisdiction*[6].

Jo. WHITGIFT.

M. Calvin in that place allegeth no reasons at all against those offices, only he saith that they exercise that part of the bishop's charge, and that they handle matters which pertain not to the spiritual jurisdiction; this, I say, he speaketh, but he doth not prove it. In the rest of that section he entreateth of the abuses of such officers; wherein I do not dissent from him.

T. C.

M. Beza in his book of Divorces, proving that the judicial deciding of matrimonial causes appertaineth unto the civil magistrate, saith that "officials, proctors, and promoters, and, in a word, all the swinish filth, now of long time hath wasted the church[7]*."*

Jo. WHITGIFT.

I understand not by what reasons M. Beza in that place proveth that the "judicial deciding of matrimonial causes appertaineth to the civil magistrate." Howbeit, officials, &c., in such cases deal not in this church of England without the consent and authority of the civil magistrate. It is not good dealing to apply those things, which M. Beza and other speak of such offices abused under the pope, to the same offices now reformed under a christian prince that professeth the gospel; but thus you dazzle the people's eyes.

[5 See before, pages 101, &c.]

[6 Verum...episcopi velut rem sua cura indignam fastidientes, ad alios ablegarunt. Inde creati officiales, qui locum illum sustinerent:...Et tamen spiritualem jurisdictionem adhuc vocant, ubi nonnisi de rebus terrenis litigatur.—Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Inst. Lib. IV. cap. xi. 7. Tom. IX. p. 326.]

[7 Sed quorsum hoc ad officiales, promotores, procuratores, totam denique illam porcorum colluviem quæ ecclesiam Dei jampridem devastat?—Th. Bezæ Tract. De Repud. et Divort. Genev. 1569. p. 363.]

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T. C.

Peter Martyr, upon the xiii. chap. to the Romans, speaking against the civil jurisdiction of bishops, doth by the same reason condemn it in their deputies the officials[1].

Jo. WHITGIFT.

Peter Martyr speaketh not against the office, but against certain abuses in the officers: this is not simple dealing to transfer that to the office that is spoken of the abuse of the office.

T. C.

7. *That the ministers of the word ought not to exercise any civil office and jurisdiction.*

M. Calvin, in his Institutions, iv. book, 11. chap., 9. sect., bringeth divers reasons to prove that bishops may neither usurp, nor take being given them, either the right of the sword, or the knowledge of civil causes[2].

Jo. WHITGIFT.

The reasons that M. Calvin useth there be neither many, nor greatly strong. I have answered them fully, Tract. XXIII.; and yet M. Calvin speaketh only of that princely power which the Romish bishops claim, not as committed unto them by the prince and civil magistrate, but due unto them by the word of God; from the which challenge I have shewed, in the foresaid treatise, how far our bishops are[3].

T. C.

M. Beza, in his Confessions, chap. 5, sect. 32, saith that "the ecclesiastical jurisdiction is to be distinguished from the civil," and that, "although the bishops in the times of christian emperors were troubled with the hearing of civil causes, yet they did not that by any judicial power which they exercised, but by a friendly entreaty of the parties which were at discord;" and saith, notwithstanding, that "herein the emperors did give too much to the ambition of certain bishops; whereupon by little and by little afterward all things were confounded[4]*." And in the 42. section saith that*

[1 Spectemus ipsas episcoporum civitates, quanto illæ sanctiores, et puriores sint, quam aliæ. Certe cum ipsi per se regere, atque administrare non possint, substituunt sibi præfectos, et judices, et eos, quos vocant officiales. At illi non minus fraudibus, et imposturis, et turpissimis quæstibus inserviunt, quam alii turpissimi judices solent, qui in civili magistratu versantur.—P. Martyr. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. Heid. 1613. cap. xiii. p. 581.]

[2 ...ne otiosi prorsus relinquerentur [episcopi], jus illis gladii datum est, vel potius ipsi sibi usurparunt. Hanc impudentiam quo tandem prætextu defendent? —Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Inst. Lib. IV. cap. xi. 9. Tom. IX. p. 326.]

[3 See before, pages 409, &c. 433, 4.]

[4 Ergo ut ad rem redeam, quædam est jurisdictio ecclesiastica, sed a civili

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"those corporal punishments which the apostles exercised were peculiar and extraordinary[5]*."*

Jo. WHITGIFT.

M. Beza his bare word is no sufficient proof against so many other testimonies and reasons as are to the contrary; and I have sufficiently shewed, Tract. XXIII. *cap.* 3, *divis. ult.*, that bishops in times past did not only hear civil causes, but also judicially determine the same[6]. Touching the corporal punishments which the apostles exercised, M. Beza, in his book *De Hæreticis a magistratu puniendis*, doth make them so ordinary that he useth them as sufficient arguments to prove his purpose, and saith plainly that the apostles did exercise these punishments, "not by the right of the ecclesiastical ministry, but by the right of the civil magistracy;" as I have declared Tract. XXIII. *cap.* 3, *divis.* 12.[7]

T. C.

Peter Martyr, upon the xiii. to the Romans, speaking of this meeting of both ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction in one man, saith that, when both the civil and ecclesiastical functions do so meet, that "one hinder[8] *the other, so that he which exerciseth the one cannot minister the other*[9]*."*

Jo. WHITGIFT.

M. Martyr speaketh of an absolute jurisdiction civil, such as the pope claimeth, and not of this which is practised by the bishops in the church of England; whereof he had experience in the days of king Edward, even in this realm; and the which he also then allowed.

T. C.

M. Bucer, upon the v. of Matthew, saith that "there is no man so wise

penitus distinguenda. Constat tamen sub christianis etiam imperatoribus episcopos civilium causarum cognitione fuisse multum impeditos, sed ut amica transactione tollerentur dissidia, quamvis dubium non sit quin quorumdam episcoporum ambitioni jam tum nonnulli imperatores nimium indulserint, unde postea factum ut paulatim omnia fuerint perturbata.—Th. Bezæ Confess. Christ. Fid. Genev. 1567. cap. v. 32. p. 148.]

[5] Quod enim apostoli interdum pœnis corporalibus usi sunt, peculiare et extraordinarium fuit, &c.—Id. ibid. 42. p. 161.]

[6] See before, pages 454, &c.]

[7] Id. De Hæret. a civil. Magistr. pun. Libell. 1554. p. 123. See before, page 448.]

[8] Hindereth, Repl. 1 and 2.]

[9] Adhæc quis non videt, duas istas functiones ita se mutuo impedire, ut qui unam exerceat, alteram non posset administrare?—P. Martyr. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. cap. xiii. p. 581.]

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and holy which is able to exercise both the civil and the ecclesiastical power, and that therefore he which will exercise the one must leave the other[1]."

Jo. WHITGIFT.

I answer as I did to M. Martyr; for he also allowed that civil jurisdiction that the bishops in England did exercise in the time of king Edward.

T. C.

8. *That the sacraments ought not to be privately administered, nor by women.*

The foresaid confession, c. 20, holdeth that "baptism ought not to be ministered by women or midwives[2]*;" to the which also may be joined the liturgy of the English church at Geneva, which condemneth the ministering of either of the sacraments in private houses, or by women*[3].

Jo. WHITGIFT.

These be needless proofs; and yet are there learned men of the contrary judgment. Howbeit, no man saith that women may baptize ordinarily, or that the sacraments may be administered in private places, otherwise than upon urgent occasion; and in that respect no learned man doth condemn the ministering of the sacraments in private places.

T. C.

Peter Martyr, upon the xi. chapter of the 1. *epistle to the Corinthes, in describing the corruptions of the Lord's supper, noteth this to be one, that the church did not communicate altogether; which corruption as it was in divers places in times past, so he complaineth that it is now*[4].

[1 Adjiciam et hoc, de potestatibus ecclesiasticorum, quæ et ipsæ cum sint, utique a Deo ordinatæ sunt, quare ne ipsis quidem resisti debet, aut illæ imminui, sed moneri qui illis funguntur, ut rite fungantur, quod si velint præstare, ecclesiastica certe munera aliis cedant, oportebit, aut si animus fuerit his vacare, necesse erit aliorum fidei committant administrandam potestatem. Nemo enim mortalium, quantumlibet sanctus et sapiens, alteri satisfecerit, nedum utrisque.—M. Bucer. Enarr. Perp. in sacr. quat. Evang. Argent. 1530. Matt. cap. v. fol. 58.]

[2 Docemus, baptismum in ecclesia non administrari debere a mulierculis, vel ab obstetricibus.—Confess. et Expos. Fid. Christ. cap. xx. in Corp. et Syntagm. Confess. Fid. Genev. 1654. p. 47.]

[3 First note, that forasmuch as it is not permitted by God's word, that women should preach or minister the sacraments, and it is evident, that the sacraments are not ordained of God to be used in private corners, &c.—The Form of Comm. Prayer used by the English at Geneva, in The Phenix, Lond. 1707-8. Vol. II. p. 234.]

[4 Sed quia nonnulli sunt, qui...volunt hinc adversus privatas missas nihil concludi, id repetam contra eos, quod supra quoque adduxi. Apostolus, dum vult abusum istorum corrigere, institutionem Domini profert, &c....ideo concludit Paulus, convivium commune esse debere.—P. Martyr. in prior. ad Corinth. Epist. Tigur. 1572. cap. xi. fol. 154. 2.]

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Jo. Whitgift.

M. Martyr in that place speaketh against private masses; and the complaint that he maketh is concerning them; wherein we fully agree with him; neither do we like or allow of such as withdraw themselves from the Lord's table when the supper is celebrated. You never love to rehearse the author's words (because they make not for you), but gather collections of your own, contrary to the meaning of the author, as you do in this place; which the reader shall easily perceive, if it will please him to read M. Martyr himself, in that place by you quoted. And surely it is too great injury to wrest that to the order of celebrating the communion allowed of in this church of England, which he or any man else speaketh against private masses; but such are your deep and profound collections.

T. C.

M. Bucer, in his first book of the Kingdom of Christ, and 7. chapter, proveth out of the x. to the Corinthes[5], *that "the whole church should receive the supper of the Lord together," and that "the use of the church of God in this behalf ought with great and diligent endeavour to be restored unto the churches," and that "it is a contempt of the mysteries not to be partakers when they are called*[6]*."*

Jo. Whitgift.

M. Bucer speaketh nothing in that place touching this question whereunto I agree not; he would have the communion ministered in the public congregation; and who denieth that, except it be upon occasion of sickness, &c.; as I have before declared? he would have all or the most part that be present to communicate; and who defendeth the contrary? and yet, if they will not, the rest may not be secluded. His whole drift is to reprove such as will not communicate, and not to prohibit the distribution of the supper to those that be

[5 Corinth., Repl. 2.]

[6 Cumque Dominus eum usum eucharistiæ instituit, qui est in priscis quoque ecclesiis perquam religiose observatus, ut qui unus in ipso panis, et unum sunt corpus, omnes etiam (si quidem sacræ cœnæ præsto sint) uno illo pane et calice æternæ salutis, corpore Domini et sanguine, per hæc sacramenta fidelibus oblatis et commendatis, participent: hic certe S. eucharistiæ usus summo debet studio in ecclesias revocari....Et quonam pacto se non obligarent gravi Christi Domini et mysteriorum ejus contemptu, qui oblatum ab ipso cibum et potum vitæ æternæ respuunt sumere, &c.—M. Bucer. De Regn. Christ. Basil. 1557. Lib. 1. cap. vii. p. 57.]

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willing, be they more, or be they fewer, so that there be a competent number, that it may be a communion.

T. C.

M. Beza against Westphalus sheweth that "it is not decent that baptism be ministered but in the church, and that at standing hours, and by the ministers;" and, further, that "upon no necessity (as it is called) it ought to be ministered in private houses;" and that, "if it might be ministered in private houses, yet not[1] *otherwise than by ministers*[2]*."*

Jo. Whitgift.

You untruly report M. Beza his words: he only sheweth in that place what the order of the church is where he remaineth: he doth not prescribe any certain rule for all churches; neither is it meet that he should, in such cases. He so speaketh of baptizing in private houses, that he doth not simply condemn it. But, whatsoever his judgment is in that point, his mind is not (I am sure) to bind all other churches to the same, which think and teach as soundly of this sacrament as he doth, or can do, though they agree not with him in all circumstances.

T. C.

M. Calvin, in his Institutions, iv. book, chapter 15., *sect.* 20. 21., *proveth that baptism ought not to be ministered by private men, or by any women*[3].

Jo. Whitgift.

Only ministers of the church are the ordinary ministers of baptism; neither may any other challenge that function unto themselves ordinarily, but yet, if upon occasion a private person do baptize, the baptism is good and lawful; even as the circumcision was true circumcision that was ministered by Sephora. As I have proved, Tract. IX. *cap.* 5.[4]

[1 No, Repl. 2.]

[2 Quoniam autem debent in ecclesia decenter omnia fieri, baptismum nonnisi in templo statis horis, idque per ministros, quotidie administramus....Baptismos in privatis ædibus nullos administramus: quod si administraremus, nonnisi ministros adhiberemus, ac præsertim rejiceremus mulieres.—Th. Bezæ De Cœn. Dom. Tract. R. Steph. 1559. p. 158.]

[3 Hoc enim scire ad rem pertinet, perperam fieri si privati homines baptismi administrationem sibi usurpent:...Neque enim aut mulieribus aut hominibus quibuslibet mandavit Christus ut baptizarent:...Epiphanius...Marcioni exprobrat quod mulieribus daret baptizandi licentiam. &c.—Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Inst. Lib. IV. cap. XV. 21, 22. Tom. IX. p. 354.]

[4 See Vol. II. pages 519, &c.]

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T. C.

9. *The judgment of those late writers touching ceremonies and apparel, whose secret epistles M. Doctor allegeth, appeareth by these places following, cited out of their works printed and published by themselves. Whereof also some are alleged by the answerer to the examiner, where are divers other places to this purpose; whereunto I refer the reader*[5].

M. Bucer, upon the xviii. of Matthew, saith that "they say nothing which do always object that greater things must be urged than the reformation of ceremonies, thereby defending the relics of antichrist, forasmuch as ceremonies are testimonies of religion;" and that, "as there is no agreement between Christ and Belial, so those which are sincere Christians can abide nothing of antichrist[6]*."*

Jo. WHITGIFT.

M. Bucer saith truly; for the reformation of ceremonies is to be sought and not to be neglected; neither can sincere Christians abide anything of antichrist, as it is antichrist's; but what is all this to the purpose? is there no reformation of ceremonies in this church of England, from the which all antichristian ceremonies are abandoned, and those that remain purged from all opinion of antichristianity? And that M. Bucer meant nothing less than the ceremonies now retained in this church of England (as we use them), it may evidently appear by that which I have alleged out of him, Tract. VII. *cap.* 5, the 5. division; and chap. 7, division 4.[7]

T. C.

Peter Martyr, upon the x. chap. of the second book of the Kings, saith that "the Lutherans must take heed lest, whilst they cut off many popish errors, they follow Jehu by retaining also many popish things. For they defend still the real presence in the bread of the supper, and images, and vestments, &c.;" and saith that "religion must be wholly reformed to the quick[8]*."*

[5] The book referred to is, An answvere for the tyme, to the examination put in print, &c. 1566. See Vol. II. page 48, note 5.]

[6] Unde nihil ii dicunt, qui perpetuo jactant, esse majora quæ urgere oporteat, quam reformationem ceremoniarum, hinc antichristi reliquiis patrocinantes... Certe ut nulla prorsus est Christi et Belial conventio, ita sincere Christiani, nihil penitus ferre poterunt antichristi, &c.—M. Bucer. Enarr. Perp. in sacr. quat. Evang. Argent. 1530. Matt. cap. xviii. fol. 147. 2.]

[7] See Vol. II. pages 38, &c., 56, 7.]

[8] Cavere item debent Lutherani, ne dum exciderint multos papisticos errores, imitentur Jehum, retinendo adhuc permulta papistica. Defendunt enim adhuc præsentiam corporis Christi realem, corporalem, et substantialem, ut loquuntur, in pane cœnæ Domini: tuentur imagines: tuentur vestes, et alia permulta hujus

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JO. WHITGIFT.

M. Martyr nameth the popish things which the Lutherans observe, to be the real presence, images, all the popish apparel which they used in their mass (for so doth he mean); which this church hath refused. What his opinion is of this apparel that we retain, I have declared, Tract. VII. chap. 5, the 4. division[1]; where he of purpose speaketh concerning the same. God be thanked, religion is wholly reformed, even to the quick, in this church.

T. C.

Bullinger in his Decades, 5. book, and ninth sermon, saith that "our Saviour Christ and the apostles used their accustomed apparel in the supper," and that, although "in times past the ministers put on a kind of cloak upon their common apparel, yet that was done neither by the example of Christ, nor of his apostles, but by the tradition of man, and that in the end, after the example of the priest's apparel in the old law, it was cast upon the ministers at the ministration of the supper. But (saith he) we have learned long ago, not only that all Levitical ceremonies are abrogated, but also that they ought to be brought again into the church of no man. And therefore, seeing we are in the light of the gospel, and not under the shadow of the law, we do worthily reject that massing Levitical apparel[2]."

JO. WHITGIFT.

Neither do we retain the "massing Levitical apparel," but that apparel only which Bullinger himself alloweth of in divers epistles written of purpose touching these matters; as I have expressed, Tract. VII. chapter 5, the 6. division, &c.[3]

T. C.

Gualter, upon the xxi. of the Acts, among others bringeth this for one reason, to improve Paul's shaving of his head, for that the gospel had been

generis, &c.... Non est in religione ad hunc modum agendum. Tota quippe repurganda est, et ad vivum emendanda.—P. Martyr. Melachim, i.e. Reg. Libr. Duo Post. cum Comm. &c. Tigur. 1571. In II. Lib. cap. x. fol. 276.]

[1 See Vol. II. pages 35, &c.]

[2 Porro constat ipsum Dominum nostrum in prima cœna, adde et apostolos in celebratione cœnæ usos esse veste vulgari et honesta...Veteres unico tecti videntur pallio superinducto vulgari vestimento: idque non exemplo Christi, vel apostolorum, sed ex traditione humana. Tandem supellex illa quæ hodie visitur, ex imitatione vestitus sacerdotalis veteris legis collecta est et injecta ministris cœnam celebrare volentibus...At nos dudum didicimus Levitica omnia non tantum esse abrogata, sed a nemine rursus reducenda in ecclesiam. Ergo cum in luce evangelica, non in umbra legis versemur, merito rejicimus vestitum illum missalem Leviticum.—H. Bullinger, Sermon. Decades quinque, Tigur. 1567. Decad. v. Serm. ix. fol. 364.]

[3 See Vol. II. pages 40, 1.]

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preached twenty years; and that therefore the infirmity of the Jews ought not to have been borne[4] *with. And after he saith that "that teacheth how much the superstitious masters of ceremonies hurt the gospel, which nourish the weakness of faith by the long keeping of ceremonies*[5]*, and by their long bearing hinder the doings of those ministers which are more fervent*[6]*."*

Jo. Whitgift.

M. Gualter in these words saith nothing against any point of this church: he speaketh truly and nothing to your purpose. M. Gualter hath sufficiently shewed his opinion in these matters, not only in written epistles, but in printed books; as in his epistle before his commentaries upon the first to the Corinthians[7].

Surely there is no such weight in these authorities for your purpose, that you can take any great advantage of them: indeed your cause, in my opinion, hath won small credit by alleging of them.

[4 Have borne, Repl. 1.]

[5 Of faith of the long keeping by ceremonies, Repl. 1 in some copies.]

[6 At cum jam annis totis viginti tribus evangelium in toto orbe prædicatum esset, nimia profecto hæc fuit indulgentia, qua contumacissimæ gentis superstitio fovebatur....Docemur item quantum evangelio incommodent superstitiosi illi ceremoniarum magistri, qui infirmitatem fidei harum diuturniori conservatione fovent, et sua indulgentia ardentioribus ministris remoras objiciunt.—R. Gualther. Hom. in Act. Apostol. Tigur. 1569. Hom. cxxxix. fol. 248.]

[7 Sunt rursus qui de ministrorum habitu lites non necessarias movent, et eo usque progrediuntur, ut propter illum viros graves et de ecclesia atque communi religionis causa optime meritos damnare audeant. At isti omnes non obscure suam ignorantiam (ne quid durius de illis pronuntiem) produnt, &c.—Id. Hom. in prior. ad Corinth. Epist. Tigur. 1568. Præf. ad Ebor. Arch. &c. fol. *a* 5.]

¶ Imprinted at London by Henry Bynneman, for Humfrey Toy, dvvelling in Paules Churchyard at the signe of the Helmet.

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¶ A note of such dangerous points of doctrine as are avouched by T. C. in his Reply; and quoted as they are to be found in this book[1].

He saith that "certain of the things which we stand upon are such as, if every hair of our head were a life, we ought to afford them for the defence of them;" whereby he would insinuate that this church of England doth maintain some damnable doctrine, pag. 44.[2]

2. He saith that, "if the church be considered in the whole and general government and outward policy of it, it may be pure and unspotted;" which smelleth of an anabaptistical fancy, pag. 50.[3]

3. He affirmeth that "many things are both commanded and forbidden, of which there is no express mention in the word, which are as necessarily to be followed or avoided, as those whereof express mention is made;" which soundeth to the confirmation of the very foundation of all papistry, pag. 77.[4]

4. He holdeth that "the doctrine of free-will is not repugnant to salvation;" and yet is it a doctrine clean contrary to free justification by Christ, pag. 82.[5]

5. He saith that "all the commandments of God and of the apostles are needful for our salvation;" which is a notorious error, pag. 103.[6]

6. He utterly denieth that "any magistrate can save the life of blasphemers, contemptuous and stubborn idolaters, murderers, adulterers, incestuous persons, and such like, which God by his judicial law hath commanded to be put to death;" whereby he bindeth the civil magistrate to the observing of the judicial laws of Moses, and condemneth this state and government (now used in this realm of England) of manifest impiety, pag. 120.[7]

7. He affirmeth that "in the churches of Christ there

[1 In the title-page, given Vol. I. page 2, four tables are spoken of: three of these as explained, note 1, follow here. The objections of Whitgift in the first two were replied to in An Examination of M. Doctor VVhytgiftes censvres, contained in tvvo tables, sett before his booke, entituled, The Defence of the Avnswer to the Admonition, &c. 1575.]

[2 See Vol. I. page 101.]
[3 See Vol. I. page 112.]
[4 See Vol. I. page 176.]
[5 See Vol. I. page 188.]
[6 See Vol. I. page 231.]
[7 See Vol. I. page 270.]

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be no drunkards, nor whoremongers, at the least which are known;" which assertion tendeth to anabaptism, pag. 176.[8]

8. He saith that, "whatsoever apparel the magistrate commandeth the minister to wear, the commandment cannot be without some injury done to the minister;" which is to debar the magistrates from appointing any kind of apparel to ministers, pag. 265.[9]

9. He saith that "those ministries, without the which the church is fully builded and brought to perfection and complete unity, are not to be retained in the church;" which is a very dangerous assertion, and may give occasion of divers errors, pag. 307.[10]

10. He holdeth that "it were more safe for us to conform our indifferent ceremonies to the Turks which are far off, than to the papists which are so near;" which cannot be so, for the Turks utterly deny Christ, and be void of all christian ceremonies, pag. 475.[11]

11. He affirmeth that "not only the dignity, but also the being of the sacrament of baptism, dependeth upon this, whether he be a minister or no that doth minister it;" which if it be true, then be there numbers not baptized that are supposed to be baptized, and it must of necessity follow that they ought to be re-baptized; which is plain anabaptism, pag. 518.[12]

12. He saith that, "with what lawfulness men may offer themselves to the prayers and hearing of the word of God, they may also offer themselves to the Lord's supper;" which is a palpable error, pag. 532.[13] And, pag. 604.[14], he affirmeth directly the contrary.

13. He denieth that "the church, or any man, may restrain the people from bodily labour in any of the six days;" which is to draw from the magistrate his lawful authority, and to give carnal liberty to the people, pag. 541.[15]

14. He saith that "the life of the sacraments dependeth of the preaching of the word;" which if it be true, then is the sacrament of baptism not to be ministered to infants, because they cannot hear the word preached; and indeed this is the ground of anabaptism, pag. 566.[16]

[8 See Vol. I. page 382.]
[9 See Vol. II. page 17.]
[10 See Vol. II. page 97.]
[11 See Vol. II. page 440.]
[12 See Vol. II. page 525.]
[13 See Vol. II. page 554.]
[14 See before, page 103.]
[15 See Vol. II. page 569.]
[16 See before, page 22.]

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15. He doubteth whether he "may call him minister or no that cannot preach;" which being joined with his former assertion, that "the minister is of the being of the sacrament," it will fall out that he counteth all those not baptized which have been baptized by any other than by preachers, pag. 568, and 583.[1]

16. He seemeth to be of this judgment, that only those which be of the family of God ought to be baptized; which is a dangerous error; for not all that be baptized are of the family of God, pag. 621.[2]

17. He secludeth the children of excommunicate persons, and of professed papists, from the sacrament of baptism, until they be able to make a confession of their faith; which smelleth very strongly of anabaptism, and it is a manifest error, pag. 622.[3]

18. He saith that "princes must remember to subject themselves unto the church, to submit their sceptres, to throw down their crowns before the church, and to lick the dust of the feet of the church;" and by the church he meaneth the presbytery and eldership; so that he would have princes in as great bondage to his seniors as ever they were to the pope, pag. 645.[4]

19. He saith, pag. 646[5], that "the government of the commonwealth must be framed according to the government of the church, even as the hangings to the house;" and he affirmeth that the government of the church is aristocratical or popular; and therefore his opinion must needs be, that no government of any commonwealth ought to be monarchical, but either aristocratical or popular; which is a dangerous error, and springeth of this, that he doth not distinguish betwixt the essential points of the government of the church, and the accidental points of the same; for the essential points of ecclesiastical government may well agree with any lawful state of commonwealth, and civil kind of government; as the gospel may be truly preached in them all, the sacraments rightly ministered, discipline duly executed, and such like; but the accidental points of government (as the manner of electing ministers, the kind of discipline, accidental ceremonies, and

[1 See before, pages 28, 60.]
[2 See before, page 139.]
[3 See before, page 140.]
[4 See before, page 139.]
[5 Ibid.]

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other such like rites and ceremonies) may be varied according to time, place, and persons, and are so to be framed as they may best agree with the state and government of every commonwealth. The ignorance of this distinction hath cast T. C. into a great and perilous error.

20. He both joineth with the papists, in taking from the civil magistrate authority in ecclesiastical matters, and also in confirming that error by their arguments, and none other, pag. 694, &c.[6]

21. He affirmeth that "the reading of the scriptures without the preaching cannot deliver so much as one poor sheep from destruction, &c.;" wherein he is also contrary to himself, pag. 784.[7]

¶ A note of certain untruths and falsified authorities contained in the Reply of T. C., and are to be found out in this book, according to the quotation.

He saith that it appeareth, "in the eighth chapter of the book of Nehemias, that the feast of tabernacles, which was commanded of the Lord to be celebrated every year, was not celebrated from the days of Josua the son of Nun, until the return of the people from their captivity;" which is a manifest untruth, as it is evident, 1 Esdr. iii. [Ezra iii.]; and it is also against the opinion of all the interpreters, pag. 8.[8]

2. Josias is alleged for Ezechias, pag. 10.[9]

3. This word "especially" is added to the text, 1 Cor. x., pag. 86.[10]

4. He opposeth Ignatius and Tertullian to Ambrose and Augustine; as though Ambrose and Augustine should think "it to be lawful to fast on the Lord's day," and the other two should write the contrary; whereas Ambrose and Augustine fully agree with Ignatius and Tertullian in that matter, pag. 99.[11]

5. He mangleth St Augustine's words, both before, behind, and in the midst, pag. 107.[12]

[6 See before, pages 295, &c.]
[7 See before, page 475.]
[8 See Vol. I. page 29.]
[9 See Vol. I. page 32.]
[10 See Vol. I. page 195.]
[11 See Vol. I. pages 223, 4.]
[12 See Vol. I. page 238.]

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6. Pag. 144, he falsifieth the words of St Paul, 1 Tim. iii., and untruly translateth them[1].

7. He saith that the Israelites when they worshipped the calf "said that they would keep holy-day to the Lord Jehova;" which is not true, pag. 151.[2]

8. He citeth a place out of Justinian's code, which cannot as yet be found there, neither doth he faithfully report, but subtilly suppress the words which explain the matter, as they be set down by Illyricus, of whom he borrowed them, pag. 184.[3]

9. He saith that "Platina writeth that Lodowik the Second commanded the Romans to choose their own bishop;" which is not true; for he only commended them for so doing, he did not command them, pag. 186.[4]

10. He saith that "those which write the Centuries suspect the canon of the council of Laodicea, which forbiddeth the election of ministers to be committed to the people, and doubt whether it be a bastard or no;" which is untrue; for the authors of the Centuries make no such doubt, pag. 188.[5]

11. He saith that "Hierome willeth that the people should have power and authority to choose their clerks and their ministers;" which is not so; for Hierome willeth no such thing, pag. 203.[6]

12. He allegeth Musculus his words instead of Jerome's; and that which only Muscu. saith in his Common-places he ascribeth to Jerome in his epist. to Nepotian, *ead.*[7]

13. He saith that Nazian. (in an oration that he writeth at the death of his father) "confuteth those reasons that seem to hinder the election of ministers by the church;" and yet is there no such thing to be found in that oration, pag. 205.[8]

14. He referreth the reader to the vi. and vii. book of Eusebius, "for examples of elections of the people and clergy confirmed by the christian magistrate, namely in the bishop of Constantinople;" and yet is there no such examples in those books, neither any mention of any bishop of Constantinople, pag. 207.[9]

15. He fathereth a manifest untruth upon Eusebius,

[1 See Vol. I. page 319.] [2 See Vol. I. page 333.]
[3 See Vol. I. page 396. Conf. ibid. note 2, where the place is given.]
[4 See Vol. I. page 401.] [5 See Vol. I. page 405.]
[6 See Vol. I. page 441.] [7 Ibid.] [8 See Vol. I. pages 443, 4.]
[9 See Vol. I. pages 448, 9.]

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Lib. vi., touching Origen's admission into the ministry, pag. 209.[10]

16. He leaveth out the words of the council of Chalcedon that open the meaning of the council, pag. 222.[11]

17. He again ascribeth Musculus his words to Jerome, pag. *ead.*[12]

18. He denieth that Chrysostom maketh a distinction betwixt bishops and elders; when as his words be plain, pag. 226.[13]

19. He doth untruly and corruptly allege Theodoret, pag. 268.[14]

20. He saith, pag. 280,[15] that the two treatises called the Admonition "were written by divers persons, the one not knowing the other's doings;" the contrary whereof is manifestly declared.

21. He citeth Nicephorus corruptly, pag. 326.[16]

22. He falsifieth a place in the first of John, by a false interpretation, to make it serve his turn, pag. 302.[17]

23. He saith that the Centuries allege a place of Ambrose, out of his book *De Dignitate sacerdotali*, "to prove that the office of an archbishop was not then come into the church;" which is untrue; for the Centuries allege no such place out of Ambrose for any such purpose, pag. 337.[18]

24. He saith that "Hierome and Augustine speak of archdeacons," in those places where they only speak of deacons, pag. 346.[19]

25. The words of Socrates are falsified, pag. 350.[20]

26. He untruly reporteth the words of Cyprian, pag. [21]357.[22]

27. He falsifieth the meaning of Tertullian, alluding that to ceremonies that Tertullian meaneth of matters of faith and of salvation, pag. 370.[23]

28. He keepeth back the words of Theodoret that explain his meaning, pag. 412.[24]

[10 See Vol. I. page 452.]
[11 See Vol. I. page 479.]
[12 See Vol. I. page 480.]
[13 See Vol. I. page 487.]
[14 See Vol. II. page 23.]
[15 See Vol. II. page 45.]
[16 See Vol. II. page 134.]
[17 See Vol. II. page 87.]
[18 See Vol. II. page 157.]
[19 See Vol. II. page 178.]
[20 See Vol. II. page 184.]
[21 257, Def. A. and B.]
[22 See Vol. II. page 198.]
[23 See Vol. II. page 226.]
[24 See Vol. II. page 312.]

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29. An untruth concerning Irenæus avouched out of the fifth book of Eusebius, *cap. iii. & iv.* pag. *eadem.*[1]

30. He perverteth the words of the Greek scholiast, pag. 413.[2]

31. He avoucheth an untruth of Theodoret, pag. 415.[3]

32. He uttereth a very uncharitable untruth of the worthy man M. Jewel, bishop of Sarisbury, pag. 422.[4]

33. He saith that "in the council of Antioch it appeareth that the bishop of the metropolitan seat called synods, and propounded the matters which were to be handled, and that it was his office to see that the bishops kept themselves within their own diocese;" and he quoteth the 9. canon; where no such thing is to be found, pag. 435.[5]

34. He both addeth and detracteth from the 34. canon attributed to the apostles, pag. 439.[6]

35. The 17. canon of the council of Antioch is untruly alleged, pag. 440.[7]

36. He should say an epistle of pope Zachary to Boniface, and he saith an epistle of Zachary to pope Boniface; in the which epistle he saith that this cause, *scil.* "Lest they should wax vile through the multitude," is alleged why there should not be a bishop in every village or little city; which is untrue; for there is no such cause alleged there, 443.[8]

37. He allegeth the fifth canon *Concilii Tyronnes.* for that that cannot be found in it, pag. 446.[9]

38. He saith that "another council (quoting the council of Afric) decreed that the Christians should not celebrate feasts on the birth-days of martyrs, because it was the manner of the heathen;" which is a manifest untruth; for there is no such decree in that council, 479.[10]

39. He saith that "Tertullian would not have the Christians to sit after they had prayed, because the idolaters did so;" and he quoteth his book *De Anima;* where there is no such thing written, pag. *eadem.*[11]

40. He fathereth an untruth of Augustine touching baptizing by women or in private houses, page 522.[12]

[1 See Vol. II. page 312.]
[2 See Vol. II. page 315.]
[3 See Vol. II. page 318.]
[4 See Vol. II. pages 336, 7.]
[5 See Vol. II. page 360.]
[6 See Vol. II. page 367.]
[7 See Vol. II. page 370.]
[8 See Vol. II. page 376.]
[9 See Vol. II. p. 382. Conf. ibid. note 1.]
[10 See Vol. II. page 447.]
[11 See Vol. II. page 449.]
[12 See Vol. II. page 535.]

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41. He allegeth M. Beza in his annotations for that which cannot be found in them, pag. 584.[13]

42. He saith that, "if we will take the nature of the sacrament so straitly as Augustine doth, and that there be no sacraments but when as to the element there cometh the word, the circumcision can be no sacrament;" which is a gross untruth, for in circumcision there is both the word and the element, pag. 618.[14]

43. He saith that the eldership was most flourishing in Constantine's time, but he noteth no place where we may find his saying to be true, pag. 651.[15]

44. He is greatly deceived about the excommunicating of Apollinaris, and sheweth manifest tokens that either he hath not himself read the story, or that he hath read it very negligently; as it is plainly declared in the Defence, pag. 669.[16]

45. He falsifieth Ambrose, pag. 670.[17]

46. He allegeth a place of Tertullian very deceitfully, pag. 673.[18]

47. He saith that "Augustine, in his books *De Bap. contra Donatistas*, sheweth that, if the most of the people be infected with the fault which is to be punished, that then no excommunication ought to be attempted; for because a sufficient number of voices will not be obtained for the excommunication;" whereas these words, "for because a sufficient number of voices &c.," are not to be found in these books of Augustine, pag. 675.[19]

48. He maketh an untrue report of the 10. canon of the council of Antioch, pag. 682.[20]

49. He allegeth that for making ecclesiastical laws and ceremonies, which is meant of building and repairing of churches, out of *Euseb. Lib. ii. de Vita Constant. Epist. ad Eusebium*, pag. 698.[21]

50. He affirmeth that "this practice continued still in the churches of God, *scil.* that nothing was brought into the church to be read besides the word of God;" whereas the contrary is manifestly proved of the same time whereof he meaneth, pag. 718.[22]

[13] See before, page 62.]
[14] See before, page 129.]
[15] See before, page 200.]
[16] See before, page 240.]
[17] See before, page 243.]
[18] See before, page 252.]
[19] See before, page 257.]
[20] See before, page 271.]
[21] See before, page 303, 4.]
[22] See before, pages 343, 4.]

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51. He saith that "St John in the Apocalypse, reprehending the ministers of divers churches, did not put to his name unto his book;" which is a manifest untruth; for he addeth his name both in the beginning and in the end, thrice in the first chapter and once in the last, pag. 806.[1]

I here omit his manifest wresting of the scriptures, his wrong collections, bold assertions contrary to the practice of the church and truth, and notorious untruths affirmed by him of the Answer to the Admonition, with sundry other gross oversights, because I have noted them in the margent, and plainly detected them in my Defence to this Replier, and are (for the most part) noted also in the General Table[2], under these 3. titles, "Falsifications of the Replier;" "T. C. charged with untruth;" "T. C. chargeth the Answer falsely." Men may err and be deceived; but either to speak nothing truly, or often to fault in untrue dealing, cannot be a token of the Spirit of truth; the which Spirit of truth God for his Christ's sake grant unto all those that have a hearty desire to know the truth.

[1 See before, pages 519, 20. The page given above is added with a pen in Def. A. and B.]

[2 The original index is here meant.]

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[1 Def. B. has wrongly *seventeenth* in the place referred to.]

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[1 552, Def. B.]

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[1 678, Def. A. and B.]

[2 Officers, Def. A. and B.]

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SERMONS

AND

LETTERS, &c.

OF

ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT.

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¶ A GODLIE Sermon preched before the Queenes Maiestie

at Grenevviche the . 26 . of March last past, by Doctor Whitgift Deane of Lincolne.

(·)

Seene and allowed according to the order appoynted.

Studiosè sectemini veritatem in charitate.

¶ Imprinted at London by Henry Bynneman, for Humfrey Toy.

Anno. 1574.

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A godly Sermon preached at Greenwich.

Textus: Io. vi.

Master, when camest thou hither? Jesus answered them and said, Verily, verily, I say unto you, ye seek me, not because ye saw the miracles, but because ye eat of the loaves, and were filled. Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for the meat which endureth unto everlasting life.

In the former part of this chapter the evangelist declareth that the people followed Christ into the wilderness, where they, being fed with five loaves and two fishes, did not only acknowledge him to be that prophet that should come into the world, but also would have taken him and made him a king. He sheweth likewise that the next day the people by ship passed over to Capernaum, where they, finding Jesus, and marvelling at his strange kind of coming thither (for they knew that he came not in the same ship with his disciples, and that there was no other ship there for him to pass in), demanded of him when he came thither, saying, "Master, when camest thou hither? to whom Jesus answering said, Verily, verily, I say unto you, ye seek me, not because you saw the miracles, but because ye eat of the loaves, and were filled. &c." In which words two things are generally to be considered: the one is the question of the people; the other, the answer of Christ. In the question of the people, there are three things especially to be noted; their inconstancy, their flattery, and their curiosity. In the answer of Christ, there is a reprehension, and an exhortation: the reprehension is this: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, ye seek me, not because ye saw the miracles, &c." The exhortation is this: "Labour not for the meat which perisheth, &c." Of these points I will speak (by the grace of God) as briefly as I can. John vi.

The first thing therefore that I note in this question of the people is their inconstancy; the which that ancient and learned father Chrysostom gathereth of this, that, when as the day before, after they had been filled with bread and meat, they esteemed Christ as a prophet, and would have taken him Chrysost. in vi. Joan.

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and made him a king; now, having him in their presence, they neither so greatly magnify him, neither offer unto him any kingdom at all, but rather begin to doubt of his omnipotency and power, as though they had utterly forgotten his former miracles[1].

Ancient and learned interpreters do ascribe this inconstancy of the people to two chief and principal causes. The one is, because the people (for the most part) respect only those things that are present, and are most commonly allured with present commodity or pleasure. Another is, because the people are oftener moved with affection than reason, and led with fancy rather and opinion than with sound proofs and certain knowledge; and such motions as spring of present commodity, and are grounded only upon opinion, be but momentane, and soon pass away. Therefore saith the wise man in the xxvii. of Eccle.: *Homo sapiens in sapientia sua permanet sicut sol; stultus autem ut luna mutatur:* "A wise man continueth in his wisdom constant as the sun; but a fool is altered and changed even as the moon." By a wise man he meaneth such as are guided with reason and knowledge; by a fool he understandeth, not those that lack the use of reason, and be void of wit, but those that follow affection rather than reason, and are carried away with opinion and fancy, not with sure proofs and certain knowledge; the which thing because the people (for the most part) do, therefore are they called the "unlearned and unstable multitude." And these be the causes why they are so greatly delighted with novelty, so ready to embrace every strange and new kind of doctrine: these (I say) be the causes why one and the self-same thing and person cannot long please them; but, whom to-day by praising they extol up into heaven, to-morrow by dispraising they cast down into hell.

Eccius. xxvii.

Of this so great inconstancy we have a notable example, and a manifest pattern, in this people that we have now in hand. For the self-same people that followed Christ into the wilderness, and from thence over the sea into Capernaum, as it is evident in this chapter, shortly after (as it appeareth in the same chapter) utterly forsook him, saying, *Durus est hic sermo:*

John vi.

[1 Ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ἄρτον ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν γαστέρα ἐνέπλησε, καὶ προφήτην ἔλεγον εἶναι, καὶ βασιλέα ποιῆσαι ἐζήτουν. ὅτε δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐδίδασκε περὶ τῆς πνευματικῆς τροφῆς, περὶ ζωῆς αἰωνίου'...τότε γογγύζουσι καὶ ἀποκηδῶσι, κ.τ.λ.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Joan. Hom. xlvi. Tom. VIII. p. 269.]

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quis potest eum audire? "This is a hard saying: who can abide to hear it?" only because he taught them not such things as pleased their fancy, and served their fond affection. And the same people, which immediately after their eating with him did acknowledge him to be a prophet, and had a reverent opinion of him, shortly after (as it is also to be seen in this chapter) spake contemptuously of him, saying, "Is not this Jesus the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know?" as though they should say, Is not this Jesus the carpenter's son? what do we make so great account of him? Again, the people, that spake here so lovingly unto him, and salute him by an honourable title, calling him Rabbi, in the viii. chap. of his gospel speak most slanderously and oppro- John viii. briously of him, calling him Samaritan, and saying that he had a devil. And whom they, in this sixth chapter, would have taken and made a king, if he had not conveyed himself from them, in that eighth chapter they would have stoned to death, if he had not withdrawn himself out of their company. To be short, the same people, that in his journey from the mount towards Hierusalem so joyfully received him with spreading their garments and boughs of trees in the ways, and saluting him with a most honourable salutation, crying "Hosanna to the Matt. xxi. Son of David, &c.," not long after preferred a murderer and a seditious person before him; and with might and main cried out that he might be crucified. And this is the inconstancy even of that same people, among whom Christ himself was conversant, whom he so diligently taught, and in whose presence he had wrought so many and notable miracles.

Of the like inconstancy the apostle St Paul had experience; for the Galathians, who were so greatly affected towards him when he first preached the gospel amongst them, that if it had been possible (as he himself doth testify) they "would Gal. iv. have plucked out their eyes and given them unto him," within a while after (being seduced by false prophets and contentious teachers) contemned and despised him. Hereby also it came to pass that the Corinthians were divided into so many factions, whilst some said they held of Paul, some of Apollo, 1 Cor. i. some of Cephas, and some of Christ. The like inconstancy appeareth to have been in the people at all times, and in all ages. Let the ecclesiastical histories be perused; and it will easily be proved that there was never heretic so horrible, nor schismatic so pernicious, but that they had numbers of the

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people to follow them, even of the self-same people that before embraced the true and sincere doctrine of the gospel. Therefore the apostle St Paul doth forewarn his scholar Timothy hereof, and as it were arm him against this temptation, saying: *Erit tempus cum sanam doctrinam non sustinebunt, &c.:* "The time shall come when they will not abide wholesome doctrine, but they whose ears doth itch (that is, which are delighted with novelties and new-invented opinions) shall heap up to themselves teachers according to their own desires," even such as will satisfy their fancies, and apply themselves to their humour.

2 Tim. iv.

My meaning is not to condemn all the people of this crime: I know there be many both constant and godly; but I speak of the most part, and I declare that which most commonly cometh to pass. It is reported of one Polycletus, a cunning image-maker, that he framed two images, the one according to art, the other according to the opinion of the people; and, when he had finished them, he brought them forth to be seen of the passers by, that he might hear their judgments of them: it came to pass (contrary to his expectation) that the image made according to art was praised even of the people, and the other dispraised. Whereat Polycletus marvelling said unto the people, *Atque hanc quam tantopere laudatis ego feci, eam quam vituperatis vos fecistis:* "This which you so greatly commend I myself made: that which you so discommend you yourselves have made;" meaning that he made that which was made according to art, and that the people made that which was framed according to their fancy. So that sometime it may happen that the people judge aright, and mislike their former fancies, though it be most rarely. I speak this for two principal causes: the one is, that no man depend upon the judgment and opinion of the people, which is so inconstant and variable; for (as Basil saith) he that will study to please the people had need to be like unto that sophister of Egypt, which could transform himself when he listed into any kind of form or shape[1]. The other is, to admonish the people of God to take heed of this crime whereunto they are so naturally inclined; not to be carried away with every wind of doctrine; not to be

Basil. Concl. ad adolescentes.

[1 Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ μᾶλλον φευκτέον τῷ σωφρονοῦντι, τοῦ πρὸς δόξαν ζῆν, καὶ τὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς δοκοῦντα περισκοπεῖν,...ἢ τὸν μὴ οὕτως ἔχοντα τί τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου σοφιστοῦ φήσομεν ἀπολείπειν; κ.τ.λ.—Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Homil. xxii. Ad Adolesc. Tom. II. pp. 183, 4.]

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delighted with such teachers as study to satisfy their foolish affections, lest it prove true that is commonly said: *Incertum scinditur studia in contraria vulgus*[2]: "The unstable people is easily drawn into contrary opinions;" lest also that saying of Chrysostom be verified: *Populus est quiddam ad instar fluctuum maris, varia et pugnante sententia sæpenumero jactatum*[3]: "The people is like to the waves of the sea, oftentimes tossed with divers and contrary opinions;" but rather to be constant in the truth that they have embraced, to hold fast the gospel that is and hath been truly preached unto them, always remembering that which the Spirit of God speaketh to the church of Philadelphia: *Tene quod habes, ne alius accipiat coronam tuam*: "Hold fast that which thou hast," be content with that doctrine that God of his infinite mercy hath opened unto thee, lest, if thou beest not therewith contented, but seekest for farther novelties, that which thou hast be taken from thee, and given to some other, that shall more thankfully accept it, and be better content with it.

Chrysost. Hom. ii. in Joan.

Apoc. iii.

The second thing that I note in this people is their adulation and flattery; the which the most and best interpreters do hereof gather, that the people by asking Christ this question do insinuate that they marvel at this strange manner of coming thither; the which they do to this end, that they might seem to be commenders and praisers of his virtues and miracles, and marvellers at his doings; and yet their end was nothing less. In this manner did the disciples of the Pharisees assault him, when they came unto him with the Herodians to demand whether it were lawful to give tribute to Cæsar, or no: they called him Master, they said that he was true, and taught the way of God truly, and had no respect of persons: in words they pretended that which they thought not in heart; and that is the nature and property of all flatterers. For it is truly said that *Adulator omnis est virtutis inimicus, et quasi clavum figit in oculo ejus cum quo sermones confert. &c.*[4]: "A flatterer is an enemy to virtue, and doth as it were fasten a nail in his eyes with whom he talketh, and stoppeth his ears with wax, lest he should either see or hear

Matt. xxii.

[2] Virg. Æn. ii. 39.]

[3] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Joan. Hom. iii. Tom. VIII. p. 23. See Vol. I. page 468, note 1.]

[4] Adulator enim omnis virtutis inimicus est, et &c. oculo illius, cum quo sermonem conserit. &c.—Joan. Saresber. Policrat. L. Bat. 1595. Lib. III. cap. iv. p. 132.]

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the truth." It is most certain that flattery hath always these companions waiting on it, subtilty and deceit, the blinding of him that is flattered, a note of servitude, and the banishment of all honesty. St Augustine saith that *adulator est crudelis et fallax*[1]: "a flatterer is cruel and deceitful:" a flatterer is a present friend and an absent enemy; which undoubtedly is found to be most true in divers of the people; for, howsoever in presence they seem to commend or reverence, especially those that be in authority, yet in their absence they are delighted to hear and to speak all evil of them. It is most certain that Andronicus the emperor was wont to say: *Vulgi aures insectatione aliorum quam collaudatione magis delectari, et injurias quam recte facta libentius legere; quamvis illas prolixa mendacia venditent, hæc vero lux veritatis antecedat*[2]: "The ears of the common people are more delighted with the dispraise and discommendation of other, than with their praise and commendation, and had rather hear of their evil than of their good deeds; although the one be uttered never so falsely, the other never so truly verified." Hereof we have too great experience in these our days; for, if a man in some congregations commend the magistrates and such as be in authority, if he exhort to obedience, if he move unto peace, if he confirm the rites and orders by public authority established (though he do it never so truly, never so learnedly), he shall scarcely be heard with patience; nay, he shall be sent away with all kind of opprobries[3], and reproaches; but, if he nip at superiors, and reprove those that be in authority (though they be absent and not in place to hear), if he shall inveigh against laws and orders established, and talk of matters that tend to contention rather than edification (though it be done never so untruly, never so unlearnedly, as commonly it is), they flock unto him like bees, they esteem him as a god, they extol him up into heaven; even as the Corinthians and Galathians sometime did their false prophets and contentious teachers; and yet, notwithstanding, do they colour and cloak this peevish and sinister affection with dissembled gesture, countenance, and words, when they be in the presence of those that may hurt them, or do them good; and I would to God

Niceph. Greg.

[1 These words have not been found in Augustine; but for a similar idea see August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Enarr. in Psalm. v. 12; ix. 21; lxix. 5. Tom. IV. cols. 20, 54, 714.]

[2 Niceph. Gregor. Byzant. Hist. Par. 1702. Lib. 1. cap. 1. 2. p. 4.]

[3 Opprobries: censures.]

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they did not deceive some whose office and duty it were rather to suppress this fond affection, than to nourish it; especially seeing that it tendeth to two principal evils, disobedience towards the magistrate, and flat anarchy. But I may not stand upon this point, only I note it, being thereunto moved by the writings of such learned interpreters as expound this place.

The third vice that I note in this people is their curiosity, which appeareth in that they propound so vain and frivolous a question unto Christ. The vanity of the which question Cyril setteth forth in these words: "Although this question," saith he, "signifieth some affection of love, yet is it but unprofitable and childish; neither ought they to have demanded so vain and unprofitable a question of him, whose divine power and virtue they had experience of; and what profit could come unto them by asking this question? Therefore wise men are to be asked wise questions; and silence is better than unskilful talk. Wherefore the wise man saith, 'If thou be asked any wise question, answer; if not, lay thine hand to thy mouth;' that is, keep silence[4]." Thus far Cyril. Whereby he utterly condemneth the vain curiosity of this people in demanding so frivolous a question. The apostle St Paul, speaking of the like curiosity, commandeth his scholar Timothy that he warn those that be preachers, *ne aliter doceant:* "that they teach no otherwise" than the apostle before had taught; that is, that they broach no new or vain opinions; and to the people he willeth him to give warning, *ne attendant fabulis, &c.:* "that they give no ear to fables and genealogies that never have end, but engender questions rather than the edifying of God, which is in faith;" that is, that they give no ear to vain and contentious teachers and doctrines, which tend not to edification, but to contention. And, in his 2 Epist. ii. chap., he saith: *Stultas et ineruditas quæstiones respue, &c.:* "Avoid foolish and unlearned questions, knowing that they

Cyril in vi. Joan.

Eccius. v.

1 Tim. i.

2 Tim. ii.

[4 Εἰς διάθεσιν μὲν ὁ λόγος τὴν ἐξ ἀγαπώντων σχηματίζεται, καὶ ὑποπλάττεταί πως τὸ γλυκὺ, πλὴν ἀνόητος κομιδῆ, καὶ μειρακιώδης ἐξελέγχεται· οὐ γὰρ ἔδει τῷ τοσούτῳ περιτυχόντας διδασκάλῳ, μάταιόν τι λέγειν, καὶ μαθεῖν ἐπείγεσθαι τὸ μηδέν. τί γὰρ ἔδει φιλοπευστεῖν, πότε μὲν αὐτὸς ἀφίκοιτο τυχόν; τί δὲ ἦν εἰκὸς τοῦτο μαθόντας ὠφεληθήσεσθαι; σοφὰ τοιγαροῦν παρὰ σοφῶν ζητητέον, καὶ προτετιμήσθω λόγων ἀπαιδεύτων ἡ ἐν συνέσει σιγή...ἕτερος δέ τις εἰς τοῦτο προτρέπει τῶν σοφῶν, τέκνον, εἰπὼν, εἰ μέν ἐστι σοι λόγος συνέσεως, ἀποκρίθητι· εἰ δὲ μὴ, χεὶρ ἔστω ἐπὶ στόματί σου.—Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Comm. in Joan. Evang. Lib. III. Tom. IV. p. 295.]

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engender strife;" *Porro servum Dei non oportet esse pugnacem:* "The servant of God must not be contentious." In which place the apostle speaketh against such teachers as sought to win credit unto themselves by broaching new opinions.

1 Tim. vi. And in the 1 epist. to Timo. and vi. chap. he sheweth the fruits that come of such questions; *ex quibus,* (saith he) *nascitur invidia, contentio, &c.:* "of the which there cometh envy, contention, cursed speaking, vain conflicts, evil suspicions, &c." And therefore well saith Tertullian in his book, *De Præscript.*

Tertullian. *adversus Hæret.: Nobis curiositate opus non est post Christum Jesum, nec inquisitione post evangelium: cum credimus, nihil desideramus ultra credere; hoc enim prius credimus, non esse quod ultra credere debeamus*[1]: "We need not to be curious after we have received Christ Jesus, nor inquisitive after that we have received the gospel: when we believe, we desire not to believe any more; for this we first believe, that there is nothing more that we ought to believe." And, in the same book, shewing what discretion is to be used in moving of questions, speaking of these words: *Quærite et*

Idem. *invenietis:* "Seek and ye shall find;" he saith: *Ratio...dicti hujus in tribus articulis consistit, in re, in tempore, in modo: in re, ut quid sit quærendum consideres; in tempore, ut quando; in modo, ut quousque igitur quærendum est quod Christus instituit, utique quamdiu non invenis, et utique donec invenias*[2]: "The reason of this saying doth consist in three points; in the matter, in the time, and in the manner; in the matter, that thou consider what it is that must be inquired of; in the time, that thou consider when it is to be inquired of; in the manner, as how far it is to be inquired of: we must inquire of those things that Christ hath appointed, so long as thou hast not found them, and until thou hast found

Chrysost. them." Therefore saith Chrysostom, *Ubi fides, nulla quæstionum utilitas est,...quæstio namque fidem tollit*[3]: "Where faith is, there is no need of questions; for questions destroy faith." And all this do the ancient fathers speak of such questions as are moved to stir up strife and contention in the church of Christ, where the gospel is truly preached and the sacraments rightly administered.

[1 Tertull. Op. Franck. 1597. Lib. de Præscr. adv. Hæret. 8. p. 203.]

[2 Ibid. 10. p. 204; where *articulis constitit.*]

[3 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In 1. Epist. ad Timoth. cap. i. Hom. i. Tom. XI. p. 551.]

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Here therefore is first condemned the vain curiosity of the schoolmen, who have pestered their volumes and troubled the church, partly with vain and frivolous, partly with wicked and impious questions—with vain and frivolous questions as these and such like: Whether the pope be God or man, or a mean betwixt both? whether the pope may be said to be more merciful than Christ; because we read not that Christ ever delivered any souls out of purgatory, as it is said the pope to have done? whether God can make of an harlot a virgin? whether such a number of angels may be contained within the compass of a man's nail? with infinite other of the same sort—with wicked and impious questions as these: Whether God in the beginning could have made the world better than he did or no? whether he could have created man so that he should not have sinned, and why he did not? whether God could beget a son, and after what sort? with such like[4]. Of the which, and of all other like unto them, Chrysostom giveth this censure and determination: *Quod si periculosum est de his quæ ille mandavit curiosius indagare, extremumque supplicium curiosis est propositum, quamnam tandem defensionem habituri sunt, qui ea curiose perscrutantur; quæ sunt his multo et secretiora, et honorabiliora, verbi gratia, quomodo Deus filium generavit? &c.*[5]: "If it be dangerous to inquire curiously of those things which God hath commanded, and extreme punishment is prepared for those that be curious; what defence can they have which curiously search those things that are much more secret and honourable than these be, as how God could beget a son? &c." Chrysost. in I. Rom.

And I would to God this vain curiosity had only occupied the schoolmen, and contained itself within the popish church. I would to God it had not invaded this church also, nay, I would to God it did not much more trouble[6] the church of Christ now than it did in that time; forasmuch as then it was only among those that were learned: now it hath invaded the common people, most unapt persons to deal in such causes. For now it is a question among them, whether, if a man be certainly persuaded that he is moved with the Spirit, it be lawful

[4 Specimens of such questions may be seen, Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Clement. Lib. I. Gloss. in Procem. col. 4; P. Lombard. Libr. Sentent. Col. Agrip. 1576. Lib. I. Distt. vii. xliv. foll. 20, &c., 121; Alex. Alens. Theolog. Summ. Col. Agrip. 1622. Pars IV. Quæst. XII. Membr. i. Art. 2. Sect. 2. p. 419.]

[5 Id. In Epist. ad Rom. Hom. ii. Tom. IX. p. 447.]

[6 Troubled, 1574.]

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for him to do anything that is contrary to the express commandment and word of God, as to kill; which once to imagine is extreme wickedness, and it is a mere anabaptistical fancy, neither is it the Spirit of God, but the spirit of the devil, that moveth such cogitations; for the Spirit of God moveth a man to nothing that is contrary to the word and commandment of God. Likewise, it is now disputed at every table, whether the magistrate be of necessity bound to the judicials of Moses, so that he may not punish otherwise than it is there prescribed, nor pardon any offence that is there punished; which is most absurd, and contrary to all those places of scripture that teach us the abrogation of the law; besides, it is contrary to the opinion of all learned men; and some of them (as namely M. Calvin[1]) do call it a seditious opinion, as indeed it is; for it tendeth to the overthrow of all, or at the least of the best commonwealths that are now in Christendom. Moreover, it is doubted whether the magistrate is to be obeyed for conscience' sake, or no; though the apostle St Paul hath flatly determined the matter in the xiii. to the Romans, where he saith:

Rom. xiii. *Oportet esse subditos, non solum propter iram, sed etiam propter conscientiam:* "We must be subject, not only for fear of punishment, but also for conscience." And the contrary doctrine must needs root out of the heart of the subject true obedience. It is also doubted whether the magistrate may prescribe any kind of apparel to the minister, without doing unto him some injury; which is too too much to strengthen the authority of the magistrate. To conclude, it is now called into controversy whether the children of papists and excommunicated persons (notwithstanding their parents be Christians, and cannot *amittere baptismum:* "lose their baptism," as it is determined by St Augustine against the Donatists[2]) ought to be baptized; and whether the minister be of the essence and being of baptism, and none to be counted ministers but such as be preachers, so that whosoever hath not been baptized of a minister, of a preacher, is not baptized. The which questions, and other such like, spring out of the schools of the anabaptises, and tend to the re-baptization of all, or the most part of those that at this day are living.

[1 Calvin. Op. Amst. 1667-71. Inst. Lib. IV. cap. xx. 14. Tom. IX. p. 402. See Vol. I. page 275, note 8.]

[2 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Epist. Parmen. Lib. II. cap. xiii. 28. Tom. IX. col. 44. See before, page 141, note 7.]

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With these and such like questions, partly impious, partly vain and frivolous, is the church of Christ at this day marvellously troubled; and men so occupy themselves about them, that they neglect those things that pertain to their salvation, and forget due obedience. Yea, it is come to such extremity, that, if any do withstand them in these questions (as they must be withstanded; for the wise man saith, "Answer a fool according to his foolishness, lest he seem to himself wise;" and Basil saith that we "must answer cavils lest we by silence seem to confess them to be true[3]"), he shall be counted a worldling, a flatterer, a papist; neither shall anything be omitted that may sound to his reproach. But on the other side, if any man consent unto them in such opinions, though he be an usurer, an whoremonger, an extortioner, a royster, a swearer, &c., yet shall he be counted zealous and godly. I have therefore to exhort all that be godly indeed to take heed of this curiosity, knowing that it hath always been counted of all learned men a manifest note and token of a contentious nature, to make such stirs, and to move such controversy about external things, in that church where the gospel is truly preached, and the sacraments rightly administered. And thus much of the first part of this text, that is, of the question of the people. Prov. xxvi.

The second part is the answer of Christ; wherein (as I said) is contained a reprehension and an exhortation. In the reprehension there are two things to be considered, the manner and the matter. The manner of reprehending is noted of Chrysostom in these words: *Modestius coarguit, &c.*[4]: "He doth modestly reprehend them, for he doth not call them belly-gods or epicures, he doth not upbraid them with so many miracles which they neither followed nor marvelled at; but only he saith, *Amen, Amen, dico vobis:* 'Verily, verily, I say unto you,' &c." This modest kind of reprehending the apostle teacheth his scholar Timothy, when he saith: *Argue, increpa, exhortare cum omni lenitate et doctrina:* "Improve, rebuke, exhort with all lenity and doctrine." And, in the first Chrysost. 2 Tim. iv.

[3 The passage referred to in Basil has not been found.]

[4 Πλήττει μὲν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἐλέγχει, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀποτόμως καὶ σφόδρα, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς φειδοῦς τοῦτο ποιῶν· οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν, ὦ λαίμαργοι καὶ γαστρίδουλοι, τοσαῦτα ἐθαυματούργησα, καὶ οὐδαμοῦ οὔτε ἠκολουθήσατε, οὔτε ἐθαυμάσατε τὰ γεγενημένα· ἀλλὰ προσηνῶς οὕτω πως καὶ ἠρέμα, ζητεῖτέ με, κ.τ.λ.— Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Joan. Hom. xliv. Tom. VIII. p. 258.]

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1 Tim. v. to Timothy, the v. chap., teaching him how to use himself in reproving all sorts of men, he saith: *Seniorem ne aspere objurges:* "Do not bitterly rebuke an elder, &c." And yet there is a time and place where and when the preacher of the word of God may use sharp and severe reprehensions; but this is no place to speak of this thing: we have rather now to consider the matter, than the manner; the matter that is reproved, than the manner of reproving.

First, therefore, he doth covertly reprove their flattery (whereof I spake before), as it is noted by the best-learned interpreters, for he answereth not directly to their question: they asked him when he came thither; and he answered them, that they rather sought his meat than himself; so that he reprehendeth their adulation and flattering kind of questioning with him; whereby he declareth that he nothing at all esteemed of the commendation of the people, or regarded their opinion of him; a worthy and necessary lesson for all men to learn, especially such as be in authority, to wit, that they open not their ears to flatterers, nor hunt after popular fame and commendation. Well saith Ambrose: *Prospiciendum est ne adulantibus aperiamus aurem; emolliri enim adulatione non solum fortitudinis non est, sed etiam ignaviæ esse videtur*[1]: "We must take heed that we give no ear to flatterers; for to be moved with flattery is not only no point of valiantness, but an evident sign of a cowardly and dastardly mind." Chrysostom, speaking of this sinister affection, saith that it is "an untolerable drunkenness, and that, whomsoever it hath subdued, it maketh him almost incurable." In the same place he compareth it to certain images, which are gorgeous and beautiful without, but empty and vain within; and therefore he saith that such flattering commendation may aptly be called vain-glory, *quia nihil in se habet aut clarum aut gloriosum:* "because it hath in it no substance nor pith[2]."

Amb. De Offic. Lib. I.

[1 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Offic. Ministr. Lib. I. cap. xlii. 218. Tom. II. col. 56; where *fortitudinis non esse.*]

[2 Μέθη γάρ τις ἐστὶ βαθεῖα [ἡ κενοδοξία]. διὸ καὶ δυσανάγωγον τὸν χειρωθέντα ποιεῖ τοῦτο τὸ πάθος... ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἀνθρώπους βιωτικοὺς περὶ ταῦτα ἐπτοῆσθαι, οὐχ οὕτω δεινόν, καίπερ ὂν δεινόν· τὸ δὲ τοὺς τοῦ κόσμου λέγοντας ἀποπεπηδηκέναι τὰ αὐτὰ νοσεῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ χαλεπώτερα, τοῦτο μάλιστά ἐστι τὸ δεινόν...διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ δόξα, ἀλλὰ κενὸν δόξης πρᾶγμα εἴρηται τὸ πάθος. κενοδοξίαν δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ παλαιοὶ πάντες εἰκότως ἐκάλεσαν. διάκενος γάρ ἐστιν, ἔνδον οὐδὲν ἔχουσα λαμπρὸν καὶ ἐπίδοξον. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὰ προσωπεῖα, δοκεῖ μὲν εἶναι λαμπρὰ καὶ ἐπέραστα, κενὰ δὲ ἔνδον ἐστί· διὸ καὶ τῶν σωματικῶν ὄψεων

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In the same place he earnestly dehorteth both ecclesiastical and secular persons from this vice; ecclesiastical persons, because it driveth them from the truth, and casteth them into error; it engendereth in them pride and arrogancy, the root and mother of all sects, schisms, contentions, and heresies. For, while the people commend their life and doctrine, whilst they call hypocrisy holiness, arrogancy simplicity, wrath zeal, disobedience conscience, schism unity, words matter, ignorance learning, darkness light, it so puffeth up the minds of their teachers with an opinion of themselves, that they dare be bold to propound anything, so that it taste of novelty and please the people, though it tend to the disturbance of the church, the contempt of magistrates, and the breach of good laws and orders. Therefore by the old canons it was decreed that those clerks, which either flattered themselves, or gave ear unto flatterers, should be deposed without hope of restitution[3].

And, as it worketh this effect in men of the clergy in matters ecclesiastical, so doth it work the like effect in civil persons in matters civil. For it breedeth in them ambition, the root of rebellion and treason. It moveth them not to be content with their state and calling, but to aspire to greater dignity, and to take those things in hand which commonly turn to their ruin and destruction. And in whom hath not popularity wrought these effects? or who ever fell into these inconveniences but such as first were provoked thereunto by the flattering of the people? But my meaning was not to speak much of this matter: this only I thought good to note, and to admonish all (but especially those that be in authority), by the example of Christ, not to give ear to flatterers, nor to be delighted with the commendation of the multitude.

Another thing that he reproveth in the people (which is indeed the chief and principal) is that they sought him not with that mind, nor to that end, that they ought to have done; and therefore he saith, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, ye seek me, not because you have seen the miracles,

εὐπρεπέστερα ὄντα, οὐδένα οὐδέποτε πρὸς τὸν ἔρωτα εἶλε τὸν αὐτῶν· οὕτω, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀθλιώτερον, καὶ ἡ παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν δόξα, τὸ δυσκαταγώνιστον τοῦτο καὶ τυραννικὸν πάθος ἡμῖν ἐσχημάτισεν. κ.τ.λ.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Joan. Hom. iii. Tom. VIII. pp. 23, 4.]

[3 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xlvi. can. 3. col. 224.]

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but because you have eaten of the bread and are filled;" as though he should say, Ye seek me not aright: ye seek me not to learn of me those things that pertain to eternal life; but you seek me to have your bellies filled; an evident argument hereof is this, that you are more moved with yesterday's saturity, with yesterday's bread and meat, than with all the miracles that I have wrought among you, and all the exhortations that I have made unto you; and therefore you seek not me, but yourselves.

In the person of this people Christ reproveth all those that seek him not aright, that seek him not with a sincere affection, but for some worldly respect and commodity. Such was Simon Magus, who joined himself to the apostles, was baptized, and pretended great zeal, only that he might gain something thereby; as it is evident in the viii. of the Acts. Such was Demas also, of whom the apostle speaketh, 2 Tim. iv.: "Demas hath forsaken me, embracing this present world." Such are they whose religion consisteth in words, not in works; in contention, not in peace; in contempt, not in obedience; who under the pretence of zeal seek their own liberty, under the colour of religion seek confusion, and with the shadow of reformation cloak and cover their usury, their ambition, their minds desirous to spoil the church. All which Christ in the xiii. of Matthew compareth to the stony ground, wherein the seed being sown prospereth for a time, so long as there is any moisture; but, when the sun waxeth hot, and the moisture is dried up, then doth the seed wither away, and becometh unprofitable; even so they (while there is any moisture left, that is, as long as they can hope for any commodity to come unto them by the professing of the gospel) seem to pass all other in zeal; but, when the sun waxeth hot, and the moisture is dried up, so that they can suck out no more gain, but must now suffer and endure persecution for the gospel' sake, and leese that they have, they wax marvellous cold, and suffer the seed utterly to decay.

Acts viii.

2 Tim. iv.

Matt. xiii.

It is most truly said of St Augustine: *Boni... ad hoc utuntur mundo, ut fruantur Deo:* "Good men use this world that they may enjoy God;" that is, good men may enjoy and use the commodities of this world, so that thereby they may be more able to do their duty towards God. *Mali autem contra,* saith he, *ut fruantur mundo, uti volunt*

Aug. Lib. xv. de Civit. Dei, cap. 7.

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Deo[1]: "Contrariwise, evil men will use God, that they may enjoy the world;" that is, they will pretend religion and godliness, that they may gain thereby some worldly commodity. Such there have been in this church of England, even within our memory, who, whilst there was some commodity to be looked for by the dissolution of monasteries and such like places, were bitter enemies to the pope, and pretended to be earnest professors of the gospel; but the same men afterward (when this hope was past, and the time now come when they must suffer for the gospel, and leave that which before they had gotten) did not only not profess it, but persecuted those that were professors. And may there not be such (think you) at this time, who would not seem only to favour the gospel, but very earnestly to seek reformation, only because they see the new platform tend to the spoil of colleges, churches, bishoprics, &c.; whereby they suppose that they might procure unto themselves no small advantage? Surely it is to be thought that, if they were once frustrate of this hope, the wayward and contentious zeal of many would soon decrease. And how should we otherwise judge of divers, who, being scarcely as yet delivered from the superstition of papistry in matters of substance, would now seem to condemn this church of imperfection, because it retaineth some accidents used in papism? or of those who, when as they could never abide such as have hitherto faithfully planted and preached the gospel in this kingdom, would now seem fautors and patrons of those that are wholly occupied in disturbing and disquieting the peace of the church? or of those who, having in them no sparkle of godliness, being drunkards, swearers, &c., being (I say) of so large a conscience towards themselves, yet are so precise in other men's doings, that they cannot abide to have them wear, no not a square cap? we may say unto them as Christ said unto the Pharisees: "Ye hypocrites, ye stumble at a straw and leap over a block, ye strain at a gnat and swallow up a camel." Matt. xxiii.

I fear it may be truly verified of this time that Augustine spake of his time: *Quam multi hodie non quærunt Jesum, nisi ut illis benefaciat secundum tempus... vix quæritur Jesus propter Jesum: propter carnem quæritur, non propter* August.

[1 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Civ. Dei, Lib. xv. cap. vii. 1. Tom. VII. col. 385.]

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Spiritum[1]: "Many in these days seek not Jesus, but only that they may gain something by him for a time: Jesus is not sought for Jesus' sake, he is sought for the flesh, not for the Spirit." That which Chrysostom spake of this people, which then only confessed Christ to be a prophet, when he had filled their bellies with bread and meat: *O gulæ incredibilem aviditatem: majora his miracula, et quidem innumera operatus est Jesus; neque unquam confessi sunt, nisi nunc exsaturati*[2]: "O incredible greediness and gluttony! Jesus did greater miracles than this, and that a great number; and yet did they never confess thus much of him, but even now when their bellies are filled." Even so may we say to such like kind of men: O ye covetous persons and desirous of the spoil, we have taught you more necessary points of doctrine than these that are now preached unto you: we have exhorted you to repentance and to amendment of life: we have taught you the true doctrine of justification, the true and right use of the sacraments: we have confuted the erroneous and damnable points of papistical doctrine, as transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the mass, purgatory, worshipping of images, praying to saints, the pope's supremacy, and such like; and you have not believed us, nor hearkened unto us. But now that we begin to teach you these things that tend to your own commodity, and to contention, you magnify us, you commend us, you make us gods, nay, you make us devils; for you so puff us up with vainglory, that we know not ourselves. *O gulæ incredibilem aviditatem:* O unsatiable desire to spoil, O covetousness! *non quæritis Jesum propter Jesum, &c.:* "you seek not Jesus for Jesus' sake, ye seek him for the flesh and not for the Spirit:" *non quæritis justitiam propter justitiam, sed propter crapulam:* "ye seek not righteousness for righteousness' sake, but for the belly's sake." Therefore seek Christ, not for any temporal commodity, but for himself, lest it be as truly said of us as it was of the Jews, "Ye seek me, not because ye have seen the miracles, but because ye have eaten of the bread and are filled." And thus much concerning the reprehension that Christ here useth.

Chrysost. in vi. Joan.

[1 Propter carnem me quæritis, non propter Spiritum. Quam multi non &c. ut illis faciat bene secundum &c. propter Jesum.—Id. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxv. 10. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 488.]

[2 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Joan. Hom. xlii. Tom. VIII. p. 252.]

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Now followeth his exhortation; "Labour not for the meat that perisheth, but that remaineth to eternal life." By the "meat that perisheth" our Saviour Christ understandeth all those things which pertain to this life temporal; by the "meat that endureth to eternal life" he comprehendeth all those things that be spiritual, and wherewith the soul is nourished to eternal life. He doth not here forbid men to labour for those things that pertain to this life temporal, but he admonisheth them to prefer those things that belong to the life eternal. It is a negative by comparison, which doth not simply deny, but in the way of comparison. So, when he said to Martha, "Martha, thou troublest and busiest thyself about many things; but there is but one thing necessary: &c.," he doth not condemn in Martha her diligence in receiving of him, or the office of civility which is to be exhibited toward strangers (for it was commended in Abraham, Genesis xviii., and is prescribed unto us, Heb. xiii.), but he teacheth her that she ought not so to be occupied about these external offices of civility, that in the mean time she neglect those wholesome exhortations that her sister Mary attended unto. In like manner, when Christ saith, "If any man come unto me and hate not his father, and mother, &c., he cannot be my disciple," his meaning is not that we should hate our parents, whom we are commanded to reverence and to love; but he only speaketh in the way of comparison; that is, that we be so affected towards our parents, that we prefer the love of God before them; and that (if the case so stand) we rather forsake them for Christ's sake, than Christ for their sake. Wherefore Chrysostom justly reprehendeth those that abuse these words of Christ in this place to the defence of their idleness and slothfulness; and saith that in so doing they do but pervert the scripture; where also he proveth by sundry places of the scripture (as 1 Thess. iv.; 2 Thess. iii.; Eph. iv.; Acts xx., all which for brevity's sake I pass over) that it is lawful to labour for external things; and in the end he concludeth that the true meaning of Christ in this place is nothing else but this, that we prefer heavenly things before earthly things[3]; according to that which is written Matt. vi.: "First

Luke x.

Gen. xviii.

Heb. xiii.

Luke xiv.

Exod. xx.

Chrysost. Joan.

Matt. vi.

[3 Ἀλλ' ἐπειδή τινες τῶν βουλομένων ἀργῶς τρέφεσθαι ἀποκέχρηνται τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ, ὡς τὴν ἐργασίαν ἐκκόπτοντος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, εὔκαιρον καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰπεῖν. ὅλον γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν διαβάλλουσι τὸν Χριστιανισμόν, καὶ ἐπὶ ἀργίᾳ κωμῳδεῖσθαι παρασκευάζουσι, κ. τ. λ.—Id. ibid. Hom. xliv. Tom. VIII. p. 259.]

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seek the kingdom of heaven and the righteousness thereof; and then all these things shall be ministered unto you."

Many reasons may be alleged why we should prefer heavenly things before worldly things. First, worldly things are but momentary, they have no continuance, *magna momento ruunt:* though they be never so precious, yet are they
Chrysost. soon decayed; "to-day as a beautiful flower, to-morrow as the withered grass; now as the burning fire, and by and bye as the dead and quenched ashes[1]." *Voluptas et honor finem habebunt:* "Pleasure and honour have their end; but heavenly things remain and continue for ever." Therefore saith
Gal. vi. St Paul, Gal. vi.: *Qui seminat in carnem de carne metet corruptionem; &c.:* "He that soweth in the flesh shall reap corruption of the flesh; but he that soweth in the Spirit shall reap eternal life of the Spirit." That is, those that labour for such things as pertain to the flesh shall reap only that which is mortal and tarrieth not; but those that labour for things pertaining to the Spirit reap that that continueth for ever.

Secondly, worldly things how pleasant soever they are and delectable, yet in the end they wax loathsome: *Omnia mundana quantumvis dulcia amarescunt:* "All worldly things, how pleasant soever they be, in the end wax bitter." Yea, the perfectest pleasure that can be in worldly things is mixed with sorrow. Riches are got with labour, kept with carefulAug. Epist. lxxxii. ness, and lost with grief. Therefore saith St Augustine: *Si vana sæculi hujus inexperta concupisti, experta contemne: fallax est enim in eis suavitas, et infructuosus labor, et perpetuus timor, et periculosa sublimitas, initium sine prudentia, et finis cum pœnitentia. Ita se habent omnia, quæ in ista mortalitatis ærumna cupidius quam prudentius appetuntur*[2]: "If thou hast desired the vain things of this world before thou hadst experience of them, now having experience contemn them; for there is in them deceitful pleasure, unprofitable labour, perpetual fear, dangerous dignity or promotion: the beginning is without wisdom, and the end with repentance. This is the condition of all these things

[1 Σήμερόν ἐστι, καὶ αὔριον οὐκ ἔστι· σήμερον ἄνθος λαμπρόν, καὶ αὔριον κόνις σκεδαννυμένη· σήμερον πῦρ καιόμενον, καὶ αὔριον τέφρα κατασβεννυμένη. ἀλλ' οὐ τὰ πνευματικὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ μένει λάμποντα καὶ ἀνθοῦντα, κ.τ.λ.—Id. ibid. pp. 260, l.]

[2 Id autem est, ut vana sæculi hujus, si inexperta concupisti, experta contemnas. Fallax &c. sine providentia, et finis &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Larg. Epist. cciii. Tom. II. col. 764.]

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that in this miserable mortality are more greedily than wisely desired." But heavenly things are void of all such grief and sorrow.

Thirdly, "What will it profit a man to win the whole world, and to lose his own soul?" or what shall he gain, if he feed and pamper his body with delicates, and suffer his soul to perish for hunger? Matt. xvi.

To conclude, we are but strangers in this world, and therefore we must so behave ourselves as those that are in a strange country, who though they provide for things necessary for a time, yet their desire and intent is to return home to their own natural country again; even so we, though we enjoy those things that are needful for this present life, yet must we not so fix our minds upon them, that we be withdrawn from that earnest desire that we have to return to our own country. These, and a great number reasons more, may be given why we should prefer heavenly things before earthly things. But how few are there that consider them! It is reported of Pambo, that when he saw a woman decking herself with costly array he wept bitterly; and, being demanded the cause of his weeping, he said that one cause was, for that he himself was not so desirous to please Christ his Saviour as this woman was to please mortal men, nor he so careful for eternal things as she was for earthly and corruptible things[3]. But what would he say if he lived in these days, when not one or two women, but almost all mankind, do only labour for this, that they may please men, and provide for those things that pertain to the belly? Necessary, therefore, is this exhortation of Christ: "Labour not for the meat that perisheth, but that remaineth to eternal life, the which the Son of man will give unto you;" to whom, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, three Persons and one God, be all honour and glory, now and for ever. Amen.

[3 Οὗτος ὁ Παμβὼς, Ἀθανασίου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου παρακαλέσαντος, κατῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς ἐρήμου εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν· ἰδὼν δὲ ἐκεῖ γυναῖκα θεατρικὴν, σύνδακρυς ἐγένετο· τῶν δὲ παρόντων πυθομένων τί ἐδάκρυσε, δύο μὲν, ἔφη, ἐκίνησεν· ἓν μὲν ἡ ἐκείνης ἀπώλεια. ἕτερον δὲ, ὅτι ἐγὼ οὐ τηλικαύτην ἔχω σπουδὴν πρὸς τὸ ἀρέσαι τῷ Θεῷ, ὅσον αὕτη ἵνα ἀρέσῃ ἀνθρώποις αἰσχροῖς.—Socr. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. IV. cap. xxiii. pp. 191, 2.]

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CONTENTS OF THE ARCHBISHOP'S SERMON

PREACHED AT THE CATHEDRAL OF ST PAUL'S, LONDON, NOV. THE 17, 1583, BEING THE ANNIVERSARY DAY OF Q. ELIZABETH'S COMING TO THE CROWN[1].

Cap. iii. Ad Titum.

Put them in remembrance to be subject unto principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, &c.

MSS. Mich. Hickes Eq. aur. Domino Burghleio a secret.

FIRST, it is to be answered why the apostle is so earnest to charge Titus that he warn and preach to the people, that they be obedient to magistrates.

Secondly, that obedience is of necessity; and that all Christians ought to obey.

Thirdly, Paul setteth down the notes and marks how a man shall know such as are not obedient.

First, why the apostle was so earnest &c.

Judas of Galilee taught that there ought to be no obedience, nor any magistrate. Whereby he drew a great company after him. The scribes and elders, hearing of this as a doctrine plausible, demanded of Christ, whether it were lawful to give tribute unto Cæsar or no? And so afterwards grew to be a question in the apostles' time. Therefore we see in their epistles often exhortations to obedience; not only to masters by their servants, and children to their fathers, but also of all men to their magistrates.

If then this doctrine of obedience were so necessary in their time, when the church was in her virginity, in persecution, and the Christians so few in number; how much more needful is it to be taught in these our corrupt days, so full of disobedience; in the which they that preach obedience to princes are counted men-pleasers and time-servers! Therefore of these men it is forespoken by the apostle: "In the latter days shall come mockers," "despisers of government," and such as "speak ill of men that be in authority."

[1 These notes of the archbishop's sermon are reprinted from Strype, Whitgift, Append. Book III. No. iii. It is manifestly in a very imperfect state. The editor is able to do nothing beyond adding a few references to the passages cited.]

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St Jerome writes of his time: *Quod non licet cupimus; quod vero &c.* Which never could be more truly verified than of these our days. Or when could ever that old proverb be better applied to any time than ours: *Nitimur in vetitum?*

Therefore, if Paul gave in charge to Titus to preach obedience, how much more need have our bishops and ministers to preach it to you!

The second part I have to entreat of is the necessity of obedience. This necessity appeareth by four manner of ways:

By the express commandment of God;

By the ordinance of God;

By the commodities that ensue of it;

By the plagues and punishments that follow disobedience.

1. The commandment of God is evident by the first commandment of the second table: "Honour thy father and thy mother."

Christ himself paid tribute, and left it as a perpetual rule to all: "Give unto Cæsar &c." "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers." And: "Obey those that have the rule over you," saith his apostle. And St Peter: "Be subject to every human ordinance for the Lord's sake."

Rom. xiii.

Heb. xiii.

1 Pet. ii. 13.

"Ye must needs be subject," saith St Paul: *Oportet subjici.* Obedience is nothing indifferent, to be taken or shaken off at our own pleasure; but "for fear," and "for conscience sake" also; as the same apostle adds.

Rom. xiii. 5.

If this charge were made by the apostles, when the magistrate was an infidel, and in the time of Nero, a cruel persecutor, how much more ought obedience be commanded now by us, and yielded by you to a christian magistrate that saveth you from persecution!

2. It is the "ordinance" of God. The magistrate is appointed by God. He is his vicar and vicegerent. He giveth him his name and title: *Vos dii estis:* "I said, ye are gods."

Dominus dat sceptrum cui vult et aufert: i. e. "God gives the sceptre to whom he will and takes it away."

Per me reges regnant: i. e. "By me kings reign."

Prov. viii.

"Promotion cometh neither from the east nor from the west. God setteth up and pulleth down" whom it pleaseth him.

The devil said when he shewed Christ all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them: "Fall down and worship me; and I will give thee all these." But they are none of

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his to give; but, as Irenæus saith, "he lied therein." For he saith: "He by whom we have our birth, we have also our government and authority[1]."

Omnis potestas a Deo: i. e. "All power is of God." And therefore, whether the man be good or bad, he must be obeyed. To do ill comes from man himself; but his power is of God.

For the sin of the people God setteth an hypocrite to reign over them: he changeth and translateth kingdoms. Irenæus saith that God placeth princes according to the disposition of the people.

Bonus magistratus nutrix tibi, malus vero tentator[2], saith Augustine.

3. The "commodities" of obedience.

It makes us out of fear. If thou dost well thou needest not fear. The magistrate is appointed, saith St Peter, "for the encouragement of the godly, and for the punishment of the wicked."

Where no magistrate is, there is no surety of goods or life. All lie open to spoil; the weak oppressed by the stronger.

When there was no king in Israel (which signified a time of confusion), then every man did what he listed.

"Better it is to have a tyrant reign over us than to have no king at all," said Chrysostom. A realm without a magistrate is a choir without a chanter, a ship without a pilot, a flock without a shepherd, an army without a captain[3].

Equality of persons engendereth strife; which is the cause of all evil. *Ubi multum imperium, nullus ordo: ubi nullus ordo, sequitur rerum confusio; confusionem destructio.*

[4. The "plagues and punishments" of disobedience.]

Long life is a promise to obedience. Therefore short life [is the reward] to disobedience. Disobedience, by the old

[1 *Quæ sunt potestates, a Deo ordinatæ sunt;* manifestum est quoniam mentitur diabolus, dicens: *Mihi tradita sunt, et cui volo, do ea.* Cujus enim jussu homines nascuntur, hujus jussu et reges constituuntur, apti his qui illo tempore ab ipsis regnantur.—Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. v. cap. xxiv. 3. p. 321.]

[2 In a tract falsely ascribed to Augustine this idea is set forth at large. See August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Duod. Abus. Grad. cap. ix. Tom. VI. Append. cols. 214, 5.]

[3 In the passage which is probably referred to, Chrysostom, admitting it to be a fearful evil to have no king, and using the illustrations here given, yet says: κρεῖττον γὰρ ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἄγεσθαι, ἢ ὑπὸ κακοῦ ἄγεσθαι.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. xiii. Hom. xxxiv. Tom. XII. p. 311.]

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law, to the high priest was punished with death. So also was it to the prince or to the parents.

Corah &c. disobeyed Aaron, and were swallowed up quick; Absolom, his father David, and was slain in battle; likewise Achitophel [for disobedience to his king came to an untimely end].

All stories, sacred and profane, ecclesiastical and civil, do record and testify that disobedience hath been always punished.

I have marked it myself in such places as I have come to, and had to do in, of long time; and it never yet fell out otherwise but that such as were contentious and disobedient either never came to be governors themselves, although they did earnestly desire it, or else have had the government of contentious persons [for their punishment].

But albeit, peradventure they may escape temporal punishment in this world, yet they shall not escape eternal damnation, except they repent.

Jude pronounceth eternal woe to disobedience.

But some man will here demand of me wherein obedience consisteth, and how far it reacheth. I answer, it consisteth in four points:

In doing, in praying, in honouring, in believing.

[1. In doing.] Many now-a-days do profess and protest obedience in word, and in a generality, and give the magistrate cap and knee, but they will not do that which they command. These men give *reverentiam subjectionis*, but not *obedientiam actionis;* as one saith. They say, and do not. As Christ said to certain that called him Lord and Master: "Why do ye call me Lord, and do not the things I bid you?"

He that said he would not do it, and yet did it, was more commended than he that said he would do it, and did it not.

A certain king said: *Ne dixeris mihi esse regnum, ubi leges meas transgressus eris:* i. e. "Do not say the kingdom is mine when you transgress my laws."

Regnum amisit qui obedientiam amisit: i. e. "He hath lost his kingdom that hath lost his obedience," saith another.

Rex est deserti, non regni, cujus populus non obedit: i. e. "He is king not of a kingdom but of a desert, whose people obey him not."

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Chrysostom saith: "People that have a prince, and do not obey him, are worse than they that have no prince[1]."

But some will say to me here: What? shall we obey the magistrate in all things without exception?

This question is common; and the answer easy and without question. The commandments of magistrates, being not against the word of God, bindeth in conscience, and are to be kept upon pain of damnation.

In case where the magistrate commandeth anything against the law of God, answer with the apostle; *Melius est obedire Deo quam hominibus:* i. e. "It is better to obey God than men."

One saith, there is no power in man either to command things which God forbiddeth, or to forbid things that God commandeth.

The rule of obedience, that is betwixt the magistrate and the subject, holdeth betwixt the husband and the wife, the father and his child, the master and the servant. Therefore measure thou the obedience to the magistrate, as thou wouldest they should perform it unto thee.

2. The second part of obedience is "prayer" for the magistrate.

The apostle willeth us to make prayers and supplications for our princes.

When the children of Israel were led into captivity into Babylon, they were commanded by the prophet to pray for the life of Nebuchodonozer.

In Tertullian's time, in the assemblies of the Christians, prayers were made for persecuting emperors[2]. How much more ought we to pray for our christian prince, who hath redeemed us out of captivity, and set us at liberty!

Here are confuted the pope's practices, that doth not only not pray for princes, but at his pleasure curseth them.

Here also are confuted those that condemn our assemblies and meetings at this time [viz. the 17. of November] as a superstitious thing, in making a holy-day of it.

Mardocheus, after the deliverance of the Jews out of the conspiracy of Haman, commanded that day in the month Adar

[1 Λαὸς γὰρ ἄρχοντι μὴ πειθόμενος, ὅμοιός ἐστι τῷ μὴ ἔχοντι· τάχα δὲ καὶ χείρων.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. xiii. Hom. xxxiv. Tom. XII. p. 311.]

[2 Oramus enim pro imperatoribus, &c.—Tertull. Op. Franck. 1597. Apolog. adv. Gent. 39. p. 67.]

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yearly should be kept holy, in remembrance of their deliverance. And there is none that can mislike that we do the like, in remembrance of our great deliverance, but such as malign our estate, or are fantastical, whom nothing pleaseth but that which they do themselves.

3. The third part of obedience to princes is "honour."

It is said, My son, give fear and honour to whom it is due. This love and fear consisteth not only in outward gesture, but also in the love and fear of the heart.

Where this love and fear is, commonwealths prosper and flourish and increase.

The government of the Persians continued by these two.

And now, lastly, I am to shew you by what marks and tokens you shall know such as are disobedient.

And they be three sorts of persons especially: viz. papists, anabaptists, and our wayward and conceited persons.

The anabaptists take obedience clean away. For they would have no magistrates at all.

The papists restrain it in respect of persons and causes. Christ was an ecclesiastical person, and the head of the church; and yet he was subject.

Omnis anima &c. i. e. "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers," saith the apostle. This exempteth none. *Etiamsi propheta, evangelista, vel apostolus sit*[3]: i. e. "be he a prophet, evangelist, or apostle." All are comprehended within this, to "be subject to the higher powers."

Peter doth not exempt himself, but calleth the magistrate the "most excellent person*." Therefore none is above him. And the pope claims from him, and therefore must be subject as he was.

* ὑπερέχοντι, 1 Pet. ii. 13.

Tertullian, a priest of Rome, said: "We honour the emperor next to God, above all other men[4]."

The emperor hath no peer on earth. He termeth him *Summitas in terra:* i. e. "The heighth or top of all on earth."

Divers popes, bishops of Rome, have pleaded their causes, have received judgment before emperors, and have been deposed by them.

[3 Chrysost. Op. In Epist. ad Rom. Hom. xxiii. Tom. IX. p. 686.]

[4 Colimus ergo et imperatorem...ut hominem a Deo secundum, &c. Sic enim omnibus major est, dum solo vero Deo minor est.—Tertull. Op. Lib. ad Scap. 2. p. 88.]

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We give princes supremacy in ecclesiastical causes, but not to execute ecclesiastical functions, as to preach, minister the sacraments, or consecrate bishops; as certain wayward persons affirm. It was never given by us to any prince, nor challenged by them. Their office is to see God served, and honoured, and obeyed by their subjects. They have both the tables committed unto them. Kings are called nursing-fathers, and queens nursing-mothers. Which were vain, if they had nothing to do in the church.

That the magistrates of the old testament had it, many papists confess themselves.

Eleutherius, bishop of Rome, writing to Lucius, king of England, calleth him "God's vicar in England[1]."

The emperors made laws, touching the Trinity, festival-days, &c.

Nebuchodonozer made a law for the erecting of an idol, and afterwards made a law for the pulling of it down and worshipping of the true God.

Princes serve Christ, in making laws for Christ.

Augustine saith, to certain that denied the authority of the emperor: "Why do you appeal to him? Why do you make him your judge[2]?"

But popes now-a-days do not only deny obedience to christian princes, but seek their destruction.

Pope Zachary dissolved the allegiance of the subject toward his prince[3].

Gregory deposed Henry IV. And, when that would not serve, he sought to murder him with a stone falling down in a church where he sat[4].

Pascal procured the son to rebel against his father[5].

Alexander III. betrayed Frederic the emperor to the Turk[6].

[1 Vicarius vero Dei estis in regno, &c.—Eluth. Epist. ad Luc. ap. Leg. Edovard. 17. in Wilkins, Leg. Anglo-Sax. &c. Lond. 1721. p. 201. This letter is not genuine.]

[2 Cur ergo ad imperatorem vestri venere legati? Cur eum fecerunt caussæ suæ judicem, &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Epist. Parm. Lib. I. cap. ix. 15. Tom. IX. col. 20.]

[3 Plat. De Vit. Rom. Pont. Col. 1551. Zech. I. p. 99; J. Balæi Act. Rom. Pont. 1560. Lib. III. p. 86.]

[4 Vit. Hen. Quart. in Brown. Fascic. Rer. Exp. et Fug. Lond. 1690. Tom. I. pp. 91, &c., 94, &c.]

[5 J. Balei Act. Rom. Pont. Pasch. II. Lib. v. p. 216.]

[6 Id. Alex. III. Lib. v. pp. 251, &c.]

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And what the pope doth contrive now-a-days for the destruction of our gracious sovereign, it is evident to all men.

The second sort are the anabaptists, who will have no government at all. And they ground their heresy upon the fifth to the Galathians: "Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free." And again: "You are called unto liberty." But they mark not another place, where it is said by the same apostle: "Take heed that by your liberty you give not occasion to the flesh."

This liberty which the apostle speaketh of is christian liberty; which freeth us from sin, and not from subjection, except from the subjection of Satan.

This heresy, in short, of the anabaptists is so evident as it needs no confutation.

The third sort are these wayward and conceited fellows who do not "condemn" magistrates, but "contemn" and despise magistrates.

These men will obey, but it is what they list, whom they list, and wherein they list themselves. And all because they cannot be governors themselves.

These be those same *præfracti et superbi homines;* who are not ashamed to speak ill of such as be in authority. Jude forewarneth us of these; telling us that "they separate themselves," that "they are murmurers and complainers."

Paul notes them to be "lovers of themselves," to have an outward "shew of godliness," and to go from house to house, and from table to table, especially to the houses of widows and simple women.

It is most truly verified of them that Augustine said of such kind of men in his time: *Quod volumus sanctum est, et quando, et quamdiu volumus:* "What we will is holy, and when, and as long as we will." I myself have known many things that have not been holy [in their account], that now are holy.

The apostle sets down here two special marks of them: viz. that they be "slanderers," "evil-speakers," and "contentious" persons. By speaking evil and impugning laws grows contention.

Men are naturally prone to speak ill of two kinds of persons: viz. of bishops and magistrates. The original cause is the devil. For hereby he seeks to hinder the course of the word of God in the one [viz. the bishops].

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This hath been always in all ages the lot of bishops, to be evil spoken of. Christ was called a Samaritan, and that he had a devil.

He doth not say, Which of you doth "accuse" me of sin? but, Which of you doth "convince" me of sin?

Paul doth not require of a bishop that he be unblamed, but that he deserve not to be blamed.

The same Paul willeth us not to receive nor believe any accusation against an elder, under two witnesses.

Basil complains that in his time certain young men, seeking popular favour, did preach and inveigh against bishops[1].

Chrysostom complained that the state of bishops in his time was worse than in the time of the apostles. "For they were but ill spoken of before great men and angels. But we," saith he, "are the talk of the people, yea, and those of the worst sort. They talk of us in the streets, at their tables, upon their ale-benches, and in plays upon stages[2]."

I myself may be counted a partial judge in this cause. And therefore I appeal to him that knows the justness of my complaint; and I summon, in the behalf of myself and my brethren, those blasphemous tongues, to answer before the judgment-seat of God; where they shall receive a just reward of their blasphemous speeches, if they repent not.

[And they speak evil of magistrates as well as bishops.]

"Thou shalt not speak evil of the prince of thy people; no, not in thy secret chamber (that is, in thy heart); for the birds of the air will bewray thee."

Mary, Moses's sister, murmured but once against him, and she was stricken with a leprosy. Thou daily murmurest again[st] the lawful magistrates and ministers: and thinkest thou to escape punishment?

It was death by the old law to speak ill of a man's father. And shall it not be eternal death to speak ill of those that are preferred before father and mother?

It is said: *Cur sedens adversus fratrem tuum loquebaris:* i. e. "Why dost thou sit and speak against thy brother?" And: "Thou thoughtest I was such an one as thy-

[1 The place referred to in Basil has not been found.]

[2 Chrysostom says: Εἰς τοῦτο κείμεθα, εἰς τὸ γελᾶσθαι καὶ χλευάζεσθαι, εἰς τὸ πάντα παθεῖν. περικαθάρματα τοῦ κόσμου ἐσμὲν κατὰ τὸν μακάριον Παῦλον.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Act. Apost. Hom. viii. Tom. IX. p. 67. But this does not exactly express the sentiment in the text.—Conf. De Sacerdot. Lib. III. Tom. I. p. 395.]

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self; but I will reprove thee." And shall we suffer them [without any reproof] to preach against magistrates?

The devil disputing with Michael about the body of Moses, Michael gave him no railing words. Thou art no archangel [and dost thou rail?]

The devil was *primus calumniator:* i. e. "the first slanderer." It is said: "Smite not thy neighbour;" much less the magistrate. All evil-speakers are contentious. persons. Contentious persons are disobedient.

St Paul writes: "As long as there are contentions among you, are ye not carnal?"

Paul secludes a contentious person out of the church. "If any man lust to be contentious, we have no such custom, nor the churches of God." *Nomen ecclesiæ nomen unitatis et pacis*[3], saith St Augustine: i. e. "The name of the church is the name of unity and peace."

Although a man hold all the articles of religion, and break the unity of the church, he is not of the church. Yea, albeit he have never so great a multitude of hearers at his sermons.

"To divide the church is as great a fault as to fall into an heresy[4]," saith Chrysostom.

And yet these men colour their contention by the names of religion, faith, and perfection. And so did the like men in old time before them.

Ob modicas causas scindunt pacem ecclesiæ, et corpus Christi: i. e. "For slight causes they break the peace of the church, and the body of Christ," saith one of his time. Another saith: *Loquuntur pacem, &c.:* i. e. "Peace is in their mouth, but contention in their actions."

These be they of whom Christ speaketh: "They strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel."

Isti factiosi et superbi, (saith another): i. e. "Those are the factious and the proud." *Judicantes et condemnantes*[5]: "Judging of and condemning all other men but themselves;" saith the glory of the world, Nazianzen.

[3 Ille enim unus est, ecclesia unitas.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. ci. Enarr. Serm. ii. 8. Tom. IV. col. 1105. Conf. Serm. cclxviii. 1. Tom. V. col. 1091.]

[4 Διὰ τοῦτο λέγω καὶ διαμαρτύρομαι, ὅτι τοῦ εἰς αἵρεσιν ἐμπεσεῖν τὸ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν σχίσαι οὐκ ἔλαττόν ἐστι κακόν.—Chrysost. Op. In Epist. ad Ephes. cap. iv. Hom. xii. Tom. XI. p. 88.]

[5 ... οἱ βραδεῖς μέν εἰσι τῶν ἰδίων κριταὶ, ταχεῖς δὲ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐξεταστὰι, κ.τ.λ.—Gregor. Naz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Orat. xxxii. 14. Tom. I. pp. 588, 9.]

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Yet these men have many favourers and followers too; because they colour their doings, as I said, with the titles of "faith" and "perfection."

I speak that which I know, and will justify, and am able to bring many examples of; that, amongst other causes, this is one, and not the least, that so many have revolted from the gospel. *Regnum divisum &c.*, saith our Saviour: "Every kingdom divided against itself cannot stand."

Nazianzen compareth the church, thus troubled with contentious persons, to a ship tossed upon the sea with boisterous winds and waves, whereby it is in peril to be overwhelmed[1].

Jerusalem may be another example and pattern to us what are the fruits and effects of contention; what a broad gap it openeth to all kind of mischief and inconvenience.

Therefore I beseech you, in the bowels and for the love of Christ, leave off this contention: *Et diligite invicem:* i. e. "and love one another;" as Christ commandeth those that are his servants and disciples. *Et pacem habete invicem:* i. e. "And have peace one with another." *Pacem meam do vobis:* i. e. "My peace I give unto you," said Christ to his apostles. And at his farewell: *Pacem meam relinquo vobis:* i. e. "My peace I leave with you."

If any man have been contentious heretofore, let him not be ashamed now to give it over. "It is honour," saith Solomon, "to depart from contention."

I say to you with our apostle: "If there be any comfort of love, consolation of the Spirit, or mercy, fulfil my joy, that ye be like-minded, of one accord and judgment."

"Let every man think and esteem better of another man than of himself." *Caritas non quærit sua:* i. e. "Charity seeketh not its own," but another man's.

Let these exhortations of the apostle move you to peace. Let the commodities that follow it allure you. Let the plagues and punishments that ensue contention cause you to give it over. And, finally, let us provoke one another to love and peace; because the days are evil and the time short. And so shall our God, the Author and Giver of all peace, bless us with it in this world, and with an everlasting peace in the world to come. Amen.

[1 Perhaps the reference is to the following passage: ...οὐδὲ ἡ νῦν εὐταξία καὶ μόρφωσις:...ὡς ἐν ναυμαχίᾳ καὶ ζάλῃ, καὶ πνευμάτων ἐμβολαῖς, καὶ ῥοθίῳ ζέοντι, καὶ κυμάτων ἐπιδρομαῖς, καὶ νηῶν ἀραγμοῖς,...ἀλλήλοις περιπίπτομεν, καὶ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀναλισκόμεθα.—Id. Orat. ii. 81. Tom. I. p. 51.]

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LETTERS OF ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT.

I.

DR WHITGIFT TO SECRETARY CECIL[2].

So oft as I do remember your singular goodness towards me, right honourable, and earnest desire to do me good, I cannot but marvellously laud and praise my merciful God, and give most humble and hearty thanks unto your honour. For what, or who am I, that you should be so careful for me? Notwithstanding, right honourable, I do not so much rejoice at your honour his good-will, as I in myself lament that the same should in any respect by misreports be diminished. It is not unknown unto me what is of me reported unto your honour, whiles you intend, of your mere and singular goodness, to place me in Trinity college. The which how true they be God shall judge in that day when all secrets shall be revealed. In the mean time, what harm they may do me, and what grief they have fixed in my heart, God knoweth, and I know. [State Paper Office.]

For God's sake, right honourable, let it be judged what I am by my doings, and not by the report of those, who do not to me as they would themselves be done unto. As touching my not-conformity (which is one thing laid against me), I dare be judged by my lord of Canterbury his grace, your honour, or my lord of London, or Master dean of York, who knoweth more of my mind in that matter than any man doth beside. I never encouraged any to withstand the queen's majesty's laws in that behalf; but I both have, and do by all means I can, seek to persuade men to conform themselves. For it grieveth me that any man should cease from preaching, for the use of these things, being of themselves indifferent.

As for my age and discretion, I must commit that to your honour his judgment. God forbid I should ambitiously seek that that I am not meet for. If it shall please God, by your

[2 See Strype, Whitgift, Book I. chap. ii., and Append. No. iv. Parker was at this time archbishop of Canterbury, Grindal bishop of London, and Hutton dean (afterwards archbishop) of York.]

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honour his means to call me unto that function, I trust he will also give me his Spirit of wisdom and discretion to satisfy the same.

The preferment that I have, whatsoever it is, I have it by your honour his means. And therefore I owe myself wholly unto you. But it is not so much as it is reported. The mastership of Pembroke hall is but £4. in the year, and 18*d.* in the week for commons. My benefice is one of the least in all the diocese. My lecture is the whole stay of my living. My debts are more than I shall ever, being in the state I am, be able to discharge. And extreme necessity, not any prodigality, hath brought me into them. I beseech your honour, pardon me for being so bold to trouble you. God hath moved you to love me. God hath hitherto by you provided for me: what it shall please God to put in your mind to do for me, I beseech you, let no reports from doing of it dissuade you. I trust hitherto I have not so behaved myself that your honour doth repent you of any thing done for me. And I trust the day shall never come wherein your honour shall have cause to say, I would I had not done this for him.

I beseech God preserve your honour, and prosper you, and so move you for me, as shall be most to his honour, and to the profit of his church.

From Cambridge, the 17. of June, a° 1567.

Your honour's most humbly for ever,

JHON WHYTGYFTE.

To the right honourable Sir William Cycell, secretary to the queen's majesty, and chancellor of the university of Cambridge.

II.

DR WHITGIFT TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL[1].

[State Paper Office.]

I have received your letters, right honourable, and have signified to the other, which also writ unto your honour, your contentation with our doings touching Mr Cartwright. I think your honour doth not fully understand Mr Cartwright's opinions, and therefore I have here set down so many of

[1 See Strype, Whitgift, Book I. chap. iv., and Append. No. viii.]

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them as he himself hath uttered to me in private conference; the which he hath also openly taught.

The first is, That there ought not in the church of Christ to be either archbishop, archdeacon, dean, chancellor, or any other whereof mention is not expressly made in the scripture.

2. That the office of the bishop and deacon, as they be now in this church of England, is not allowable.

3. That there ought to be an equality of all ministers, and every one to be chief in his own cure.

4. That ministers ought to be chosen by the people, as they were in the apostles' time.

5. That none ought to be minister unless he have a cure.

6. That a man should not preach out of his own cure.

7. That the order of calling and making ministers, now used in this church of England, is extraordinary, and to be altered.

Divers other depend upon these, as your honour may easily conjecture, which would breed a mere confusion, if they should take place.

I told your honour at my last being with you of certain things to be reformed in the statutes and orders of this university, and also of some things necessarily to be added, for the better government of the same. Your honour willed me to confer with some other, and to draw a draught, that your honour might see them. Mr vice-chancellor, Dr Perne, Dr Hawford, Dr Harvy, Dr Ithel and I, have laboured therein, and have almost finished the same. Because your honour is troubled with other business, so that it would be too much for yourself to peruse them, if it would please you to write your letters to my lord of Canterbury his grace, or some other whom you think best to take that pains, and make report unto your honour of them, we trust they will be thought very necessary and profitable for the state of the university, and good government of the same.

My lord Zouche[2] is in good health, thanks be unto God, and shall not lack my carefulness and diligence. For so I am bound to your honour, if it were in far greater matters. He continueth in his well-doing; and so, I trust, will do.

Thus with my hearty prayers unto God, for the preservation of your honour, and all yours (which is the only recompence

[2 Lord Zouche was a student under Whitgift at Trinity college.]

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I can make for your goodness towards me) I leave off from further troubling your honour at this time.

From Trinity college in Cambridge, the 19. of August, 1570.

To your honour most bound,

JHON WHITGIFTE.

To the right honourable Sir William Cecill, knight, principal secretary to the queen's majesty, and chancellor of the university of Cambridge.

III.

DR WHITGIFT TO ARCHBISHOP PARKER, WHEN HE SENT HIM THE FIRST PART OF HIS BOOK AGAINST CARTWRIGHT[1].

[Inner Temple library, MSS. No. 538, Vol. xlvii. fol. 499.]

I have sent unto your grace the first part of my book, which I beseech your grace to peruse, and to correct, alter, add, or take away what you shall think convenient. In the 37. leaf I have named certain that were made priests according to the popish manner. Whether I say truly of them all or no, I cannot certainly tell: I beseech your grace to consider that place and correct it. My lord of Lincoln[2] hath perused the book, and so hath Dr Perne; and they both like of it. I have ended the second part, which will be as much as this; and it is almost written out fair. This may be in printing in the mean time; and I thank your grace most humbly for letting Mr Toy have the doing of it. I have entreated Mr Hanson, a very honest man, and one of this college, to take some pains in correcting the print. And I beseech your grace, let Mr Grafton join with him; for I would gladly have it well and truly printed. I humbly desire your grace also to give both the printer and them an especial[3] charge, that no copies be given out of it, or any portion, until it be fully printed. And, if it shall please your grace to have me dedicate it to any, either the queen's majesty, the parliament, or any other, I will stay until I hear from you. I desired your grace at my last being with you to grant a licence to preach to one Mr Handson; I beseech your grace that he may have it sent unto him by this his brother, the bearer

[1 See Strype, Parker, Book iv. chap. xii., and Append. No. lxxi.]

[2 Thomas Cooper, afterwards translated to Winchester.] [3Especially, MS.]

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hereof. Thus not having any other thing to trouble your lordship with at this time, I commit you and all yours to the tuition of Almighty God.

From Trinity college in Cambridge, the 2. of Octob. 1572.

Your grace's to command,

JHON WHITGYFTE.

To the most reverend and my singular good lord, my lord's grace the archbishop of Canterbury.

IV.

DR WHITGIFT TO THE LORD BURGHLEY[4].

I am bold, right honourable, to offer unto you my book of Defence against the late Reply of T. C., not doubting but that your lordship will receive it with the same mind that it is given unto you. And, although I know that your leisure will not serve you to peruse it thorough, yet, if it shall please your lordship sometimes to read of it, I doubt not but that you will soon perceive how little cause there is so grievously to accuse this church of England, and so bitterly to inveigh against such lawful godly orders, and kind of government, as is used in the same. And surely, if nothing else, yet the manifold untruths uttered in the Reply, not only in falsifying and corruptly alleging ancient authorities, abusing of holy scriptures, but also in the slenderness and weakness of the reasons therein used, may move those that are godly, quiet, and learned, to the utter misliking of that platform that cannot be builded but with such timber. [Lansd. MSS. xviii. 96.]

If I have not answered every point of the Reply to the satisfying of every man's opinion, or have left out many things that might have been added (as no doubt I have), yet I most humbly beseech your lordship not to let that draw you into any misliking of the cause; but rather persuade yourself that there be divers learned men in England (to whom I am in all respects far inferior) that are able to supply my want, and satisfy to the full that which lacketh in me. And in mine opinion it were not amiss if they were moved so to do. For so common a cause ought not to be ventured upon one man's labours. But I am so well assured of my doctrine, that I am not only well content to sustain this pain

[4 See Strype, Whitgift, Book I. chap. x., and Append. No. xvii.]

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and labour, but the envy also of divers persons, and the manifest injuries of cursed tongues. The which notwithstanding I shall the more easily bear, if I may still enjoy (whereof I doubt not) your lordship's accustomed goodness.

It becometh me not, neither is it needful, to move your lordship to be zealous in the cause. For you know better what you have to do therein than I am able to inform. Only this I am well assured of, that, if they should be suffered to proceed as they have begun, nothing else in the end can be looked for than confusion both of the church and of the state. But convenient discipline joined with doctrine, being duly executed, will soon remedy all. For sects and schisms can by no means abide these two; neither will they long continue where they are not by some in authority cherished and maintained. This experience, and the stories of all ages, teach to be true.

The Lord give peace unto his church: the Lord preserve your lordship and govern you with his Holy Spirit, that you may long live profitably unto his church, and honourably unto your country. From Trinity college in Cambridge, the 5th day of February, 1573.

To your lordship most bound,
and for ever to command,
JHON WHITGYFTE.

To the right honourable and my singular good lord, the lord Burghley, lord treasurer of England.

V.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO THE LORD TREASURER[1].

My singular good lord,

[Lansd. MSS. xlii. 47.]

In the very beginning of this action, and so from time to time, I have made your lordship acquainted with all my doings and so answered the objections and reasons to the contrary, as I persuade myself that no just reply can be made thereunto. I have likewise, by your lordship's advice, chosen this kind of proceeding with them, because I would not touch

[1 See Strype, Whitgift, Book III. chaps. vii. viii., and Append. No. x. Burghley's letter, dated July 1, to which this is an answer, is printed by Strype, ibid. No. ix. The 24 articles referred to may be seen in Strype, ibid. No. iv. Conf. Fuller, Church History, Book IX. sect. v.]

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any for not subscribing only, but for breach of order in celebrating divine service, administering the sacraments, and executing other ecclesiastical functions, according to their fancies, and not according to the form by law prescribed; which neither your lordship, nor others, seemed to mislike, but to wish and require. And therefore I am much troubled at your last letters, which seem so to be written as though your lordship had not been in these points already answered and satisfied.

The complaints which your lordship saith are made of me, and of other my colleagues, have been hitherto general, and therefore cannot otherwise be answered than by a bare denial. But, if any man shall charge me or them with particularities, I doubt not but we are, and shall be ready to answer them, and to justify our doings. My proceedings are neither so vehement, nor so general against ministers and preachers, as some pretend, doing me therein great injury. And I have sundry times satisfied your lordship therein. If I have any way offended, it is in bearing too much with them, and in using of them too familiarly; which causeth them thus, contrary to their duty, to trouble the church, and to withstand me their ordinary and lawful judge.

The objection of encouraging the papists, &c. hath neither probability nor likelihood. For how can papists be animated by urging of men to subscribe against the pope's supremacy, or to the justifying of the book of common prayers, and of the articles of religion; both which they so greatly condemn? But indeed papists, &c., are animated, because they see these kind of persons (which herein after a sort join with them) so greatly friended, so much borne with, and so animated in their disordered doings, against both God's law and man's law, and against their chief governors, civil and ecclesiastical. This, I say, encourageth the papists, and maketh them so malapert. The other is but a *fallax, a non causa ad causam.* O my lord, would to God some of them which use this argument had no papists in their families, and did not otherwise also countenance them, whereby indeed they receive encouragement! Assure yourself that the papists are rather grieved at my doings, because they tend to the taking away of their chief argument; that is, that we cannot agree among ourselves, and lack unity; and therefore are not of the church. And I am credibly informed that the papists give encouragement to these men, and

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commend them in their doings; whereof I have also some experience. But, if these reasons and sundry others will not satisfy some, I am sure your lordship will not think it convenient to yield to their wills without reason.

Touching the 24 articles, which your lordship seemeth so much to mislike, as written in a Romish style, smelling of the Romish inquisition, &c., I cannot but greatly marvel at your lordship's vehement speeches against them (I hope without cause); seeing it is the ordinary course in other courts likewise; as in the Star-chamber, the court of the marches, and other places. And (without offence be it spoken) I think these articles to be more tolerable, and better agreeing with the rule of justice and charity, and less captious, than these in other courts; because men are there oftentimes examined at the relation of a private man concerning private crimes, *et de propria turpitudine;* whereas here men are only examined of their public actions in their public calling and ministry; whereunto in conscience they are bound to answer, and much more than in the case of heresy; because the one toucheth life, the other not. And therefore I see no cause why our judicial and canonical proceedings in this point should be misliked.

Your lordship writeth, that the two[1] for whom you speak are peaceable, observe the book, deny the things wherewith they are charged, and desire to be tried, &c. Now they are to be tried, why do they refuse it? *Qui male agit odit lucem.* I do minister these articles unto them, framed by the best-learned in the laws (who, I dare say, hate both the Romish doctrine and Romish inquisition), to the intent that I may truly understand whether they are such manner of men, or no, as they pretend to be; especially seeing by public fame they are noted of the contrary, and one of them presented by the sworn men of his parish for his disorders; as I am informed by the official there. I have written nothing to your lordship of them which their own behaviour doth not prove to be true. Therefore I beseech your lordship not to believe them against me, either upon their own words, or upon the testimony of such as animate them in their disobedience, and count disorder order, and contention peace, before they be duly and orderly tried, according to that law which is yet in

[1 These were two ministers of Cambridgeshire, Edward Brayne, mentioned in the next letter, being one.]

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force, and in my opinion will hardly in these judicial actions be bettered; though some abuse may be in the execution thereof; as there is in other courts likewise, and that, peradventure, more abundantly.

Your lordship saith that these articles are devised rather to seek for offenders than to reform any. The like may be said of the like orders in other courts also; but that should be the fault of the judge, not of the law; and I trust your lordship hath no cause to think so evil of me. I have not dealt as yet with any but such as have refused to subscribe, and given manifest tokens of contempt of orders and laws: my acts remaining in record will testify with me. And although the register doth examine them (as other officers do in other courts likewise, and the law doth allow of it) yet are they repeated before a judge; where they may reform, add, or diminish, as they think good. Neither hath any man thus been examined which hath not before been conferred with; these two especially, even until they have had nothing to say. And, if they otherwise report to your lordship, *antiquum obtinent;* and they report untruly; a quality wherewith this sect is marvellously possessed, as myself, of my own knowledge and experience, can justify, against divers of them.

I know your lordship desireth the peace of the church; but how is it possible to be procured (after so long liberty, and lack of discipline), if a few persons, so meanly qualified as the most of them are, should be countenanced against the whole state of the clergy of greatest account for learning, years, steadiness, wisdom, religion, and honesty, and open breakers and impugners of the laws, young in years, proud in conceit, contentious in disposition, maintained against their superiors and governors, seeking to reduce them to order and to obedience? *Hæc sunt... initia hæreticorum, et ortus atque conatus schismaticorum male cogitantium, ut sibi placeant, ut præpositum superbo tumore contemnant: sic de ecclesia receditur, sic altare profanum foris collocatur; sic contra pacem Christi et ordinationem atque unitatem Dei rebellatur*[2]. Cypr. Lib. Epist. iii.

For my own part, I neither do, nor have done anything in this matter, which I do not think myself in duty and con-

[2 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Rogat. Epist. iii. p. 6; where *placeant et propositum.*]

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science bound to do; which her majesty hath not with earnest charge committed unto me; and the which I am well able to justify to be most requisite for this state and church; whereof, next to her majesty, though most unworthy, or, at the least, most unhappy, the chief care is committed to me; which I may not neglect, whatsoever come upon me therefore. I neither esteem the honour of the place (which is to me *gravissimum onus*), nor the largeness of the revenues (for the which I am not as yet one penny the richer), nor any other worldly thing, I thank God, in the respect of doing my duty. Neither do I fear the displeasure of man, nor regard the wicked tongues of the uncharitable, which call me tyrant, pope, papist, knave, and lay to my charge things which I never did, nor thought upon. *Scio hoc esse opus diaboli, ut servos Dei mendacio laceret, et opinionibus falsis gloriosum nomen infamet, ut qui conscientiæ suæ luce clarescunt alienis rumoribus sordidentur*[1]. So was Cyprian himself used for the same causes, and other godly bishops, to whom I am not comparable. The day will come when all men's hearts shall be opened, and made manifest. In the mean time, I will depend upon him who hath called me to this place, and will not forsake those that trust in him.

Cyprian. Epist. Lib. iv.

If your lordship do keep those two from answering according to the order set down, it will be of itself a setting at liberty of all the rest, and an undoing of all that which hitherto hath been done; neither shall I be able to do that which her majesty expecteth at my hands, and is now in very good towardness; and therefore I beseech your lordship to leave them unto me. I will not proceed to any sentence against them until I have made your lordship privy to their answers, and further conferred with you thereof, because I see your lordship so earnest in their behalf; whereof they have also made public boasts (as I am informed), which argueth of what disposition they are.

I heartily pray your lordship to take not only the length but also the matter of this letter in good part, and to continue unto me as you have hitherto done. For, if you now forsake me, and that in so good a cause (as I know you will not), I shall think my hap to be very hard, that when I hope to de-

[1 ...cum scias hoc esse opus semper diaboli, &c.—Id. ad Anton. Epist. lv. p. 105.]

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serve best, I should be worst rewarded. *Sed spero meliora*, and commit myself to the Author of peace, whom I beseech to bless and prosper your lordship.

From Croydon, the 3. of July, 1584.

To your lordship most bound,

Jo. CANTUAR.

VI.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO THE LORD TREASURER[2].

My singular good lord,

God knoweth how desirous I have been from time to time to satisfy your lordship in all things, and to have my doings approved by you. For which cause, since my coming to this place I did nothing of importance without your advice. I have risen early, and set up late, to write unto you such objections and answers as are used on either side. I have not done the like to any man. And shall I now say that I have lost my labour? Or shall my just dealing with two of the most disordered ministers in a whole diocese (the obstinacy and contempt of whom, especially of one of them, yourself would not bear in any subjected to your authority) cause you so to think and speak of my doings, and of myself? No man living should have made me believe it. My lord, an old friend is better than a new; and I trust your lordship will not so lightly cast off your old friends, for any of these new-fangled and factious sectaries; whose endeavour is to make division wheresoever they come, and separate old and assured friends. [Lansd. MSS. xlii. 48.]

Your lordship seemeth to charge me with breach of promise touching my manner of proceeding; whereof I am no way guilty. But I have altered my first course of dealing with them for not subscribing only (justifiable by law and in common practice in the time of king Edward, and from the beginning of her majesty's reign to this day), and chosen this only to satisfy your lordship.

[2 Burghley wrote a short answer to the archbishop's former letter, to which this is a reply. See Strype, as before, Append. No. xi.]

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You also object, that it is said I took this course for the better maintenance of my book against Cartwright. My enemies say so indeed; but I hope my friends have a better opinion of me. Why should I seek for any such confirmation of my book, after so many years? Or what should I get thereby more than already I have? And yet, if subscription may confirm it, it is confirmed long ago by the subscription almost of all the clergy of England, and of many of these which now refuse, even of Brayne himself. My enemies and the evil tongues of this uncharitable sect report also that I am revolted, become a papist, and I know not what. But it proceedeth from that ungodly zeal which cometh not *ex amore, sed ex livore,* wherewith they are possessed. And I disdain to answer to such notorious untruths, which not the best of them dare avouch to my face.

Your lordship further seemeth to burden me with wilfulness, &c. I think you are not so persuaded of me: I appeal therein to your own conscience. There is a difference betwixt wilfulness and constancy. I have taken upon me the defence of the religion and rites of this church, the execution of the laws concerning the same, the appeasing of the sects and schisms therein, the reducing of the ministers thereof to uniformity and due obedience. Herein I intend to be constant; which also my place, my person, my duty, the laws, her majesty, and the goodness of the cause, requireth of me; and wherein your lordship, and others (all things considered) ought, as I take it, to assist and help me. It is more than strange that a man in my place, dealing by so good warrantise as I do, should be so hardly used, and for not yielding be counted wilful. But *vincit qui patitur.* And, if my friends herein forsake me, I trust God will not, nor her majesty, who have laid the charge on me, and are able to protect me; upon whom only I will depend.

But of all other things it most grieveth me that your lordship should say, the two ministers fare the worse because you sent them. Had your lordship ever any cause so to think of me? It is needless for me to protest my good heart and affection towards you above all other men. The world knoweth it; and I am assured your lordship doubteth not thereof. I have rather cause to complain to your lordship of yourself, that upon so small occasion you will so hardly con-

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ceive of me, and, as it were, countenance persons so meanly qualified, in so evil a cause against me, their ordinary, and your lordship's long-tried friend. It hath not been so in times past, and now it should be least of all.

But because I would be loth to leave your lordship unsatisfied, or to omit anything whereby you may be satisfied, I have sent unto you here-inclosed certain reasons to justify the manner of my proceeding; which I marvel should be so much misliked in this cause, having been so long practised in the like, yea, and in the same, and never before this time found fault with. Truly I must either proceed this way, or not at all. The reasons are set down in this paper.

And now, my singular good lord, I heartily pray you not to be carried away either from the cause, or from myself, upon unjust surmises or clamours; lest thereby you be some occasion of that confusion which hereafter you will be sorry for. For my own part, I am determined to do my duty and conscience without fear; neither will I therein desire further defence of any of my friends than justice and law will yield unto me. In my private affairs I know how greatly I shall stand in need of friends, especially of your lordship; of whom I account myself sure. But in these public actions I see no cause why I should seek friends, seeing they to whom the care of the commonwealth is committed ought therein to join with me.

To conclude, I am your lordship's most assured; neither do I doubt of the continuance of your good affection towards me; which I heartily desire, as God himself knoweth, to whose tuition I commit you. From Croydon, the 15. of July, 1584.

To your lordship most bound,

JO. CANTUAR.

To the right honourable my singular good lord, the lord Burghley, lord treasurer of England.

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VII.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO THE BISHOPS OF HIS PROVINCE, FOR THE BETTER OBSERVANCE OF CATECHIZING AND CONFIRMING OF YOUTH[1].

[Regist. Whitg. fol. 181.]

After my very hearty commendations. Your lordship is not ignorant that a great part of the dissoluteness in manners, and ignorance in the common sort, that reigneth in most parts of this realm, even in this clear light of the gospel otherwise, ariseth hereof; for that the youth being, as it were, the fry and seminary of the church and commonwealth, through negligence both of natural and spiritual fathers, are not, as were meet, trained up in the chief and necessary principles of christian religion; whereby[2] they might learn their duty to God, to their prince, their country, and their neighbours; especially in their tender years, when these things might best be planted in them, and would become most hardly to be afterward removed.

This mischief might well, in mine opinion, be redressed, if that, which in this behalf hath been wisely and godly provided, were as carefully called on and executed; namely, by catechizing, and instructing in churches, of youths of both sexes, on the sabbath-days and holy-days in afternoons; and that (if it may be conveniently) before their parents and others of the several parishes; who thereby[3] may take comfort and instruction also.

One great inducement unto the learning of the rudiments of religion hath heretofore been observed to be that charge which by the book of common prayer every minister should give after baptizing the infants; to have them, so soon as they may learn, instructed in the catechism; and, having learnt it, to be brought to the bishop to be confirmed. Which giving charge, I do hear, is for the most part omitted. This ancient and laudable ceremony of confirming children, in respect of a carefulness in fathers to have their children instructed, that afterward they might be confirmed, hath heretofore wrought much good where it was used. I am very sorry to hear that my brethren the bishops of my province of Canterbury do so generally begin to neglect to confirm children, at least to call for, and exact the use both of it, and of

[1 See Strype, Whitgift, Book IV. No. xii.]
[2 Whereby, MS.]
[3 Thereby, MS.]

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catechizing children in the church by the minister, and of parents to send their children, and to come thither themselves. These wants are now grown so common and offensive by the ill effects which they are found to yield, that I am in conscience urged very earnestly, and in the fear of God, to require your lordship, and other my brethren, the bishops, according to your pastoral care, and for the duty which you owe to God and his church, both in your own visitations from time to time, and by your archdeacons and other ecclesiastical officers, to give strait charge unto parents to come themselves, or at least to send their children to the church at such times; and especially unto ministers to expound unto them, and to examine the children in that little catechism, which is allowed by authority, and also at the baptizing of infants to give that charge for bringing them unto the bishop to be confirmed, which by the book of common prayer is prescribed.

I do also hereby require at your lordship's hands, to give warning unto the ministers of your diocese, that they cause such children of their parish only that can say the catechism to be brought from time to time unto your lordship to be confirmed; not only when you visit triennially, but also at other fit opportunities for such a purpose, as, namely, when you travel abroad in the diocese to preach, and on market-days when you reside and make your abode in any market-town, whither the people of parishes thereabouts do usually resort. Thus, nothing doubting of your lordship's forwardness and care herein, I commend you to God's holy protection.

From Croydon, the of Sept. 1591.

Your lordship's loving friend and brother,

JO. CANT.

VIII.

COPY OF HIS GRACE'S LETTERS TO THE VICE-CHANCELLOR OF CAMBRIDGE, TOUCHING MR BARRETT AND CERTAIN PROPOSITIONS, 24° NOVEMBR. 1595[*].

Salutem in Christo. Mr Drs Tyndall and Whitakers can signify unto you what is done in the matter for which

[* This letter, and the following pieces to page 617, are from a MS. in Trinity College Library, Cambridge. See Strype, Whitgift, Book iv. chaps. xiv—xix.]

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they came hither; which I doubt not but that they will faithfully relate unto you. My earnest and hearty desire is to have the peace of the church generally observed in all places; and especially in that university, whereof I am a member. And, for the better observation and nourishing of the said peace, we have with some care and diligence drawn out and set down certain propositions, which we are persuaded to be true; and the copy whereof I send unto you here-inclosed, praying you to take care that nothing be public[ly] taught to the contrary; and that also in teaching of them that discretion and moderation be used, that such as shall be in some points differing in judgment be not of purpose stung or justly grieved; and especially that no bitterness, contention, or personal reproofs or reproaches be used by any towards any. Which propositions nevertheless must so be taken and used as our private judgments, thinking them to be true and correspondent to the doctrine professed in this church of England, and established by the laws of the land, and not as laws and decrees. Touching Mr Barrett, I persuade myself that you shall find him willing to perform that which is prescribed unto him; the rather if he be used courteously, and without bitterness. And so being ready and willing to assist you in anything fit for the good government of that university I commit you.

ARTICLES AGREED ON, AND THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK'S OPINION OF THEM.

1. Deus ab æterno prædestinavit quosdam ad vitam, et quosdam reprobavit ad mortem.

   Verissimum.

2. Causa movens aut efficiens prædestinationis ad vitam non est prævisio fidei, aut perseverantiæ, aut bonorum operum, aut ullius rei quæ insit in personis prædestinatis; sed voluntas beneplaciti Dei.

   Non minus verum.

3. Prædestinatorum præfinitus et certus numerus est, qui nec augeri nec minui potest.

   Verba sunt August. cap. 13°. de Correpț. et Grat.[1]

[1 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Correpț. et Grat. cap. xiii. 39. Tom. X. col. 772.]

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4. Qui non sunt prædestinati ad salutem *necessario* propter peccata sua damnabuntur.

Certissimum. Et tamen, si "necessario" deleatur, minus offendet infirmos. Lege August. cap. 22°. de Bono Perseveran., quomodo loquendum sit de reprobis[2].

5. Vera, viva, justificans fides, et Spiritus sanctificans in electis non extinguitur, non excidit, non evanescit, aut finaliter, aut totaliter.

Non minus verum.

6. Homo vere fidelis, id est, fide justificante præditus, et *vocatus secundum propositum*, certus est plerophoria fidei de peccatorum suorum remissione, et salute sempiterna per Christum.

August. cap. 8. de Bono Perseverant.[3] Reprobi quidam vocati, justificati, per lavacrum regenerationis renovati sunt; et tamen exeunt, quia non erant secundum propositum vocati. Bonum est ergo ut addatur "secundum propositum vocatus."

7. Gratia salutaris non tribuitur aut conceditur universis hominibus, qua servari possint *si voluerint*.

Minus offendit si deleatur "si voluerint." Vide Aug. de Bono Perseverant. cap. 22°., quomodo loquendum &c.[4]

8. Nemo potest venire ad Christum, nisi datum ei fuerit, et nisi Pater eum traxerit; et omnes homines non trahuntur a Patre ut veniant ad Filium.

Hæc propositio eadem videtur cum superiori.

9. Non est positum in uniuscujusque hominis arbitrio aut potestate servari.

Soli Pelagiani et semipelagiani hoc negabunt.

Hæ theses ex sacris literis vel aperte colligi, vel necessaria consecutione deduci possunt, et ex scriptis Augustini.

Math. Ebor.[5]

[2 Id. De Don. Persev. cap. xxii. 57, &c. Tom. X. cols. 853, &c.]
[3 Id. ibid. cap. viii. 19. col. 830.]
[4 Id. ibid. cap. xxii. 57, &c. cols. 853, &c.]
[5 Dr Matthew Hutton was at this time archbishop of York.]

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A BRIEF TOUCHING MR BARRETT.

1. Barrett preached a sermon in Cambridge *ad clerum;* wherein divers unsound points of divinity were uttered to the offence of many.

2. Barrett therefore was convented before the vice-chancellor and heads, and enjoined to recant.

3. Barrett did read a recantation prescribed unto him, but not in such sort as satisfied most of the hearers.

4. Barrett thereupon was convented again, and threatened to be expelled the university.

5. Barrett hereupon complaineth to me; and I writ down to the vice-chancellor, &c., to desire them to stay further proceeding against him, until such time as I might understand the causes of their proceeding, being matters of divinity; and the rather because I found some error in that recantation, which they had caused him to pronounce, which error also was afterwards confessed by some of them, and is manifest.

6. Hereupon they writ to my lord treasurer their chancellor, and complained grievously of Barrett, and desired that by his authority they might proceed to the punishing of Barrett.

7. My lord answered that he would confer with me, and refer the matter to my hearing.

8. But, that being misliked by the party that was sent about that business, as being supposed to be repugnant to their privileges, it pleased his lordship to write his letters to the vice-chancellor and others to proceed against Barrett.

9. Which when I understood I writ to his lordship, and desired him to cause stay to be made from further proceeding in this cause, until better consideration were had thereof, some of the things called in question being deep points of divinity, and wherein great learned men did vary in opinion.

10. His lordship accordingly did cause stay to be made.

11. Then I desired of the vice-chancellor that some might be sent unto me instructed in these causes, and that Barrett might come up likewise, to the end I might the better understand the controversies. All which was performed.

12. The dean of Ely[1] and Dr Whitaker came unto me; and so did Barrett.

13. I found that Barrett had erred in divers points.

[1 *Dr* Humphrey Tyndall.]

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I delivered mine opinion of the propositions brought unto me by Dr Whitaker; wherein some few being added I agreed fully with them and they with me. And I know them to be sound doctrine, and uniformally professed in this church of England, and agreeable to the Articles of Religion established by authority. And therefore I thought it meet that Barrett should in more humble sort confess his ignorance and errors, and that none should be suffered to teach any contrary doctrine to the foresaid propositions agreed upon.

And this is the sum of all this action.

And if this agreement be not maintained further contentions will grow, to the animating of the common adversary the papist, by whose practice Barrett and others are set on, some of his opinions being indeed popish.

IX.

COPY OF HIS GRACE'S LETTER TO MR DR NEVILE[2], 8° Decemb. 1595.

Salutem in Christo. I have received your letters touching Mr Overall, and I very much rely upon your judgment in that case. Nevertheless I am informed by some others that Mr Overall is something factious and inclined to that sect, that loveth to pick quarrels to the present state and government of the church; which I hope not to be true because of your commendation. But I think you shall receive letters in her majesty's name for due care to be had in electing a person meet for that place. And therefore I do assure myself that you will be careful to provide such an one as shall be in all points conformable. Mr Whitaker's death doth affect me exceedingly in many respects; he being a man whom I loved very well, and had purposed to have employed him in matters of great importance. At his last being with me he signified unto me what things he had in hand concerning Stapleton[3]. And therefore I am very desirous to have his notes and writings as well concerning that matter as other things. And therefore, I pray you, procure them

[2 Master of Trinity College.]

[3 Dr Whitaker was the author of the Disputation on Holy Scripture against Bellarmine and Stapleton, of which a translation was published by the Parker Society.]

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unto me if you can. I will consider those that have the doing in these causes to their contentation. And, although I may in some sort require them, yet I will forbear so to do, and hope that they will of courtesy not deny unto me this request. I am informed, and I think it to be true, that her majesty intendeth to stay his library for herself; but his written books and papers are no part thereof. At Mr dean of Ely's and his last being here, we agreed of certain propositions, which are undoubtedly true, and not to be denied of any sound divine. But I know not how or by what means the same hath been signified to her majesty in evil sense, and as though the same had been by me sent down to the university to be disputed upon, or (I know not how) published. It is the thing that I before something suspected, &c. But you that refuse advertisements, and think yourselves to have no need of advice. Otherwise these things had never grown to this extremity. The foolery of Dr Some[1] hath done no good to the cause. Her majesty is persuaded of the truth of the propositions, but doth think it to be utterly unfit that the same should any ways be publicly dealt with either in sermon or disputation; as I think you are like further to understand ere it be long. I pray you, have me commended to Mr vice-chancellor[2], and let him understand so much from me; and desire him in the mean time so to use the said propositions, as there be no publication thereof, otherwise than in private. For indeed my meaning was only to let him and you understand that in these points I do concur with you in judgment, and will to the end, and mean not to suffer any man to impugn them openly or otherwise. And, when you shall have received the foresaid admonition from her majesty, I do wish that you should return answer to your chancellor your willingness to observe her majesty's commandment; but with signification of your assured persuasion of the truth of the foresaid propositions. This advice I would have you to give privately to Mr vice-chancellor, and to use it discreetly; but in no case to suffer these letters to go out of your own hands, but to keep them yourself, and either to burn them, or to bring them to me again at your coming hither.

[1 Dr Robert Some was master of Peter-house. He is said to have reflected on the archbishop in a sermon.]

[2 Dr Roger Goade, provost of King's.]

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You may also signify to Dr Baro that her majesty is greatly offended with him, for that he being a stranger and so well used dare presume to stir up or maintain any controversy in that place of what nature soever. And therefore advise him from me utterly to forbear to deal therein hereafter. I have done my endeavour to satisfy her majesty concerning him; but how it will fall out in the end I know not. *Non decet hominem peregrinum curiosum esse in aliena republica.* I write this to you as to my good and trusty friend, and as a feeling member of that body; and I cannot but commend very greatly her majesty's great care in these matters, being of the same mind myself. *Vale in Christo.*

At Lambeth, 8° Decembr. 1595.

Your assured loving friend.

X.

THE ARCHBISHOP TO THE BISHOPS OF HIS PROVINCE, FOR FASTING AND PRAYER UPON OCCASION OF A DEARTH[a].

After my hearty commendations to your lordship. Amongst all our sins whereby we have provoked God justly to plague us with this dearth and scarcity, it is to be thought that none have been more forcible thereunto than our excess and riot in diet, and the wasteful consuming of his good creatures. For supply of which present scarcity towards the poorer sort the queen's majesty hath every way shewed a most princely care and gracious tender affection; not only by causing the markets to be duly served, and great store of grain to be provided from foreign parts freely without paying any custom; but also a most virtuous and godly sovereign daily studieth to qualify the mischief by taking away the cause of it. Therefore, for redress of that abuse, and prevention of further punishment by like scarcity, her majesty hath straitly commanded me to signify by my letters, that it is her highness' express pleasure and absolute commandment, that public prayers according to the book of common prayer in every several parish-church or chapel be on all

Regist. Whitg. Vol. II. fol. 149.

[a] See Strype, Whitgift, Book IV. Append. No. XXX.]

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Wednesdays and Fridays hereafter devoutly used and diligently frequented; that such as be of better ability do, in the fear of God, use a greater moderation than heretofore in their diet; but, namely, that by none of degree soever any flesh be dressed or eaten on such days as by law stand already prohibited, other than such as by reason of infirmity be lawfully thereunto licensed; and that not only on Fridays, and other days by law already appointed for fasting-days, no suppers at all be provided or taken by any, either for themselves or household; but also that every one, not letted by grievous weakness, do abstain from suppers altogether on each Wednesday at night; to the intent that what is by forbearance of that meal, and at other meals by abstinency from all superfluous fare, fruitfully spared, may presently, especially by the wealthier sort, be charitably converted to the relief and comfort of the poor and needy; so as notice thereof may be taken, according to her majesty's gracious expectation, at the hands of all such her dutiful subjects as be respective of her royal commandments.

In this behalf your lordship is also to give special order that the collections for the poor in every parish may be carefully made, and, in respect of the great want, charitably by those who be of good ability increased, and duly and seasonably bestowed for the succour of the most distressed.

It is further likewise required by her majesty, that those which have households do not for sparing discharge any of their household to shift for themselves, nor themselves to sojourn from their usual habitation. And, because the example of ecclesiastical persons may induce men, as well as their teaching, in this behalf, all such as have benefices must be enjoined[1] to reside on their livings, to keep hospitality, and relieve their neighbours. And such as have pluralities in conscience ought to do the like by their farmers and such as rent their livings at their hands. But there must a very watchful eye be carried by the minister and churchwardens in every parish, or by such charitable discreet men as they shall nominate and appoint, unto all inns, taverns, and victualling-houses, how both the keepers of them with their household, and also their guests[2] and resorters to their houses, do observe these her majesty's commandments.

[1 Rejoined, MS.] [2 Gesse, MS.]

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Now, for the better publishing of her highness' gracious pleasure in the premises, your lordship must take precise order that every minister in the diocese do diligently recom-[mend] the observation of them unto the people in their several charges; and also do from time to time, in their sermons and exhortations, earnestly and pithily exhort and stir up every of them to fervent prayer, both public and private, to abstinency, fasting, true humiliation, to forbear all excess, to relieve the poor and needy, by good house-keeping, by setting them on work, and by other deeds of alms and brotherly compassion.

And, considering the most princely and gracious care her majesty hath for their relief, and that all good means should be used for the succour and help of them in these times of dearth, the people must be duly taught to endure this scarcity with patience; and especially to beware how they give ear to any persuasions or practices of discontented and idle brains, to move them to repine or swerve from the humble duties of good subjects, to the further offence of God, and discontenting of her majesty, that hath so tender a care of their welfare.

And, for that her majesty would be informed how duly these orders shall be observed, as her special care is they should, your lordship is therefore to procure a certificate to be made unto you monthly by every the ministers and church-wardens, containing as well the names of disobedient delin-quents in any the premises, as of those well-disposed persons who have had a dutiful regard of her majesty's command-ment, and a charitable compassion for the relief of the poor; to the intent that once every quarter, the said certificates being transmitted over unto me, I may satisfy her majesty's gracious expectation touching the success and fruit arising by these godly orders.

But your lordship is to foresee and give special direction that the prescript of these letters be in every several parish observed, without calling or suffering persons of other parishes to assemble themselves, as some heretofore offensively of their own heads have attempted, under colour of general fasts. And thus I commit your lordship to God's holy protection.

From Lambehith, this 27th of December, 1596.

Your lordship's loving brother in Christ,

[JO. CANTUAR.]

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XL.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO GILBERT EARL OF SHREWSBURY[1].

MSS. Rev. Wh. Kennet, Dec. Petriburg.

My very honourable and special good lord. I have writ to the town of Grimsby, according to your desire, and do very heartily thank you for so well affecting them, being a corporation which nature tendeth me to favour, and to wish well unto. I would to God your lordship were seated there, if there were any seat fit for you. I did not discommend your purpose for the fish-ponds; for it is a true proverb, Things far-fetched and dear-bought are good for ladies.

I have not been at court sithence it removed from Hampton, the times and ways have been so dangerous, and my years so unapt to travel. But I have heard from thence and sent thither, according to my former manner. And, although our humourous and contentious brethren have made many petitions and motions, correspondent to their natures, yet your lordship may perceive by the proclamation published, and to my comfort I am assured, by his majesty's letters writ to me, that they have not much prevailed. You lordship, I am sure, doth imagine that I have not all this while been idle, nor greatly quiet in mind. For who can promise himself rest among so many vipers? I thank God, I go on as I was wont to do, although at this present I am tainted with my old disease the jaundice.

I am sorry to hear you mention any *supersedeas* towards the parliament. You know my opinion of the gout, and those that are infected therewith. I hope your lordship will not confirm me therein. Nay, I persuade myself of the contrary in you. But my resolution is, *Quod Deus vult, hoc faciat.* And so, with my most heartiest commendations to your lordship, and my very good lady, I commit you both to the tuition of Almighty God.

From Croydon, Decem. 12. 1603.

Your lordship's most assured,

JO. CANTUAR.

[1 See Strype, Whitgift, Book iv. Append. No. xliii.]

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APPENDIX.

[The following pieces are portions of two MSS. in the University Library, Cambridge, the first containing determinations or theses delivered by Whitgift while professor of divinity; the other being lectures on the book of Revelation.]

Ff. i. 9. Whitgift MS.

Scripturæ maxima est auctoritas.

Object. 2. Ecclesia est antiquior scriptura; fuit enim priusquam aliquid literis mandatum sit; ergo est majoris auctoritatis.

Respon. Non loquimur de literis, sed de sententia literis comprehensa, non de scripto, sed verbo quod eo continetur: hoc autem verbum est ecclesia antiquius, fuit enim ante mundum conditum, et certum est ab initio mundi vocatos esse homines per verbum Dei, sicut et Adam, audita promissione.

Alia respo. Si hoc argumentum sit firmum, tunc eodem modo licet concludere, ecclesiam veteris testamenti magis esse authenticam quam novi; legem potiorem esse evangelio; Mosen Christo; sacrificia pecudum efficaciora sacrificio Christi; figuras, umbras, vaticinia, veritate; quæ omnia absurdissima sunt; non ergo sequitur hoc argumentum.

Sacra scriptura non habet auctoritatem ab antiquitate sed a divina origine, et veritate.

Objectio 3. Ecclesia quasdam scripturas repudiavit, quasdam retinuit; ergo.

Respo. Melanct. Quod ecclesia repudiavit quædam evangelia, repudiavit vel tanquam testis, quia sciebat esse ἀδέσποτα, aut repudiavit tanquam judex, secuta scripturas certas. Nam ecclesia, judicans de scripturis, judicat ex aliis scripturis, non ex propria opinione, sive auctoritate.

Objectio 5. Scriptores canonici sunt membra ecclesiæ, et illi auctoritatem dabant scripturæ, scripserunt enim &c.; ergo &c.

Respo. Non sequitur, nisi intelligatur de inferiori auctoritate quæ est superioris ministra; nam canonicæ scripturæ auctoritas summa illa, et perpetua, non est aliunde

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quam a Deo, tanquam illius auctore. Et scriptores, non ecclesiæ sed Spiritus sancti instinctu, ideoque non tanquam membra ecclesiæ, sed tanquam interpretes Dei ac ministri Spiritus, scripserunt.

Romana Ecclesia non est catholica ecclesia.

Objectio 6. Ecclesia, ex qua fit discessio est catholica ecclesia, juxta illud Joannis: "E nobis profecti sunt, sed non erant ex nobis."

Respo. Non consideras quid præcedat: "Antichristi (inquit Joannes) multi cœperunt esse;" loquitur ergo de antichristis qui ab evangelio discedunt.

Elias discedebat a rege Achab, principibus, et sacrificulis Baal; non igitur illi catholica ecclesia, Elias autem hæreticus.

Josephus et Nicodemus discesserunt a Caipha, Anna, Pilato, principibus, pontificibus, sacerdotibus, populo Israelitico; non ergo illi hæretici, hi vero ecclesia catholica.

De Certitudine Salutis.

Objectio 1. Eccl. 9. "Nescit homo amore ne ac odio sit dignus, &c."

Respo. Ostendit his verbis Salomon eum frustra laborare, qui ex præsenti rerum statu censere velit quos odio prosequatur Deus, quos vero amore complectatur; quum omnia pariter eveniant justo et impio, immolanti ut non immolanti, non testatur Deus perpetuo amorem suum quibus omnia succedere prospere facit, neque odium suum semper in eos prodit, quos affligit; idque facit ad vanitatem humani ingenii arguendam.

Object. 2. Temerariæ præsumptionis est indubitatam voluntatis divinæ notitiam sibi arrogare.

Respo. Verum est, si tantum nobis sumeremus, ut ingenii nostri tenuitati subjicere vellemus incomprehensibile Dei consilium: sed, ubi simpliciter cum Paulo dicimus, "nos accepisse non spiritum hujus mundi, sed Spiritum qui ex Deo est, quo docente sciamus, quæ a Deo donata sunt nobis," non est cur arrogantiæ accusemur: "quotquot Spiritu Dei ducuntur &c.:" "ipse Spiritus testatur una cum spiritu &c."

Object. 3. Etsi secundum præsentem justitiæ statum de

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gratia Dei judicium sumere licet, manere tamen in suspenso finalis perseverantiæ notitiam.

Respon. Longe aliter apostolus: "Certo," inquit, "persuasus sum, quod neque angeli, nec potestates, nec principatus &c." Ro. 8. Neque hoc dixit apostolus ex speciali revelatione, sicuti papistæ fingunt, sed illic quæ in commune omnibus fidelibus ex fide proveniant bona tractat: non quæ specialiter ipse experiatur.

Object. 4. "Qui stat, videat ne cadat." 1 Cor. 10.

Resp. Verum est, at non terrore quo consternemur, sed quo discamus sub potenti Dei manu nos humiliare.

Ff. 2. 36.

Comment. in Apoc.

Atque hæc de utilissimo hoc Apocalip. libro, pro ea quam mihi Dominus dedit facultate; in quo interpretando etsi fortasse non sum in quibusdam locis assequutus eum sensum, quem nonnulli probant, tamen spero me nihil alienum a christiana religione asseruisse, et scio me sequutum non solum circumstantiarum sensum, sed etiam doctissimorum interpretationem.

Quod vero quorundam judicio non præstiti eam semper diligentiam quam oportuit aut illi expectarunt, id tribuite non negligentiæ, sed aut imbecillitati meæ, et ignorantiæ; aut nimis acuto illorum judicio, qui in aliis id solent reprehendere, quod ipsi se putant posse acutissime dicere. Fateor me semper non adhibuisse quam illi cupiebant aut quam oportuit diligentiam, at quam potui tamen ullo modo, nunquam omisi prætermisi, nec omissurus sum deinceps Deo volente.

Vobis autem, fratres in Domino cha., qui me qualitercunque dicentem, summa cum humanitate, et amicissimis judiciis audistis, habeo quam maximas gratias, precorque ut, quam hactenus ostendistis, etiam deinceps ostensuri sitis benevolentiam.

Deo Patri et Domino nostro Jesu Christo et adorando Spiritui gratias ago, quod tandem decursis tantis pelagis ad portum perveni: petoque ardentissimis votis, ut qui ista mysteria nobis revelavit, eadem etiam inscriberet mentibus nostris, quo ab antichristo et omnibus malis liberati, vera fide et sincera religione conservemur, gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi, cui, una cum Patre et sancto Spiritu, sit omnis honor et gloria in omnem ævi æternitatem. Amen.

Laus Deo.

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BISHOP JEWEL TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER[1].

Addit. MSS. No. 19, 400. fol. 37.

Right honourable and my singular good lord, after my humble commendations, I doubt not but the Answer unto M. Harding's book is greedily looked for, both of many others and also of your honour, and so much the more for the good-will and zeal your honour beareth unto the cause.

Howbeit, both the whole rout of the adversaries, and also a great number of the unlearned friends, think the matter so sure of the other side, that it is not possible to make any answer. And therefore it is thought that I of my part was much overseen, to lay out the matter in such a generality, and to give the adversary so great a scope. Howbeit, touching the possibility hereof, I need not greatly to stand in fear, as having well and particularly considered the whole case before I first began to speak, and as now having good cause a great deal the more to be persuaded by the jolly vaunts and great wants that may soon be found in M. Harding's travail.

My slow dealing herein, I trust, offendeth not the wise. The Answer will be larger than I would, and therefore requireth the more leisure. And so, I trust, your honour thinketh it better, than with haste and expedition to betray the cause. Thus much I thought it my duty to give your honour to understand, as knowing your honour's favourable inclination and special care in this behalf.

Thus I humbly take my leave, wishing unto your honour the increase of grace and the direction of God's holy Spirit[2].

From my poor house in Sarum, 30 Januarii, 1564.

Your honour's humbly to command,

JO. SARUM.

To the right honourable and my very good lord, the earl of Leicester, one of the queen's majesty's most honourable privy council, give these[3].

[1 This letter of bishop Jewel has never been before printed. It was formerly in the collection of Mr Dawson Turner, but has lately been deposited in the British Museum. It seemed desirable that it should be made known to the members of the Parker Society; but, the works of Jewel being completed, no more appropriate place could be found for it than the present.]

[2 Sprite, MS.] [3 Thies, MS.]

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[1] The names of those councils which are denominated general are printed in Italic capitals.

[2] The council here intended seems to be that held A.D. 587. See Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. V. cols. 949, 93, 6.

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